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HANSARD'S  
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,  
For Session 1890-91.

& LAST VOLUME OF SESSION.

CONTAINING THE

DEBATES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FROM THE TWENTY-THIRD JULY TO THE

FIFTH DECEMBER, 1891.

HANSARD PUBLISHING UNION, LIMITED,

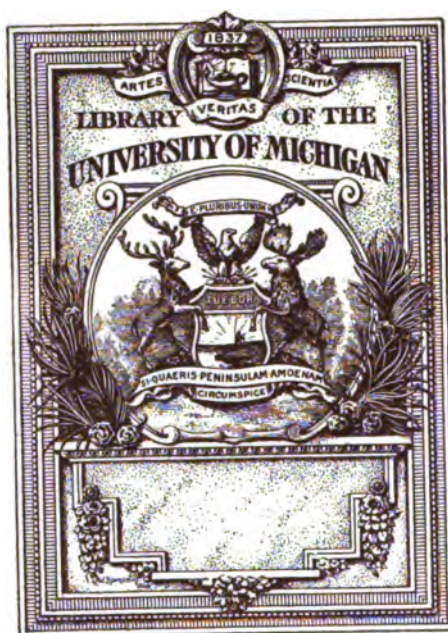
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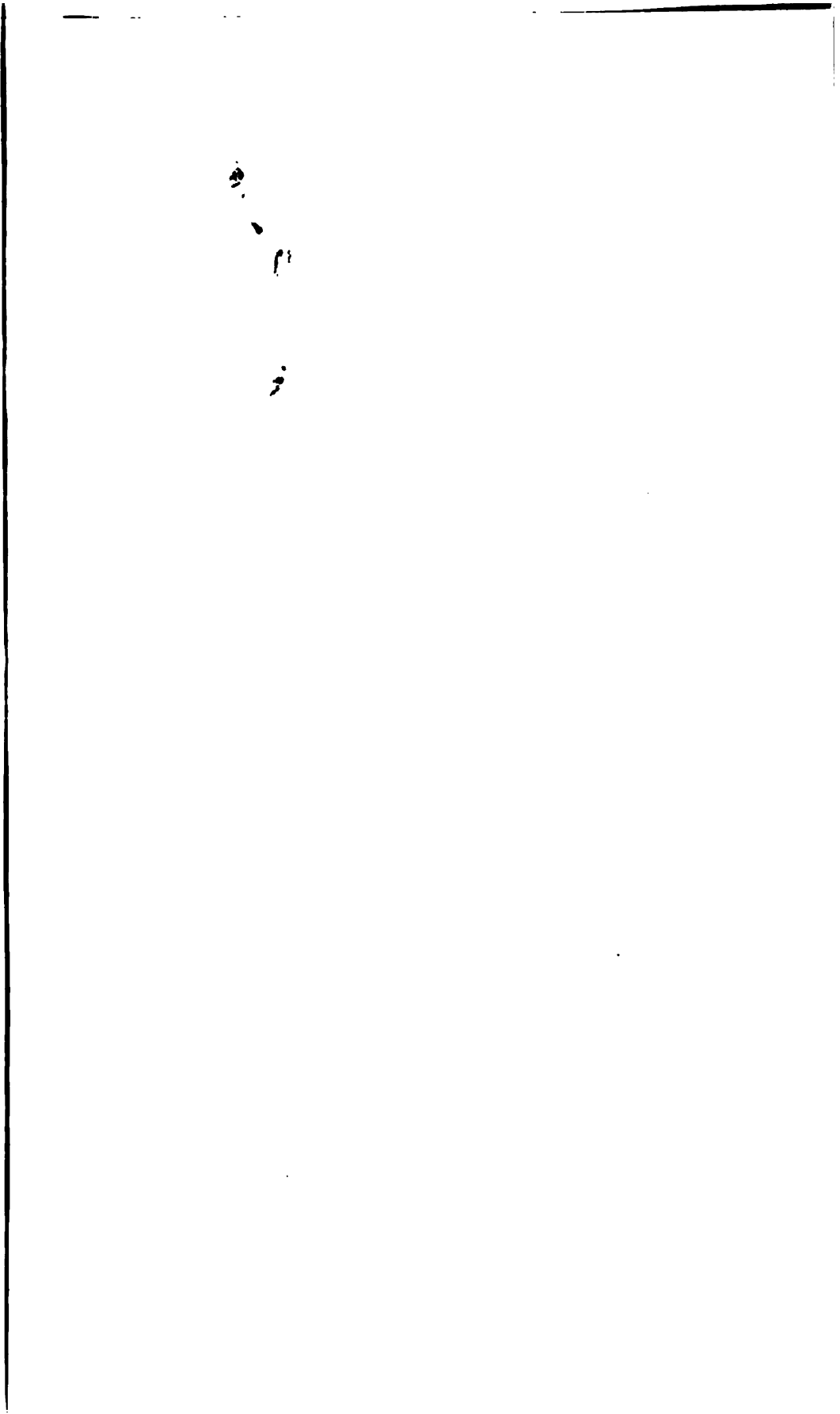
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#### ERRATUM.

*July 23*, page 176, line 44, should read :

MR. GOSCHEN : It is quite true that the continuation of such payments is necessary into any Sinking Fund which is bound by Act of Parliament to redeem the Stock in any given time. In this case, however, we do not desire to give rise to any such binding obligation, but to give latitude as to the time of the redemption of this Stock. I would point out, &c.



# HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

IN THE

SIXTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE  
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
APPOINTED TO MEET 5 AUGUST, 1886, IN THE FIFTIETH  
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1890-91.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Wednesday, 22nd July, 1891.*

LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS);  
BILL [H.L.]—(No. 246.)

Amendments reported (according to  
order); and Bill to be read 3<sup>d</sup> To-  
morrow.

LUNACY BILL [H.L.]—(No. 247.)

Amendments reported (according to  
order); further amendments made; and  
Bill to be read 3<sup>d</sup> To-morrow.

House adjourned at a quarter past  
Eleven o'clock, till To-morrow,  
a quarter past Ten o'clock

VOL. CCCLVI [THIRD SERIES.]

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 22nd July, 1891.*

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES,  
1891-2.

Considered in Committee.  
(In the Committee.)  
CLASS VII.

1. £160,000, Relief of Distress (Ire-  
land).

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.):  
I presume that the Chief Secretary will  
make a statement upon this Vote.

(12.30.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY  
FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR,  
Manchester, E.): I thought it might be  
considered convenient that I should

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wait until questions had been put to me rather than that I should open the discussion with a brief statement of what has been done. I will, however, endeavour, as well as I can, to give the Committee some idea of the proceedings which have taken place since last this matter was discussed. As the Committee are aware, I have, I think, on more than one occasion explained the general principles on which we were proceeding and the general method by which we desired to carry out the relief of distress. We had before us very little experience to guide us, and the experience we had chiefly showed us what we ought to avoid rather than what we ought to do. In 1880 the two Governments—for there was a change of Government while the relief was in progress—concurred in proceeding in the main by way of loans, and the expenditure on those loans was very heavy; indeed, they amounted, I believe, in the total to not less than £1,494,740 for baronial works and other matters of that kind, in addition to £647,000 for seed loans. These loans were granted, for the most part, at a very low rate of interest—1 per cent. for the one, while the seed loans bore no interest at all. Even where 1 per cent. was exacted from the borrowers, it was not exacted until two years after the loan had been granted. The result of this was not only an enormous charge on the Exchequer and the borrowing powers of the country, but no security was taken that these vast sums would go into the pockets of those whom they were intended to benefit. Nor was there any security that the persons who wanted to borrow would borrow in the districts where the distress prevailed, or that the money borrowed would go into the pockets of the people in the districts where distress prevailed. I will not dwell further on the various lessons learnt from the experience of 1880-81; I will only say that after much deliberation we were driven to the conclusion that if we were to cope with the distress at all, and if the money was to be used for the purpose for which it was intended, we must take the whole management and responsibility upon our own shoulders. The burden was a very serious one, because it in-

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

volved nothing less than an organisation at short notice of a gigantic department not supplied, as ordinary departments are, with a practical staff or course of procedure. Everything had to be devised and invented, and with this machinery so improvised we had suddenly to cope with the very severe, though I am glad to say limited, distress which prevailed during the winter and spring of this year, the effects of which have not yet wholly disappeared in certain parts of the country. This expenditure for the relief of distress may be conveniently divided into three heads. First, as the Committee know, the Government largely relied upon railway construction to meet the crisis. The normal Railway Vote was discussed and disposed of last night. But there was a certain amount of abnormal railway expenditure, the full amount of which I do not know, but which cannot have been much less than £14,000, connected with the employment of people in certain parts of the country. It would not have done for the Government to have taken railway construction into their own hands. We had to leave it to contractors, but we thought it right to bind them to employ local labour as far as possible, and in certain cases to employ that kind of labour which, if the contractors had been left to themselves, they would not have employed, seeing that it was not remunerative labour from a contractor's point of view. Moreover, there were certain methods of railway construction which were not the most economical to the contractor, and which necessitated the employment of a much larger number of persons than the more economical method would have done. For instance, if a cutting or an embankment had to be made it would have been the most economical course to utilise the labour of those who were making a cutting. The more economical course would have been to get to work at once and proceed to the completion of one section, so that it might be utilised for the rest. The contractors naturally required that they should be paid for the extra cost imposed upon them, and that extra cost will be found in the Vote now before the Committee, and not in the Vote which was passed last night.

Then there were other matters, such as what are technically known as "long barrow leads," but I would ask the Committee to consider these things in the bulk, without requiring me to go into minute details. In addition to all this special expenditure, arrangements were made for the provision of huts for the labourers. Some of these huts are not even now occupied, but we felt that we could not expect men travelling far away from their homes to incur the cost of going backwards and forwards to their homes, and consequently diminishing their power to labour to a great extent. With two or three exceptions, however, it was found that adequate accommodation could be obtained in the neighbourhood of the work, and in order to meet the expense to labourers of having to come from a distance an allowance of 2s. a week was made towards the cost of lodgings. Thus the men were not obliged to spend all the wages they received, but were enabled to send back to their families a substantial portion of their earnings, and the ordinary wages paid to the labourers were at the rate of 12s. a week. This part of the scheme only applies to the construction of railways as a means of relieving the distress. I propose now to deal very shortly with the relief works proper. Perhaps the Committee will like to know the number of labourers employed from week to week since the question was last discussed.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Can the right hon. Gentleman also give the districts?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I will obtain that information, but I have not as yet had it worked out for all the districts. The paper I have before me gives an abstract of the work done in each county, but does not specify the particular districts. The total number of labourers employed—including men, women, and boys—was on the 23th of February 6,812; on the 28th of March, 7,767; on the 25th of April, 11,600; on the 23rd of May, 14,000; on the 20th of June, 13,000; and on the 11th of July the number had fallen to 11,000. Of course this number is rapidly diminishing, and

the works are being closed. In Donegal there is one work already finished; four others will be finished by the 1st of August, and three others will be completed by the beginning of September. In Sligo there is one work finished; another will be finished by the 1st of August, and another by the 31st of August. In Mayo there are four already completed, and four others will be finished by the 31st of August. In Galway five are already finished, and the rest will be completed by the end of August. In Kerry there is only one work, which will be finished by the end of August. In Cork three are completed, 10 will be finished by the 1st of August, and five before the end of the same month. In Cavan there is only one work, which will be finished by the 1st of August. The total figures with respect to the works show that 13 works are already completed, that 80 works will be completed by the end of the present month, and that 22 works will go on and be finished by the end of August. There are some cases in which the works will be extended beyond the month of August in order to meet the still existing distress, and there are others in which the distress in the districts has not altogether ceased, but has been largely diminished, where it will be desirable to go on until the works are completed, to whatever period they may extend. I do not know whether there is any other information the Committee may desire to have in regard to the construction of railways and other relief works. I will now deal briefly with the relief work proper. With regard to the potato loans, although the expenditure does not come under this Vote, there is an item for an Inspector which does. The total loans for this year amount to £276,500, as against £600,000 odd applied for in 1881, and the difference in the two amounts is partly due to the fact, as hon. Members are aware, that this year payment has been exacted for the potatoes supplied, and that the distress has been less widely spread over the whole of Ireland than was the case in 1880-81. The responsibility of buying and distributing the potatoes rested entirely



with the Local Authorities; but the Government thought they were bound to supply them with professional and other advice. We had Inspectors at the ports of export and entry, we inspected as far as we could the potatoes when they arrived at the place of distribution, and the result of that inspection was that many consignments were rejected that might otherwise have been received, so that the contractors got to understand that they could not with impunity supply indifferent or bad seed to their customers. The Government did not in any way control the kind of potatoes asked for by the Local Authorities, but permitted them to obtain the seed from Ireland, because it was found that they could be obtained much cheaper in the North East of Ireland than from Scotland. I may say that a rumour which has obtained some public currency, to the effect that potatoes were exported from the North of Ireland to Scotland for the purpose of being re-imported as Scotch potatoes at a higher price, has, as far as I am able to ascertain, little or no foundation. There were potatoes exported from Ireland to Glasgow for consumption in Glasgow; but I do not believe that any potatoes imported into Ireland as seed owed their origin to Ireland at all. I have been asked, by an hon. Member upon an earlier Vote, what precautions have been taken to prevent these relief works from interfering with the planting of potatoes. We have been keenly alive to the danger of inducing people to abandon those agricultural works which are absolutely necessary on their holdings; and during the month beginning, I think, on the 9th of March special arrangements were made by which the hours of labour on the relief works were diminished. The labourers were not given any choice in the matter, but were only allowed to work for six hours in the day, so that an ample opportunity was given to them to plant potatoes and to cultivate their fields. While that gave leisure to the head of the family, no other member of the family was allowed to work on these relief works; and, therefore, no one was tempted to leave the work which was necessary on their holdings. There is one other point of interest connected with the supply of seed potatoes which

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

I mention to the Committee with pleasure. We found that in some of the islands the Guardians refused to make any advance of potatoes at all. These islands had paid no poor rates for many years, and the Guardians thought that they had no security for the repayment of the loans, and so refused to make any advance to the tenants. The plan which we adopted in those cases was to give, or rather to lend, seed potatoes ourselves, to establish relief works, and to make it a condition of the advance that the sum should be repaid by the labour of those who borrowed. The relief wages were 7s. a week; half of that was paid in money or in kind to the labourer, the other half was retained until the whole loan was repaid. The potatoes had to be supplied early in March; at that time no security could be given, and as it was impossible that the loans could be paid off, we had to trust entirely to the word of the people in this matter. The result has, I think, been very creditable to all concerned. There were 12 cases in which this procedure was adopted—11 islands and one exceptional case on the mainland. In the Island of Achill, £126 10s. was so advanced, the amount unpaid is £2 18s. 8d.; in Clare Island, £84 5s., all paid off; in Innish-boffin, £149, fully paid off; Innishark, £25, all paid off; Innisheer, £31, all paid off; Innishmaan, £13, all paid off; Innishmurray, £42 14s., amount unpaid £1 10s. 4d.; Innishmore, in Galway, £177 10s., amount unpaid £2 0s. 8d.; Innishturk, £16, fully paid off; Tory Island, £85 10s., amount unpaid £11 2s. 4d. This is the worst, but in the case of Tory Island the work was stopped after it had been started, and the same opportunity did not exist in that island for the people to work off their liability. In Turbot Island the amount advanced was £42 5s., which has been fully paid off; while in the Letterys the same amount was advanced and fully paid off. I think that the Committee will admit that if the rest of the seed loan, for which special legal obligations were undertaken by the borrower, were as well paid off as it has been where there was no legal obligation, we may look back with great satisfaction to the result. There is one other item which I ought to

mention, and that is the money spent for steamers. My idea at one time was to ask the Admiralty to lend their gunboat which was stationed on the coast, and if need be to supply us with other boats. I found, however, that these departmental transactions are of a very cumbrous and difficult character, and I also found that a good steam-tug was far better for all the purposes which I had in view than one of Her Majesty's gunboats. Therefore, on our own responsibility we engaged three steamers for carrying on all the operations. The Committee are aware that to those who are responsible for meeting distress in Ireland the great problem to deal with is the islands. They are separated from the mainland by a relatively short distance, but that distance has to be traversed frequently over a very stormy sea, so that they are cut off from the mainland. It might well happen that the general shopkeepers, who, in good times, would supply the people with the necessary articles of food, knowing that great distress was prevalent, would decline to do that which they were under no legal obligation to do, and we might find ourselves face to face with a population absolutely without means of subsistence. I had a careful survey made of these islands, and ample precautions were taken, and I am glad to say that we have passed through the winter, spring, and early summer without any catastrophe such as might have been feared. With regard to the point raised by the hon. Member for South Tyrone, as the hon. Member had no time for developing his criticisms—because you, Mr. Courtney, pointed out that the proper time to discuss the intrinsic excellence of the work was upon this Vote, and not upon that for the Chief Secretary—I may say generally that we have taken the greatest pains to secure that these works shall not be merely useful for the temporary purpose of relieving distress, but shall be a permanent addition to the convenience and welfare of the population. I may add that Major Peacocke, a very distinguished Royal Engineer, who was placed at the head of the relief works, has worked indefatigably in carrying out the views of the Government, sparing neither time nor labour, and he has

devoted his great knowledge of the subject to securing, as far as possible, that the works we have undertaken shall be, I will not say a monument of his skill, though that would not be an excessive thing to say, but a proof of the industry and public spirit of the organisation of which he is the head. We have been absolutely inundated with letters from priests and others in the localities, expressing a very high appreciation of the utility and excellence of the works. These testimonies have been so numerous that it has not been possible to tabulate or digest them in any way, but I can assure the Committee that, whatever may be the case with regard to particular items, the works generally will be found to come up to the high standard which from the first we have set ourselves to attain. I do not know that I can say anything more. I think that I have touched upon all the main points with regard to these relief works, and I shall wait to hear the observations of those who have taken an interest in this great problem. All that I can say is that, as far as we are concerned, without the slightest desire to exaggerate what has been done, taking all considerations into account, the extreme difficulty of finding out where the poverty of the population was of a character that made it a proper subject with which to deal by relief works, the difficulty of designing these works and of carrying them out, the difficulty of supervising them so that the labour should be real work, earning and deserving real wages, rather than a mere desultory waste of time and money, the great difficulty of having efficient supervision, and selecting from among a large population those who really ought to be allowed to have work on the relief works, as compared with the vast number who desired to be employed upon them; considering all these difficulties, which it is easy to enumerate, but which no one who is not intimately acquainted with the real condition of Ireland can properly weigh and estimate, and which, of course, have made the problem a very hard one with which to deal, while I do not say that our solution has been absolutely perfect, I think that any critic who weighs the inherent difficulties of carrying on a vast system of relief extending

from the extreme North of Ireland to the extreme South, entirely under Government supervision, will, at all events, think that this is a episode in the history of Irish Government which has not been discreditable to those concerned.

(1.30.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I hoped to have had some statement as to the County of Donegal, a county which, beyond question, has not received sufficient attention. The condition of Donegal has several times been raised in the House by Members not now present, and the Dungloe district has been specially brought to notice, and undoubtedly at the present time keen distress exists in that district. I do not pretend to local knowledge to enable me to criticise the action of the Government; but I take the experience of those who are best entitled to speak—the priests of Donegal—and I am led to think the efforts of the Government have failed in that county. It was a cutting observation the right hon. Gentleman made use of in a previous Debate to the effect that the distress could not be keen inasmuch as the people had continued to contribute to the support of the clergy in Donegal for the last six or eight months. In my judgment, a more offensive and fallacious test of the poverty of the people could not be applied. Of course we recognise it is the duty of those belonging to a religion to support the ministers of that religion. Those who preach the Gospel must live by the Gospel. To suppose that because well-to-do people subscribe for the support of the priest of the district therefore there is no poverty is absurd. As well might you point to the subscriptions in aid of hospitals in London, and say, therefore, there is no distress. I regret the right hon. Gentleman should have imported this suggestion into his observations, that he should have indicated this as anything approaching a test of the distress in Donegal. However the priests of Donegal may be misled by over-

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

benevolence, they have no object in exaggerating the amount of distress. It is not possible that, going among the people as they do, they can be deceived. You have but to look at the physical condition of the people, their rags, their huts, their land, to see that it is impossible that they can get a decent livelihood. Donegal is an out-of-the-way district, it occupies an isolated position, it has scanty railway communication, it is occupied by a poverty-stricken people, the descendants of those who were driven thither when the Scotch settlers took the better land. The priests, who dwell among the people, are a zealous, self-sacrificing body of men, and I trust the Government will not be misled by the political convulsions that have occurred there. A bitter cry comes up to us from Donegal. From Dr. O'Donnel, the Bishop of the diocese, the youngest Bishop in the Church, promoted at an unusually early age for his learning and piety, and from the priests under him, we know that the keenest necessity exists in Donegal. In considering the way in which relief has been administered through the instrumentality of the police and the Resident Magistrates, a considerable amount of feeling has been excited. No doubt it is difficult for the Government to get the proper means of information without calling to their aid some of the agencies already existing, and in peaceful times I would not object to a decent sergeant of the police being employed to collect information and administer the fund for relief; but at the same time, in districts where the police have been in sharp conflict with the people, it is most offensive, as it has been in some of the districts of Cork, that the fund should be administered by the very policemen who have been most active in making raids upon the people, and making arrests among them. I know an instance where the most offensive of the police have been made the almoners of the Government. I must say nothing is more likely to dry up all feeling of gratitude, to make charitable assistance repellant, and the workhouse a preferable means of relief. It seemed at one time the view of the Government—I do not say it is now—but before the catastrophe in the ranks of the Irish Party, that, if possible, the whole system of

relief should be turned into a kind of political engine, that the people should be brought to the feet of the police who had been most active in carrying out the coercion policy. Well, that phase in the mind of the Government has passed away, but I must condemn the system by which the police were employed as the means for distributing relief in those districts where they have previously been in sharp conflict with the people. The same remark applies to Resident Magistrates, few of whom have popular confidence, and I do not find that these few have been employed. In 1881 I induced Mr. Forster to put a small annual grant of £100 upon the Votes for the Glasnevin Model School, in connection with the Agricultural Department, for the purpose of encouraging the introduction to breed, if I may so say, new varieties of potato. I know, of course, that an interval of years must pass before we can expect any result; but I should be glad to learn if any result has been obtained. Again, I would press upon the Government that in a county where the potato is the staple article of food and where the cultivation is carried on in small patches of a few acres, every inducement should be offered by the Agricultural Department to improve that cultivation and the introduction of new varieties. We know the introduction of the "Champion" was an enormous boon, and this, I believe, we owe to a Scotch variety. Further, I would say, in view of these seed loans which are becoming part of the machinery of administration in Ireland, that in the coming Local Government Bill, Local Boards of Guardians, or other bodies, should be empowered to offer prizes to encourage farmers to produce new varieties of potatoes. This would, I think, be a useful form of expenditure, and would be well appreciated. I trust the Government will turn their attention especially to the condition of Donegal. I should like to have heard some more explicit information as to the roads which have been constructed. So far as my limited knowledge goes, this work has been well done, and I think it is a useful form of expenditure as opening the means of communication to many picturesque but poverty-stricken districts.

\*(1.15.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I think no Irish Member can fail to appreciate the energy with which the crisis in Ireland has been encountered. When I was about to make some observations on a previous Vote, and you, Sir, pointed out that those remarks would be relevant to the present Vote, I had no intention of finding fault; I merely wished to obtain some information as to the relief works in Mayo. I have no personal knowledge of the works, they have been undertaken since I travelled through the county in November. I am informed that these works have had the effect of keeping the people from their spring work upon their own holdings which is absolutely necessary, for the sake of a mere pittance of 7s. a week offered to them at the relief works. I am not finding fault; of course, I know these things will occur. I rose to ask when these works will be closed. Potato digging will not commence until October. Are the works to be carried on until the new potato crop is ready to be used? From the first I have thought that road making was an objectionable form of relief works, and that it would have been preferable to undertake drainage works for the permanent benefit of the holdings. The hon. and learned Member for Longford has referred to Donegal, and the Chief Secretary has heard a good deal about that county. I should be the last to stand in the way of anything being done for the county, but it may be said that Donegal has fared fairly well so far as railway works are concerned, two lines being constructed almost entirely at the expense of the State—

MR. T. M. HEALY: Through gentlemen's domains.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Whether that be so or not these works give employment, and the railways must benefit Donegal. But the north-western part of the county has a strong claim to relief, for there the distress is most acute. I

should be glad to hear that something will be done in that portion of the county. With regard to the subject of the mode in which the relief has been distributed, I think that the Government were bound to avail themselves of the experience of other Governments in the past. Those Governments distributed relief through the clergy of all denominations, with the result that a large amount of the relief was wasted. The clergy of either denomination are the last people in the world to resist any appeal for relief that is made to them, and I think that the Government exercised a wise discretion in intrusting the distribution of the relief to the police instead of to the clergy, while receiving the advice and assistance of the clergy. I congratulate the Committee upon the fact that the crisis has been successfully tided over, and I think that everybody must feel thankful to the Government and to the Chief Secretary for the large measure of success that has been attained in relation to this matter. There was past experience to guide the Government, but it was mainly in the direction of what they ought to avoid.

\*(123.) MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): I congratulate the Chief Secretary upon his changed demeanour on this question of relief, and I think we may date that change from the time of his visit to the West of Ireland, when he saw with his own eyes the real necessities of the situation. We have had remarkable testimony to-day to the honest intentions of the poor people on the islands, and I think the Committee must have been impressed with the facts given, for these are the districts where, during the late agitations, the people were said to be the most disaffected, and animated only by the desire to rob and defraud. We have seen how, unbound by other than moral obligation, they have loyally repaid the advances made to them; and this experience is only in accordance with what we have had in land purchase transactions, in relation to which only an exceedingly small amount of arrears remain outstanding. My ex-

Mr. T. W. Russell

perience and recollection of relief works extend as far back as almost any Member of the House, for I was, though young at the time, brought into close relation with the distress in Ireland during the terrible famine times of 1846-7. It would not be candid if I did not now congratulate the Chief Secretary upon the success of his efforts. I think a larger amount of money has gone to the absolute relief of suffering than on any previous occasion, there has been excellent organisation, and the utmost good has been got out of the relief works provided. But that in no degree lessens my feeling of bitter humiliation, as an Irishman, that this continual assistance should be necessary; it in no way reconciles me to a system which, so long as it continues, will make these grants necessary. In fact, it is the necessity of these grants that shows more clearly how entirely wrong, how unstable the foundations of society in Ireland are. Of course, the system is demoralising. It may be that in some respects the country is in a better condition than in the past, but when the Government come forward and ask for Votes like these, it raises in our minds the most serious considerations for the future. I am quite certain that when, nearly a century ago, that great alteration was made in the relations of the countries, it was never expected, even by those who entertained the most sanguine belief regarding the benefits that would accrue from that change, that a state of things would exist such as exists now. We are treated to alternate systems of coercion and coddling—enough to take the heart and manhood out of any people, and that this has not been the effect upon the people of Ireland is strong testimony to the natural qualities of my countrymen. There appears to me, under the present régime, no end to this system. From time to time periods of distress arise, discontent, outrage, repression, then a period of relief works. These alternations should inspire anxious thoughts in the minds of those interested in the welfare of our country. The worst, the saddest consideration is the danger that lies in the tendency that may be encouraged of localities to look for relief to the central



authority. The inheritance of the danger of the present system will some day descend to us. There is a disposition to consider that these are charitable grants from England to Ireland, but that is not so; it is but the return of money taken from Ireland. This system of grants to different parts of the Kingdom into which we are more and more falling cannot, I think, be productive of good in the end; this system by which money is collected in the Exchequer and handed out again by rule of thumb to different parts of the country, England, Scotland, and Ireland receiving each their portion. It is not a good system, and I hope to see a change under which the money to meet the requirements of the one country shall be raised within that country. In the United States there has been strenuous opposition, by the most thoughtful portions of the community, against Congressional grants for education to the Southern States, but here we have fallen head and heels into the system. While I recognise the present necessity, and acknowledge the grant has been well administered, I think it affords evidence of the necessity for a practical reform in the relations of the two countries.

(132.) **SIR J. COLOMB** (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.): We have had sad experience in former years of relief of distress in Ireland, but the work of the present Administration, under the Vote the Committee are now considering, is the most successful effort I have known to deal with the temporary difficulty in a common-sense and practical way. I can endorse much that has fallen from the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, and I trust the Chief Secretary will turn his attention to the necessity of establishing on a wider basis some sort of Agricultural Teaching Department in Ireland. I much fear, as the hon. and learned Member has stated, that the periodical necessity of providing funds to supply the Irish peasants in the West with potato seed has become almost a regular part of the machinery of the

Government of Ireland. The hon. and learned Member has suggested a means by which the best seed may be ascertained and selected; but, in my opinion, the question is not so much the supply of good seed as the teaching of good cultivation. The potato failure last year was confined almost entirely to the congested districts. Why was that? Not because those districts have a much worse climate than other parts of Ireland, but because of inefficient cultivation. The peasants in those districts really do not seem to know the rudiments of cultivation, and in some districts it is hardly possible to see the potato plant for the weeds surrounding it. If a paternal Government is to supply seed to the Irish peasant at the public cost whenever there is a potato failure, it will become their duty to establish some machinery to teach the people in the West at least the first principles of potato culture. I do not believe the state of things I have referred to is altogether the result of idleness on the part of the peasants. It is the result of sheer ignorance. In some districts the people allow the dock weed to grow and remain among the corn crop. I have seen peasants in districts in Kerry cutting the corn and carefully sparing the dock weeds in the absurd belief that they keep the ground warm. Considering that Ireland is wholly an agricultural country, I earnestly hope that the Congested Districts Board will make it not the least important feature of their work to instruct the young people in the primary principles of agriculture. If such a course as this is taken something really effective will be done to prevent distress in the future.

(138.) **MR. FLYNN** (Cork, N.): The harrowing picture drawn by the hon. and gallant Member who has just spoken, if it is correct, only shows the deplorable results of the last 90 years' supervision of Ireland by the Imperial Parliament, and furnishes the strongest possible argument why the Irish people should be left to govern themselves. But I traverse the statements of the hon. and gallant Member; they are gross exaggerations.

tions. To talk of peasants cutting corn with a knife in order to spare the dock weeds is really abusing the credulity of the Committee. We might look for a parallel of such things in the adventures of Baron Munchausen, but not in Ireland. As an Irishman I have never seen such a thing, and I believe the hon. and gallant Member is absolutely in error. Moreover, as to the failure of the potato crop last year, that failure was of the most inexplicable and erratic character. The crop failed in some districts and not in others in the same locality; in one part of a parish it failed and not in another, yet there was no difference apparently in the conditions. I am ready to congratulate the Chief Secretary on the fact that he has done much to grapple with the distress in Ireland, but, at the same time, I must point out that the allocation of this money would never have been necessary if the Government had listened to the representations of the Irish people and Members before Parliament dissolved last year, for it was then already known that the potato crop had failed. It would have been better if money had been advanced at 1 per cent. to solvent farmers for the employment of labour, and to small farmers for the cultivation of land, than that it should be spent on road-making. I am glad to hear that in this case the roads have been well made, but it would be well if the Chief Secretary were to give details as to the districts in which the roads have been made, and the amount which has been expended upon them. The hon. Member for South Tyrone has said that Irish Members would be afraid to go before their constituents and say that they were against these grants. I would not be afraid to do so. In my opinion, it is high time for the Irish people to find some other system, and to maintain their own poor out of their own resources. I see that there is a sum of £2,350 for salaries of Inspectors and others specially employed. I assume that refers to the employment of police sergeants and others. I do not think the police are the best persons to employ. The Relieving Officers, who are to be found in every district, and who are acquainted with the resources of the people, would be much more fitted for the work. But if policemen are to be em-

*Mr. Flynn*

ployed, travelling expenses ought to be sufficient for them. I have seen it stated in some West of Ireland newspapers that on some of these road-making works the police are paid as much as £1 a week for supervision. The money ought to be made to go as far as possible in relief of distress, and the police ought to be expected to do the work as a work of love. I trust that if I remain a Member of this House it will never be my lot to witness the passing of another Vote of this kind. If you change your system, and let Ireland look to her own resources, Votes of this kind will not be necessary.

(148.) MR. RENTOUL (Down, E.):

The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford began his remarks by a reference to County Donegal, of which I am a native and in which I lived 20 years. I know a good deal of the county, and during the last 12 months I have been in each of the four districts of the county. I found that the county was, during the last winter, in a greater state of prosperity than at other times when there was talk of distress. The people were in a greater state of satisfaction with their surroundings than I have ever known them to be in their history. If a less amount of relief were given it was because a less amount was needed. The amount of money given to the clergy has been referred to. That is always considered an infallible test of the condition of the people. The Presbyterian Church is very strong in Donegal, a full and complete financial report is published by it every year, and it is always considered that the prosperity of the county can be estimated by that report. As contributions to the churches go up or down, so does the prosperity of the people. It is natural that it should be so, because when the people have bad years they cannot be expected to contribute to the support of their clergy or their religion at the same rate as in prosperous years. If the people are living below their ordinary income, the clergy will naturally do the same thing. I am sure the Catholic clergy, many of

whom I know and respect, would refuse to receive large contributions from the people when the people are in distress. If the amount voluntarily paid is not a test of the condition of the people, then we are in the awkward position of admitting that the clergy accept and seek large contributions from the people when the people are not in a condition to pay them. I am not aware that the contributions last year were larger than in the year before, but if they were, it is a good test of the prosperity of the people. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Bow and Bromley spoke of the people allowing docks to grow among the corn. There is another plant called the henweed. This is grown all over the country, and it is urged by a great many people that it is advantageous to grow it as it keeps the land warm. I can support what the hon. Member has said about this being done. As another illustration in the same direction, it is the constant experience of those who know the country districts in Ireland that the people assert that the less cultivation that is given to the land for flax the better it is for the flax crop. That may be a mistake, for in other countries—notably in Belgium, where a great deal of flax is grown—a contrary view is held, and the land under flax is carefully cultivated. From my own knowledge of Ireland, I am bound to say this, that the relief works have given unbounded satisfaction throughout the country. The warmth of the reception given to the Chief Secretary during his tour in the West is proof that the people are satisfied, contented, and prosperous to a degree seldom reached before. The hon. Member who last spoke said that representations from his side of the House and from his Party were ignored. Well, I am perfectly willing to admit that an Irishman ought to be allowed three or four times as much time for talking as a man of any other nationality, but even allowing that large grace to Ireland, I think it cannot for a moment be justly felt that the Irish National or Home Rule Party in this House have not abundance of time given to them. It is, in my judgment, impossible for them to say with any show of justice that they are at all overlooked or passed over in carelessness by the

Chief Secretary. Complaints might possibly be made against some Members of the Government, and it might, perhaps, be said that they do not pay the amount of attention to the representations made to them that they might pay; but if there is one Member of the Government against whom that charge cannot possibly be made with any foundation it is the Chief Secretary. It is, in fact, doubtful whether the right hon. Gentleman does not attach too much importance to the unfounded complaints which are too often made. I do not intend to insinuate that hon. Gentlemen opposite state what they believe to be untrue. On the contrary, I believe that they aim at telling the truth, but sometimes they make remarkably bad shots. I always receive their statements as believed by themselves, but it frequently happens that, owing to bad information or something of that sort, they miss the point they intend to make.

(2.5.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.):

I wish to return the compliment to the hon. Member for Down, and to assure him that I believe he always says what he believes to be true—and his statements as to some agricultural facts are very interesting—but that his information is faulty, and causes him to miss the mark. I think he draws his bow rather badly when he says that the religious test is a means of ascertaining whether or not there is distress in the country. He may be right as to Presbyterians, but I know he is wrong when he comes to deal with the contributions received by Catholic clergymen as a test of the existence of famine or scarcity in Ireland. If you ask any Catholic clergyman in Ireland where he gets his living from, you will find that it is not from the very poor. He will tell you that from the very poor he does not expect anything—or very little if anything—but that it is from the strong farmers that he expects to obtain the means of subsistence. And the hon. and learned Member opposite must remember that when times are bad for the small farmers and peasantry it by no means follows that they are equally bad for the strong farmers. Take the condition of things

last year as an example. The potato crop failed and the peasantry lost their main supply of food—that which they always look upon to feed them for nine months in the year. But high prices were secured for cattle, so that the strong farmers—amongst whom, I imagine, the experience of the hon. and learned Gentleman chiefly lies—continued prosperous. There is no doubt that last year the potato crop was almost a complete failure in the mountainous districts of Galway, and, according to an answer given to me by the Chief Secretary, in other parts of the county from one-half to two-thirds of the crop failed. And there is another matter which has very likely led the hon. and learned Gentleman astray. I heard from the hon. and gallant Gentleman who sits close to him that there had been a splendid crop in the North-east of Ireland—in the County Down. That would prejudice the hon. Member's mind, and when he went into other counties he would not be on the look out for the signs of distress. Such are the facts of the case, and such are the reasons why I think the statements of the hon. Member are somewhat wide of the truth or devoid of that accuracy which we all like to see prevail in the House of Commons. With regard to the relief works undertaken by the Chief Secretary, I do not blame the right hon. Gentleman for anything he has done, but his faults of omission were undoubtedly great. The work done in the mountainous districts of Connemara and other counties has been very useful and good, but in other parts too little has been effected. I fear that in many places where little or no employment has been provided the people have come to the end of their resources. No doubt the Poor Law could be relied upon to keep the people from absolute starvation, but where there was a partial failure of the potatoes, and where instead of having food for nine months the peasantry had only sufficient for three or four months, they would be compelled to exhaust the supplies necessary for cropping the land during the next two or three years. It seems to me, therefore, essential that some system of public works should be extended to these people. The works in

*Colonel Nolan*

the mountainous districts have been undertaken with judgment. The scales of pay have been 13s. for railway work and 7s. on works nearer the homes of the labourers. These scales no doubt were sufficient, and were judiciously contrived, but in other parts of the country the small farmers who have been eating into the means of cultivating their farms, have not received sufficient assistance. The right hon. Gentleman's policy amongst these people, who live in a miserable state—in districts between those that are prosperous and those that are deeply distressed—has not been a sound one. He wanted to make his machinery self-acting. In these districts he had two sorts of relief. Where he wanted to employ the people he gave them 7s. a week, but where he did not wish to give relief he adopted the labour test and offered work at 5s. 6d. a week.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I offered a stone of meal; and it must be remembered that subsequently the price of meal rose, so that the relief became equal to 7s. a week.

COLONEL NOLAN: The work was offered in these districts when the price of meal was low, but I do not understand that the offer was renewed when the price of meal had gone up. The question is one of administration and not of policy. I doubt if it was a wise thing to offer a stone of meal for a week's work. There is no doubt that a great deal of employment can be obtained at 7s., and if the right hon. Gentleman wished to give employment in these districts his machinery was undoubtedly bad. I think the first charge on the £8,000,000 collected in Ireland ought to be the relief of distress. I do not look upon that as charity, but as an assurance provided by the taxpayers. I thank the Government for having done their duty in regard to the relief of distress. As far as seed potatoes are concerned the relief has not been given on the same scale as it was given 9 or 10 years ago, and it is impossible to predict whether it will be successful or not. The light railways do not exactly

come within the category of works of distress. They were promised to us by the noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord R. Churchill) when leader of the House nearly five years ago, and that introduction was somewhat quickened by the apprehended scarcity in Ireland. I think the routes of these railways have been selected with very considerable judgment. You have a fringe of districts on the west coast of Ireland that are quite distinct from the other portions of the country, and I believe the extension of these railways will result in bringing that fringe into line with the requirements of civilisation. We are not yet in a position to judge whether the policy of the right hon. Gentleman will be successful or not. We cannot say at present that a very large portion of the peasantry has been injured by the bad crop; but if a second bad year should come after this, I think it will be shown that it would have been cheaper if the Chief Secretary had somewhat extended the area of his works.

\* (2.24.) MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): I cannot undertake to settle the question between the hon. Member for East Down (Mr. Rentoul); and the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. T. Healy) as to whether the Church is a financial barometer, but I know the clergy, to whatever denomination they belong, are all anxious to get the loaves and fishes. Considering the appalling distress that was anticipated during last August, and the great difficulties he had to encounter, I think, on the whole, the statement made this evening is rather satisfactory. As far as I am concerned I never objected at all to light railways. I think the money that has been expended on them is good for the country, and I am pleased they have been made. I anticipate for Ireland a splendid success in the future when we get the management of affairs into our own hands, and these railways will then aid to develop the trade and commerce of the country. Some years ago, no matter what the state of the weather was, it was necessary to travel by car for long distances in the West of Ireland, in the total absence of railways, and when I went down first

to see my constituents in West Clare, the nearest point I could get to the principal town of my constituency by rail was 20 miles away. I rejoice, therefore, at the making of these railways as well as the opening up of the country. My regret is that we have not got more of them. I hope the Chief Secretary will turn his attention, as he has not got the money now, to taking power to obtain more money in the future. As to the roads I think those which have been made are good roads, and I should like to have from the right hon. Gentleman a list of the roads in the different counties. I wish to know whether he has made a road in Glan, Cavan. An application was made by our Board of Guardians to him to make such a road, for in that district the people had to carry turf, and in some instances manure, on their backs for a considerable distance. The Catholic clergyman in that district I know feels keenly the want of such a road, and I never heard a man more effusive in his loyalty and attachment to the British Crown than he. He said if the people got proper consideration in that part of the country he himself would lead them against any attempt against disintegration of the Empire. I am delighted to hear that the Chief Secretary is going to "finish" the works, because in 1847 many of the works commenced ended in a bank, and they remain to this day a disfigurement to the country. I am delighted to hear that the Chief Secretary not only promises to make these roads but that he intends to finish them, and I hope in so doing that he will finish them with some degree of taste. The Government and Railway Companies have no right to go into the country and commence works as they did in 1847 which are merely a disfigurement, because in that year many of the works commenced ended nowhere. When speaking of these roads the right hon. Gentleman mentioned some other relief works but he did not indicate what they were. I should like to know what he meant by other relief works. He also spoke of women and boys being engaged on those works. This is the first time I have heard of women being so employed, and I should like to have an explanation



from the right hon. Gentleman on that subject. Of course, it is all right that females should work, but at the same time they should only be put to employment suitable to their condition. As to the grant for seed potatoes I regard that as a great boon to the country. First, because it leads to a change of seed, and secondly, because such a change is regarded as absolutely necessary for the production of sound potatoes. It is my belief that the bad potatoes found in the West of Ireland are due to the continuous planting of bad refuse seed. If the grant leads to the production of a better class of potato, it will prove to be a boon not only to the poor, but also to those who are better off. I would suggest that there should be some permanent arrangement by which there should be a periodical change of seed all over Ireland. There is no doubt of the excellence of the seed potato obtained from the north-east of Ulster—seed which is not surpassed by anything we get from Scotland. Our union bought this seed at the cheap rate of 6½d. per stone, and this is undoubtedly a great boon to the western inhabitants. I would suggest that the Chief Secretary should advise the appointment of a Minister of Agriculture for Ireland. I do not know whether the Government think Ireland too small for such an appointment, but at any rate there ought to be something of that nature. If it is thought that Ireland is too small would it not be possible that the Minister for Agriculture in England should extend the sphere of his operations to Ireland. If this cannot be done, what objection is there to our having an Agricultural Department of our own? Ireland is eminently an agricultural country, and ought to possess a department of this kind. I was much struck by an advertisement in the papers I saw a few days ago. It was a Canadian advertisement asking for the services of a Scotch and an English farmer in that country, but nothing was said with regard to an Irish farmer. It was a case in which "no Irish need apply." They did not want an Irishman to instruct them in agriculture, or to receive instruction. I was very glad to hear the Chief Secretary speak of the way in which borrowed money had been paid up. It is gratifying to know

*Mr. Jordan*

that the poor people referred to have done credit to the confidence reposed in them by the Government. Whenever the Irish people are generously treated there is no people in the world more ready to respond. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will recognise this, and will see in the future that generosity and kindness go further with the Irish than coercion. I should have been very glad if, when the Chief Secretary was making his tour of the poorer districts in Ireland, he could have paid a visit to my own constituency. I would not have run him out of the district. Had he gone to West Clare it would have afforded me much pleasure to have shown him the more impoverished parts of the district, and I am certain that West Clare would not have lost one iota in consequence of that visit, because a gentleman brought up as he has been in luxury could not have been otherwise than deeply impressed by the poverty of the people. I should have preferred a visit from the Chief Secretary to a visit from the Lord Lieutenant. When the Chief Secretary saw the poverty of the country he granted money for its relief. The Lord Lieutenant is quite another thing, he is the deputy of Royalty, who goes about the country and is exceedingly suave and amiable, but can do nothing, and does nothing. He went to West Clare, but the Chief Secretary did not go there. The people waited on the Lord Lieutenant and presented him addresses. The highest and most respectable gentry in the country waited upon that nobleman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I hope the hon. Member will kindly keep a little to the Vote.

\*MR. JORDAN: Yes, Mr. Courtney, I will do so. I was only saying that these people waited on the Lord Lieutenant in reference to the construction of a pier at Redgap and a pier at Liscanor, which could be used by the two English Companies for the shipment of the stone flags from the quarries in the neighbourhood, whereby work would be found for 400 or 500 men at an outlay of from £30,000 to £40,000 a year. If the Harbour of Liscanor were deepened, I am told that 1,200 tons of flags per week

might be sent away, therefore, it would be worth while to encourage that industry and raise the condition of the people by such a work as I have suggested. But the Lord Lieutenant did nothing. I hold that to help the people to earn their own living does far more good than all the charity you can bestow upon them. I hope the Chief Secretary will take this matter into consideration. On the whole I am satisfied with the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, and I think that if he would import into his general dealings with the Irish people, something of the manner in which he has dealt with the relief of the poor, he will find that Ireland will be more amenable to his Government.

(2.48.) MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I was not here when the Chief Secretary made his statement, but I shall be glad if he will explain how he justifies the statement he made the other night in regard to the condition of Donegal, and where he got his statistics as to the votive offerings of the people on the occasion of funerals. It seems to me an extraordinary thing that the Government should be able to lay their hands on information of that kind. An hon. Member opposite has twitted the Irish Members with the amount of time they consume in talking. Our complaint is that although we have opportunities of expressing our views, no attention is paid to what we say, and that in point of fact our representations are completely ignored. If the hon. Member consults the volumes of *Hansard* he will see that year after year, although specific grievances are brought before the House, they are only scouted. The moment we consider a Bill to be bad it is passed, and when we bring forward a good Bill it is rejected. With regard to the works to which so much reference has been made, I would suggest that in carrying out those works the Government should use as far as possible native material. I should like also to have some information as to the number of roads that have been, or are being constructed, and the counties in which they are being made.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.): I should be glad if the right hon. Gentle-

man would state, in reference to the relief works of the western parts of the County of Cork, whether it is necessary for the Grand Jury to supplement those works by a sum of money. I should also like to know what is the amount to be paid to the Constabulary for the supervision of those works, and whether that amount includes the salaries of the Inspectors and others connected with the works. I hope also the right hon. Gentleman will give us some information as to the results of the experiments that have been made in the planting of seed potatoes. If any practical or useful results have been arrived at, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will see that they are published and sent to the Boards of Guardians, and other public bodies throughout Ireland.

(2.55.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With regard to the questions that have been put to me in reference to the roads which are being made I would refer hon. Members to a Return which was published on the 28th of February this year, and which contains a list of all the works, which are fully described, together with many important details. I will see that that Return is continued down to the present time, and that will probably give the information desired. With regard to the remuneration of the police engaged in the superintendence of relief works, they only get 6d. a day extra for the work of supervision, and whatever else they get is in accordance with the ordinary rules of the force when men are required to serve out of their own districts. As to the number of persons employed on relief works, I find that in Donegal on June 20 the number was 775; in Mayo, 5,725; in Galway, 4,771; and in Cork, 2,454. The hon. Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) has criticised what has been done in that county. He has complained that relief works were not started in the eastern part of Galway, but the fact is no less than three relief works were started and had to be abandoned because the wages were not sufficient to induce the population to seek employment upon the works. Yet the wages offered—2s. a day—were more than double the

ordinary relief allowance. Judged by the test of experience, there has been no laches on the part of the Government in dealing with the distress which existed in the eastern parts of Galway. As to giving instruction in the cultivation of the potato and instituting an Agricultural Department in Ireland, I entirely agree with the spirit of the suggestions made, and hope I have done something to fulfil them. The Congested Districts Board will carry out that instruction as far as their funds will admit of their so doing, and the Land Commission have turned their attention towards doing for Ireland many of the functions performed by the Agricultural Board for England. I hope to be able to assist the Land Commission with funds for developing in every possible way the agricultural prosperity of the country. In the very forefront of the experiments to be made are the experiments with potatoes. Those cannot be carried on with success in any central situation such as Glasnevin, where the soil and climate are not those of the West of Ireland. Information derived in that way is not so likely to reach those whom it is intended to benefit as where it is derived from experiments carried on in farms in their midst. Information derived from experiments carried on at a distance they will be apt to regard as mere theoretical conclusions which do not apply to their cases, but if carried on in their midst they will be inclined to learn and take advantage of any beneficial results which may be arrived at. As to the distress in North-West Donegal, my remarks on a former occasion have been misunderstood. I was challenged to show that there was not in that district such a degree of distress as would justify the starting of relief works. As one of the indications I brought before the House, and only as one, I did mention, not the large sums of money which were given in the ordinary way for the support of the priests, but I mentioned the gifts at times of burial. Those gifts vary with the circumstances of the case and the position of the defunct person, and are not regulated by the requirements of the priests. I also mentioned a special testimonial given in one parish. I think

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

it will be admitted by everyone that it is not irrelevant, and does not carry any reflection on the persons concerned, when it is alleged that great poverty prevails in a parish, to say that a very handsome testimonial has been collected in that parish recently. It never occurred to me to criticise the action of the priests in relation to distress in Ireland. On the contrary, I have received hearty support from ministers of all denominations. I believe the priests are glad to be relieved from a very serious responsibility, and they have certainly been very ample in their acknowledgments of the help given to those under their spiritual charge.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Has the right hon. Gentleman inquired into the condition of the Dungloe district?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Member for Longford had been in the House when the adjournment of the House was moved in connection with the subject of distress in Donegal, he would have been convinced that the Government have taken immense pains to satisfy themselves on that subject, and I can assure the hon. Member that the trouble they have taken in the past they will continue to exercise in the future.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I have a telegram just now stating that these people are still starving.

\*MR. WEBB: On what basis did the Government go in deciding what roads should be constructed?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In starting relief works the Government looked rather to the necessities of the people than to the demand for roads.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake to make special inquiries as to the state of the people in Dungloe?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes.

Vote agreed to.

### CLASS III.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £46,283, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum

necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries of the Law Officers; the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury, Queen's Proctor, and Director of Public Prosecutions; the Costs of Prosecutions, of other Legal Proceedings, and of Parliamentary Agency."

(3.33.) MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I believe that neither of the Law Officers of the Crown is here, and the question I have to raise affects both of them. I have no objection, however, to the Home Secretary dealing with the question. I feel that I owe an apology to the Committee for bringing forward this question at so late a period of the Session, as I have already brought it forward twice, but circumstances have arisen since the matter was last discussed that throw great light upon it. The question which I desire to raise by moving a nominal reduction of the Vote is whether in future the Attorney General, as chief law adviser of the Crown, should, in addition to the large income which the State pays him for contentious and non-contentious business, be allowed to take private practice. The fixed salary paid by the country to the Attorney General is £7,000 for non-contentious business, and it appears from a Parliamentary Return that, taking an average of six or eight years, he receives in addition to that an income of about £4,400 a year for contentious work or appearing as an advocate on behalf of the Government in Government cases. The Solicitor General's income is nearly £9,000, so that the two Law Officers of the Crown receive between them about £20,000 a year. This appears to me to be a very large sum to pay the two Law Officers, but I do not rise to call attention to that point. I want to lay down the principle which is practically accepted in the case of all other servants of the Crown—that they ought to devote their whole time and attention to the duties for which they are paid, and not have their attention distracted and their time monopolised by their private practice and their private interests. When on a former occasion I brought forward this question, I understood the First Lord

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of the Treasury to say he would appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into it. I believe, however, that this has not yet been done. In reply to a question I put last year the right hon. Gentleman said the matter was receiving attention, but he thought that no inconvenience or injury to the public service was caused by the present practice. What, really, are the legal advisers of the Government intended for? Are they not paid this large salary in order that they may be able to give calm deliberation to all questions on which their opinion is asked, and to express an unbiassed opinion in regard to them? I contend that under the present system they really have no time to devote to the work of their offices, and the result is that the work is not done as efficiently as it should be. More than once they have been placed in a very invidious position through the conflicting claims of their public duties and private interests. Some Attorney Generals in the past have felt they were not able to give sufficient attention to public business if they continued their private practice, and they have very patriotically given up for the time their private practice. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bury is an instance in point. When he was Attorney General he took no private practice, or at all events only a very small amount. In like manner Sir John Holker and Sir Richard Baggallay gave up their private practice when they held the post of Attorney General. If it was right in their cases, it is right also in the case of others, especially when the work has so vastly increased of late years. Some time ago a Committee was appointed to inquire into the remuneration of the Law Officers of the Crown, and Sir R. Baggallay who was examined, said—

"In my opinion, any Attorney General who desires to fully discharge the duties of his office must be prepared to sacrifice the emoluments to be derived from private practice, at any rate during that portion of the year in which Parliament is sitting."

I do not think the present practice is satisfactory, either to the Public Service or to the Attorney General himself. Only the other day the Attorney General, when he ought to have been in this House in reference to a particular

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Bill, was engaged in a private case in one of the Law Courts. The result of the present state of things is that, instead of getting the best opinion and the best brains of our law advisers, we get what I may almost call the leavings of their minds. I believe that far too much of the work which the two Law Officers of the Crown ought to do is done not by themselves, but by gentlemen who are commonly called their devils, so that while the country imagines it is paying for the opinion of the Attorney General, it is really only getting the opinion of a very junior member of the Bar. Curiously enough, this very question arose some 300 years ago, when Lord Bacon was offered the Solicitor Generalship. He at that time wrote these words—

"I purpose not to divide myself between Her Majesty and the causes of other men as others have done, but to attend to her business, only hoping that the whole man, meanly able, may do as well as half a man, better able."

What I think the Committee will desire is that the Law Officers should devote all their time and all their brains to the work of the country, and should not be distracted by private practice into having conflicting interests and duties. Cases have occurred lately that have furnished striking object lessons. There was the Parnell Commission, in which the Attorney General was engaged. Many Members on both sides of the House were so dull of comprehension that they failed to appreciate the subtle distinction which apparently existed between Sir R. Webster and the Attorney General, and which asserted that it was Sir R. Webster, and not the Attorney General, who was engaged before the Commission. Hon. Members will recollect that it became the duty of the Attorney General to explain that when on a former occasion he had risen from his seat on the Treasury Bench, and had vouched for the authenticity of the forged letters, he was then speaking from the Treasury Bench, not as Attorney General, but merely as private Counsel for the *Times* newspaper. The Attorney General gave an explanation which made him an interesting psychological study, and it would appear that he has his mind divided into a sort of watertight compartments, so that he is

*Mr. Sydney Buxton*

able to maintain distinct individualities, and to keep all his cases and interests apart. The other day, in this House, a Bill had to be postponed on account of the absence of the Attorney General, who was attending to his private business. In the case of "*Evelyn v. Hurlbert*" the hon. and learned Gentleman's private interests came before his public duty. That case also points another moral. The Attorney General was championing the cause of a leading literary light of the Unionist Party. It might have become the duty of the Attorney General, acting under the instructions of the Public Prosecutor, to prosecute Sir R. Webster's client for heinous perjury. In that case the watertight compartment theory becomes too palpably absurd, and the position now is, that if the Public Prosecutor takes action, he will not be able to fall back on the advice of the Attorney General, but must take that of the Solicitor General. If the Solicitor General had been employed in the case also, both the Law Officers would have been incapacitated from advising the Public Prosecutor, and he must have feed other Counsel for services for which the Law Officers are paid enormous salaries. The Solicitor General was counsel for the petitioner in the now historic divorce case of "*O'Shea v. Parnell*." A short time afterwards, addressing his constituents he claimed that in the course of his professional duty he had by the result of that case, changed the position of Parties in this House and throughout the country. Everyone will remember also that only a very short time ago the very foundations of the Throne were shaken by the thunder of the Solicitor General in the *baccarat* case, and everyone knows that the whole force of that speech was derived from the fact that it was made, not by Sir E. Clarke, but by the Solicitor General. It is bewildering to follow the individualities of these gentlemen, but in the public eye it is quite impossible that their different individualities can be kept apart. When they go into Court they are addressed and reported by their official titles, whether they appear for private clients or in their public capacity. I know we shall be given three reasons why this proposal should not

be accepted. In the first place, we shall be told as we have been told before, that if we do not allow the Law Officers to take private practice we shall not get the best men. We shall be told that if they are not allowed to continue their private practice they will get out of touch with the Bar, and will not get back their practice afterwards. Well, I am perfectly prepared, if that argument is a sound one, to give a retiring pension for a limited number of years to the Attorney General in order to tide him over the period of destitution before he can again obtain his private practice. As to losing touch, we at present pay the Attorney General £4,000 or £5,000 a year to keep in touch with the Bar—that is to say, to attend to contentious business. I do not believe that the argument that we shall not get the best men will hold water. Even if we do not get the best men we shall get very good men, and I agree with Bacon that “the whole man, meanly able” is better than “half a man better able.” Why should hon. Gentlemen really assert that we shall not get the pick of the Bar for the Attorney Generalship, if we no longer allow him to take private practice? Are the present emoluments of the office so contemptible that any gentleman would refuse to work on that ground alone? In addition to that there are the future prospects which open out before the Attorney General. Sir R. Baggallay, writing as Attorney General on this matter, says—

“As far as I am concerned, I readily admit that to many men, and certainly to myself, the question of the amount of salary would have but little influence as regards the acceptance or refusal of such an appointment as that if offered. As regards an appointment so honourable as that of the Attorney General at present is, the honour must remain the chief inducement to accept it.”

If £11,000 or £12,000 a year is not sufficient to compensate the Attorney General for the immediate and prospective loss of private practice, the difficulty could be met by attaching a pension to the office, and reducing the salary of the Solicitor General, while leaving him quite free to take private practice. I hope Members will vote on the merits of the question, irrespective of persons. I am sure the Committee will acquit me of any intention to make a personal attack,

and I hope I have not done so. No one would desire that the new principle should be applied to the present holders of the offices. I simply desire to lay down the proposition that the services of the Attorney General should be at the disposal of the Government and of Parliament, so that his private interests should not conflict with his public duties, and so that he should be able to devote the whole of his great abilities to the benefit of the State. I move the reduction of the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
“That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Attorney General.”—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

(4.0.) MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport): I rise to support the hon. Member's Motion. As he has said, this is in no way a Party matter, nor is it likely to affect the present holder of the post; and if hon. Gentlemen are right in their anticipations of the result of the coming elections, the Motion, if carried, would first affect the Attorney General of the Party opposite. I regret that the Motion takes the form of a reduction of the salary of the Attorney General, for I have no desire to reduce that salary. I would rather see it increased. Differing from the hon. Member who has moved the reduction, I think the same rule ought to apply to the Solicitor General as to the Attorney General, because they are not only the advisers of the Government, but of the nation, which pays them, and they are the advisers of the House of Commons. The House is entitled to the presence of one or the other of its Law Officers during the whole of its sittings. In the Debates in the Grand Committee on the Bankruptcy Bill, it happened over and over again that neither Law Officer was present, although they were wanted very much to explain the meaning of doubtful clauses. Over and over again, too, the House has suffered from the absence of the Law Officers. In a recent Debate on the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill we had an illustration. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Denbigh, to whose opinion as an ex-Judge Advocate

General we naturally pay respect, expressed his view that a certain clause was not retrospective in its action. This led to a discussion of an hour and a half, in which several legal authorities took part, as to whether this was the correct view or not; and at the end of that hour and a half the right hon. Gentleman withdrew his opinion and changed it. [Mr. G. OSBORNE MORGAN: No.] Well, then, the right hon. Gentleman retained his opinion, but found nobody to agree with him. However that may be, we felt the want of the presence of a law adviser to give an authoritative explanation of the words as they appeared before us. The present system has a bad effect on litigants who come in contact with the Crown, because when the subject is defeated, in addition to his own costs, he is saddled with the heavy fees of the Law Officer whose duty it is to represent the Crown, as well as of those of the junior Counsel, which, by the etiquette of the Bar, are so much higher than they otherwise would be by reason of the fact that a Law Officer is his leader. A remarkable illustration of this was afforded in connection with the recent rating appeal by the Committee of the London Library in St. James's Square. The counsel who argued the case on their behalf was an eminent junior who has since taken silk, and he was quite content with a five guinea fee and one guinea for conference. The appeal was dismissed, and when the bill came into the London Library there was a charge of 20 guineas for the Solicitor General and 15 guineas for his junior. The proper system would be to give to the Law Officers an inclusive salary for their whole services, and in any matters of litigation they should be required to go into Court and argue the case without additional fees, and the unsuccessful litigant should be called upon to pay just so much fee as he would have to pay were the successful side a private person. There is no force in the objection that an Attorney General would, while holding office, lose his practice. Of course he would get it all back again when leaving office. Did not the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) relinquish practice when Attorney General, and did he not

*Mr. Sydney Gedge*

readily get it back again? Of course, his ability being well known, clients came round him again. Under the change proposed you would still get the best men and the advantage of the whole of their services.

\*(4.12.) Mr. G. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.): I think my hon. friend has done good service by his Motion, both to the public and to the Bar. The Attorney General and the Solicitor General are the servants of the Crown, and in that sense servants of the public and of this House in exactly the same way as any other Minister, and I fail to see why an exception should be made in their favour. A few years ago there was a discussion in this House in reference to the Judge Advocate General taking business on behalf of a Foreign Ruler—I do not want to go into it—but the course followed was not received with favour by this House. I believe there is not a single other country in the world in which the Law Advisers of the State are allowed to take private practice, and there are sufficient reasons why the Attorney and Solicitor General should come under the general rule. In no case should private interest be allowed to conflict with public duty. My hon. Friend has pointed out two occasions in which most awkward complications have arisen under the present system. I quite agree that this House has in a sense the right and the attendance of one or other of the Law Advisers of the Crown and Parliament, and speaking from my experience as Chairman of a Grand Committee I can say that more than once we have felt the inconvenience of not having one of the Law Officers present to give an opinion upon some legal question which has turned up. The objections raised are not valid. It is said we shall not get the best man, but all I can say is, if men are so wedded to the desire to the making of money that they will not give their entire services to the public for £12,000 a year then the less we have to do with these men the better. As a matter of fact, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bury and

Sir Richard Baggallay gave up their private practice when taking office, and is it to be supposed that such men find any difficulty in getting their practice back again? The hon. Member is doing good service by his Motion, and I shall support him if he goes to a Division.

(4.15.) MR. ATHERLEY - JONES (Durham, N.W.): I am extremely sorry to find myself out of sympathy with the hon. Member who has brought forward this Motion; but I must confess that, from motives of public interest, I am strongly in favour of the Attorney General being permitted to continue his private practice. I suppose it will be conceded, and indeed it has been conceded, by my hon. Friend that it is desirable to secure the most eminent talent at the Bar for the position of Attorney General. The Attorney General is the adviser of the Crown; he is not from the theoretical and historical point of view, even though in late years he may have become so, the adviser of the House of Commons; he is the adviser of the Crown, he has the conduct of the litigious business of the Crown in contested cases, and he is also the chief prosecutor in criminal cases. The hon. Member who moved the reduction of the Vote has said that the distinction which the office of Attorney General confers upon the holder is so high that the most eminent Members of the Bar would be induced to sacrifice their private practice in order to accept it. But if my hon. Friend deprives the office of the distinguished and unique position it at present enjoys his argument fails. What inducement has any eminent man at the Bar to accept the office of Attorney General? I have always understood that members of the Bar have accepted that office not so much for the sake of the official salary which they receive as for the increase of their private practice which it causes as well as the distinction which it confers. Is it likely that the most successful members of the Bar would surrender their lucrative private practice, bringing them an income of, perhaps, £20,000 a year, for the official

salary of the Attorney General of £12,000 a year including fees? It must be remembered that the position of Attorney General is a most precarious one, as he has to quit office with the Government of the day. The hon. Member opposite has mentioned the right hon. Member for Bury, and it is true that he recovered the practice he gave up when he accepted office—gave up to a considerable extent, but not altogether—but he is a singularly gifted member of the Bar, and thus found no difficulty in resuming practice he had partially relinquished. Then, again, I deny that it can be fairly said that present or previous Law Officers have neglected attendance in this House. They have been most assiduous in their attendance. They cannot be always here, and in their absence are there not on either side numbers of most capable lawyers ready and willing to give the House advice on any legal question that arises? Indeed, I think it has been made matter of complaint that so many lawyers find seats in this House. It is important that we should not transform our Attorney General into a mere insignificant servant of the Crown. If this Motion were carried, I cannot see why you should not transform the office into a permanent one, independent of the vicissitudes of the Ministry. History has furnished a warning against doing this. On either side we may feel proud of the distinguished men who have filled the office with the fullest public confidence; and speaking from the democratic and popular point of view, I oppose the Motion of my hon. Friend as likely to lower the dignity of the office of Attorney General in this House, and impair the efficiency of the duties he performs.

\*(4.23.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I hope the Committee will allow me to occupy their attention for a very few minutes whilst I lay before them the views which are entertained by those sitting on the Treasury Bench on this subject. I do not share the views expressed by my hon. Friend the Member for Stockport in relation to fees for contentious business. The present



system has been followed for many years, and I think we do well to adhere to it, but it is not a point I think I can now profitably take up time in discussing. I should like to say a few words with regard to the proposal of the hon. Member that the Law Officers of the Crown should be obliged to give up their private practice.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: My proposal only refers to the Attorney General.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: I cannot see any distinction in point of principle between the two Law Officers of the Crown. Certainly the arguments of the hon. Member apply equally to both the Law Officers of the Crown. During the 56 years ending in 1886 there were 33 changes in the office of the Attorney General, giving an average tenure of that office of 20 months, while during the same period there were 40 changes in the office of Solicitor General, giving an average tenure of that office of 16 months.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman say how many of those vacancies were caused by the holders of the offices having been raised to the Bench?

\*MR. MATTHEWS: I will come to that in a moment. I am now only supporting the assertion that the position of Attorney General is a precarious one. I have not taken out of this list the number of those who during those 56 years became Judges, but certainly I say that the tenure of the office of Law Adviser to the Crown is not the best and surest road to the Judicial Bench. At present there are the Lord Chancellor and 33 Judges on the Bench, yet of these only three have ever been a Law Officer, namely, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Master of the Rolls. The position of Law Officer, therefore, is precarious, and it is by no means a certain road to the Bench. Are we likely to get the best men at the Bar to accept the position if they are to be entirely debarred from private practice? Would this be advantageous in the public interest? In a country like this of Judge-made law it is very necessary

*Mr. Matthews*

that the Law Officers, in order to keep abreast of the constant growth and progress of the law, should be in daily contact with the course of business and litigation, as it passes through the Courts. But as Law Officers, their contentious business would be confined almost entirely to criminal and revenue cases. If confined to such cases, the Law Officers would not keep up to the high-level of eminence which the Bar requires, and which constant experience alone secures. But I have wandered a little in that observation from the point I ought to have made at an earlier period, namely, that to debar them from all private practice would be to endanger their future professional prospects so gravely that eminent men would not submit to such a condition. Every common lawyer who accepts the position of Law Officer of the Crown has to make a considerable sacrifice. He has to give up his circuit, and that, to many a man, means a very serious loss. If he is a conscientious man, and does not neglect his duty to the Crown, his private practice in London must also be diminished—at any rate, I have never heard it even suggested that the Law Officers of the Crown neglect their official work for the sake of private practice. The hon. Member opposite quoted from Sir Richard Baggallay, but he omitted to read the words in which Sir Richard Baggallay said that if private practice were forbidden, the prospects of a Law Officer of the Crown on retiring from office would be materially diminished. Well, I do not think any lawyer would accept such a position as that. There are a number of men at the Bar pressing forward—straining at the leash, I may say—and just below the most eminent who are quite ready and able to take the place of those before them if the way is clear, and if an Attorney General or Solicitor General is debarred for even 20 months from private practice and is thus to lose all contact with his former clients, his chance of regaining his former practice will be but small. A man in the first rank of practice will be unwilling to run this risk. His term of office might be short, and he might be doomed to ultimate disappointment. The hon. Member suggests that the Law Officers of the Crown frequently go to

the Bench, but the experience of the last 30 years shows how many years leading lawyers have had to wait for their promotion. I have spoken of 16 or 20 months as the average time during which a man holds the position of Law Officer, but the Committee are probably aware of the years during which Sir Fitzroy Kelly and Sir F. Thesiger waited for their promotion. If, therefore, the best men are wanted it is unreasonable to expect them to give up private practice, and it is undesirable in the public interest that by so doing they should be allowed to rust. I cannot accept the view to which expression has been given that the Law Officers are the servants of the House of Commons. They are the servants of the Crown, and their services in this House are rendered not as Law Officers, but as Members of the House. As Ministers of the Crown it is, no doubt, their duty to answer questions in the House, but they do not owe to the House the duty of advising it upon points of law. It has been suggested that, owing to their being so busy with private practice, the Departments shrink from consulting them to the extent that they otherwise would. This is a very mistaken idea, for, as a matter of fact, the Law Officers are now consulted three or four times as much as they used to be prior to 1875, when they ceased to receive fees for non-contentious business. Certainly in the Home Office the opinion of the Law Officers is being constantly taken on numberless points, I may say on many trifling questions, and the advice sought is promptly and cheerfully given, and I believe that the experience of other Departments is similar. I quite admit that wherever in any case points are likely to arise in regard to which the functions of the private advocate may ultimately come into conflict with the duties of a Law Officer of the Crown, it would be convenient and right for the Law Officer for the time being to decline the brief. I do not think that the Special Parnell Commission can be said by any fair-minded man to be a case in point. Before that Commission opened the Attorney General had been connected with the *Times* newspaper, he had the whole of their confidence, he knew all their case, and his obligations to his client were such as any barrister

would readily understand made it an honourable duty to undertake the task set before him, and not to refuse it. No doubt he was subsequently placed in a difficult position which made it somewhat embarrassing for Her Majesty's Ministers to consult him, but that was an accidental result. As to the other case that has been mentioned, I do not see that it is much in point. The Attorney General was counsel for Mr. Hurlbert, and it has been suggested since the close of the case that a prosecution for perjury may be instituted. But a prosecution for perjury might arise out of a revenue case or a criminal case in which the Attorney General had been engaged on behalf of the Crown. There is nothing but sentiment to prevent a barrister's prosecuting for perjury a witness whom he himself has on a former trial put into the witness-box [An hon. MEMBER: His client?] or even his client. ["Oh!"] There is no actual rule to prevent a barrister prosecuting his own client. It is merely a question of feeling, and the necessity of so doing might arise out of the ordinary contentious business of the Crown. As to the absence of the Law Officers of the Crown during this Debate, I may say that the Solicitor General is engaged on the Statute Law Revision Committee, and is as much discharging his duties there as he would be if defending his salary here. But, no doubt, both the Law Officers would feel a delicacy in taking part in a Debate in which their salaries are in question. I hope that for the reasons I have stated the Committee will feel that the suggestion that the Law Officers should be debarred from all private practice is not desirable or feasible.

\*(443.) MR. HALDANE (Haddington): No one wishes to make any personal criticism on this occasion on either of the distinguished occupants of the position of Law Officer of the Crown. There is a question of broad public interest involved, and it seems to me that that is the one point of view from which the matter can be discussed. It is not a question of the maintenance of the ancient office of Attorney General, or a question of individuals. It is a question

of the interest of the Government in general and of the House of Commons in particular, and it seems to me better that a Law Officer should give the whole of his time to the service of the public than that he should spend a portion of it in earning £15,000 a year. The Home Secretary himself has furnished an additional reason for thinking that it is desirable for the public to get as much of the time of the Law Officers as possible, because the right hon. Gentleman said that it is not only in his own Department, but in all Departments, that their services are more frequently required now than formerly. It stands to reason that with the increasing business of the country the time of the Law Officers must be more taken up than it was before with their public duties. It seems to me that the whole time of the Attorney General, at all events, should be given to the public. The Home Secretary has said that the average tenure of office by the Law Officers is 20 months. Then I would ask how, in common sense, can it be supposed that in the case of men of such eminence so short an absence from private work at the Bar would deteriorate their minds, blunt their faculties, or relegate them to oblivion? It is within the knowledge of everyone that if a man who is appointed a Law Officer of the Crown has been well before the public and is well known he will get back his practice easily on leaving office. It is all very well to quote one or two instances on one side, but I could give many instances to the contrary. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury on becoming Attorney General gave up his private practice. Where is the right hon. Gentleman now? Why, there is no man in a more commanding position at the Bar, or in a better position to get as much private practice as he chooses to take; and so it is with every man who has occupied the position of Law Officer within the last few years. It is suggested that the Attorney General who ceases to practice privately will find himself unable to cope with antagonists who exercise themselves from day to day in forensic strife. I am bound to say, however, that an advocate in the largest practice would find the dis-

*Mr. Haldane*

tinguished individuals who have occupied the office of late years the most formidable of antagonists, no matter how long they might have been out of practice. If a man has once got into the groove, and his mind has become adapted to the work, no amount of absence, as long as he is well and strong and physically capable, will prevent him remaining what he has always been. I have no desire to make attacks on anybody, and if this Motion were put in a form in which it would exclude from its scope not only those who at present occupy the position, but those who have occupied it, and may do so again, we should still be glad to accept it. We can see in the mass of Bills that come before us day after day a tendency more and more to consider where amendments of the law are possible and ought to be made. Night after night appeals are made to us to take Bills on trust, and read them a second time without discussion. How is it possible for us to do so unless the Law Officers have been able to consider whether the Bills are acceptable? We know that the non-contentious and political business which our Law Officers have to conduct is now very great, and the House requires more and more of their time. I feel, therefore, constrained, without reference to any particular person, to support the Motion. I wish it was not so. The position of Attorney General is a great position, and one would like to see it kept up as it is now; but, consistently with the public interest, I do not see how that is possible.

\*(4.55.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I think the strongest argument of the Home Secretary was that it would be impossible to have an effective advocate in the Attorney General unless he was in daily contact with the Courts. The right hon. Gentleman somewhat exaggerated that argument, but no doubt there is considerable force in it. On the other hand, the right hon. Gentleman appears to understate the amount of business which would still be conducted in the Courts by the Attorney General if the Motion were adopted. At present the Attorney

General advises all the Departments of the State, and therefore it would be quite consistent and proper that, whenever any Department of the State had contentious business, it should be represented by the Attorney General. It is obvious, therefore, that the Attorney General would have quite sufficient business in the Courts to prevent his tongue forgetting its cunning. I was somewhat surprised to hear what fell from my hon. Friend the Member for Durham (Mr. Atherley-Jones), who claimed that he was supporting the democratic side of the question. I think the hon. Member for Poplar (Mr. Buxton) on this occasion has really supported the popular and democratic side. It seems to me a somewhat obsolete argument to say that if the proposal were adopted it might develop a spirit of sycophancy in the holder of the office. It is notorious that complaints have been made respecting the absence of the Attorney General, and notably when the Bankruptcy Bill was under discussion. I can scarcely agree that the absence of the Law Officers is compensated for by the presence of other learned Gentlemen, who are always ready to offer their gratuitous services to the Government. I have always rather held the belief that the gratuitous legal opinion of a lawyer is worth what you give for it. Three cases have been mentioned by my hon. Friend the Member for Poplar in which no candid person will deny that serious embarrassment has been felt in consequence of the position taken up by the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, namely, the Parnell case, the Hurlbert case, and the baccarat case. The statement of the Home Secretary that there is no embarrassment in the Hurlbert case is surprising, because the Attorney General, as I understand, has proposed that the Solicitor General and not himself should advise the Public Prosecutor. I was amused by the right hon. Gentleman's statement that the position of the Attorney General in the case would not be different from that of a private practitioner at the Bar. It must be obvious that there is a very great distinction between the two cases, because the Attorney General was called upon to advise in the public interest whether a prosecution should be under-

taken against his own client—a position in which, of course, no private barrister could ever be placed. One word with regard to the present practice of feeing the Law Officers of the Crown in contentious business. I think that cases have occurred recently which make it very clear that where the Crown is concerned the Attorney General and the Solicitor General are briefed in cases of such a character that no private suitor would ever think of going to the expense. The hon. Member for Stockport referred to the case which I brought under the notice of the House some time ago, and in which the Attorney General was concerned for the Crown. The Department had marked upon his brief 75 guineas; that was taxed down to 12 guineas, and it was stated in the House that the Attorney General had made it a rule that he would not go into Court under a certain sum. That is no doubt quite consistent with the modern spirit of the Bar, but it is inconsistent with the older and nobler conception of the advocate at the English Bar, whose services, at least in theory, were available to the first comer. However, all that is changed. But the position of the Attorney General is very different from that of an ordinary practitioner, and the question does arise in my mind whether that rule ought to be applied by the Law Officer of the day to Crown business. If it is to be applied, then the Departments must be very chary about employing them; they must very carefully consider whether any particular case is of such importance as to require the services of these highly-paid gentlemen. For these reasons, Mr. Courtney, I shall support the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for Poplar.

(5.7.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 80; Noes 118.—(Div. List, No. 369.)

Original Question again proposed.

(5.15.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL** (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000, in connection with the Salaries and Expenses of the Public Prosecutor.

**MR. MORTON** (Peterborough): I rise to order. I desire, first, to move the reduction of the Attorney General's salary, in reference to a prosecution which he

Prosecutor did not press the charge against him, and he got off with a nominal sentence. I say that this system of private prosecutions leads to great abuses. Public frauds have a tendency to discourage thrift, and thrift very much wants encouragement in this country. How is it that England is not so rich and prosperous in regard to small investments as France and other countries? The reason is that we have not here, as France, Germany, America, and Switzerland have done, encouraged the system of small investments. Our laws are unequal: they enable a rich man to obtain justice, but they deny it to the poor man. In France, in America, and in our Dependencies the small investor flourishes, but in England we do our best to discourage him by not instituting public prosecutors against offenders who commit frauds upon these investors. I beg to move the reduction of Item H of the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item H, Salaries, be reduced by £1,000, part of the Salary of the Public Prosecutor."—(*Sir G. Campbell.*)

\*(5.54.) MR. MATTHEWS: I hope the hon. Member will not think me discourteous if I decline to follow him into the details of the cases he has referred to. If he had pointed out any misconduct on the part of the Director of Public Prosecutions, I should have been prepared to defend an officer who has discharged his duty with rare zeal and ability. The system of private prosecution does not come within this Vote, and I decline, therefore, to enter into a discussion as to whether the English system of leaving persons aggrieved to prosecute is inferior to that of other countries. The single matter in which the remarks of the hon. Gentleman were relevant is the question of whether it ought to be part of the duty of the Director of Public Prosecutions to prosecute the promoters of fraudulent public companies. Public frauds always have been and are still prosecuted by that official, but the sort of frauds which are not so prosecuted are those in which a set of rogues and knaves put forward a number of false and fraudulent state-

*Sir G. Campbell*

ments, whilst other people who desire to get large interest join in the scheme, and when they lose their money, come shrieking to the Director of Public Prosecutions to get their money back. I do not agree that the Director of Public Prosecutions ought to be required to spend large sums of money in prosecuting cases of that sort. As to Cloëte's case, the learned Judge before whom it was to be tried had all the depositions before him, and he came to the conclusion that it was not clear any offence had been committed. I take leave to say, on behalf of an officer for whom I am responsible in this House, that he has always discharged his duty with uncommon zeal and industry, and that he deserves the commendation of the House rather than a reduction in his salary.

\*SIR G. CAMPBELL: We have just listened to a piece of special pleading on behalf of the present system, and that is just what I expected. I made no charge against the Public Prosecutor. I have no doubt he does his duty excellently well. What I have raised was the question of the desirability of his prosecuting in cases of company frauds. This, I complain, he does not now do.

(6.0.) MR. T. M. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary made a remark which was as much calculated to do mischief as anything I have ever heard. I gathered that what he said was to the effect that the persons who lost their money in public companies were those who tried to get large interest for it, and were no more to be pitied than the directors and promoters who took their money. I do not think a more unfortunate observation was ever dropped by a Minister, and I hope some Member of the Government will rise to correct it. The country is at this moment smarting under a number of public company blisters, and nothing could be more regrettable than the making of such an observation at this moment. It gives public company promoters to understand that, no matter what they do, they are not to be kept in check by the Public Prosecutor. No

prospect could be more appalling to those who entrust their money to the Directors of public companies. I do not know whether the Home Secretary was led to make the observation by the fact that many of his Conservative supporters are Directors of these companies, but it would be unfortunate that it should go forth, on the authority of the Home Secretary, that those who intrust money to their keeping almost deserve prosecution as much as the directors.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield): May I ask what is being done by the Public Prosecutor in the Hurlbert case?

SIR E. CLARKE: It has been already stated to the House by the Attorney General that he has passed the matter over to me, and he has left the direction of the steps to be taken to me. It would be going beyond my duty if I were to state more than that steps are being taken for the examination of the materials upon which a decision must be arrived at. I do not think that I ought to make any further statement at present.

(6.4.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 46; Noes 98.—(Div. List, No. 370.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

3. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £39,553, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for certain Miscellaneous Legal Expenses."

(6.13.) MR. MORTON: I have a question to put to the Attorney General with regard to Revising Barristers, and as I do not see him in his place, I beg to move, Mr. Courtney, that you do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. Morton.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I would appeal to the Committee to take two or three more Votes.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not take the Vote for the Supreme Court of Judicature.

MR. GOSCHEN: If the Motion is withdrawn the Government will stop at the Vote before the Committee.

MR. MORTON: I withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I desire to ask the Solicitor General a question with regard to the intentions of the Government as to the interest which certain Magistrates' clerks have in prosecutions. There is a statute providing that the clerks in boroughs shall not be interested in the prosecutions. That rule does not prevail in country districts, and the consequence is that there are many Magistrates' clerks who have a direct pecuniary interest in committals. It has been admitted by successive Governments that this is a blot on the administration of justice.

SIR E. CLARKE: I will take an opportunity of ascertaining the facts and speaking to the hon. Member on the subject.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again upon Friday.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [21st July] reported.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1891-2.

#### CLASS II.

1. "That a sum, not exceeding £22,594, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland."

\*(6.21.) MR. JORDAN: I beg again to bring under the notice of the House this very serious question of the Lough Erne drainage. The excess of expenditure over the estimate is more than double the latter, and the result is a tax of 9s. 6d. per acre on the average, which the community will not be able to pay. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) admits the facts, and says the case is a case of hardship, but he says the Board of Works is not culpable or

liable, nor the Treasury either. Well, they may not be culpable or liable legally or technically, but the right hon. Gentleman must admit that the Board of Works and the Treasury have been mixed up in this whole matter, and I hold that they are morally liable. The Board of Works sanctioned the excessive expenditure and the Treasury actually paid down the money. It is a novel position for me to be in, but in this matter I represent not only the tenants, but Conservative landlords in the county of Fermanagh, who have asked me to bring the matter under the notice of the Treasury. What we want is some sort of inquiry, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will see his way to give it to us. If he does not, his troubles are only commencing in this matter.

MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I wish to point out that in this matter the Board of Works are endeavouring to levy a charge on lands which have not been benefited at all. There are no works at all done on one of the tributaries of the Erne, but the tax is to be levied on the lands through which it passes.

(6.31.) THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I am afraid I cannot add anything to what I said yesterday. The only charge that is made on the tenants is for the actual value received, and this is ascertained at a public inquiry where counsel may be employed by the tenants. I cannot add to the information I have already given. I do not admit that there is any responsibility on the Board of Works, and I can see no possible benefit from the inquiry suggested. The only charge made is for improvements ascertained by public inquiry, at which the tenants are allowed to appear.

MR. KNOX: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay on the Table papers relating to this matter?

MR. JACKSON: I have no objection to doing that. I will give the hon. Member all the information I can.

Resolution agreed to.

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £17,433, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year

*Mr. Jordan*

ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of the Registrar-General of Births, &c., and the Expenses of Collecting Agricultural and other Statistics in Ireland."

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £12,809, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the General Valuation and Boundary Survey of Ireland."

#### CLASS I.

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £155,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Erection, Repairs, and Maintenance of Public Buildings in Ireland, for the Maintenance of certain Parks and Public Works, and for Drainage Works on the Rivers Shannon and Suok."

Resolutions agreed to.

5. "That a sum not exceeding £328,529, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for Payments under 'The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883,' and 'The Light Railways (Ireland) Act, 1889.'"

\*MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): I wish to say, with regard to this Vote, that there are large districts in Scotland, especially in the Western Highlands and Islands, which equally require development with Irish districts, and the people there rely that at the proper time the Government will deal with them in the liberal spirit which has characterised their treatment of the Irish.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I have resigned myself to the inevitable. We cannot resist this Vote, but I wish to endorse the views of my hon. Friend the Member for Inverness-shire, and to point out that if any particular class wishes to wring concessions from the Government its best policy is to start a Plan of Campaign.

Resolution agreed to.

It being after Six of the clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Seven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 23rd July, 1891.

## SAT FIRST.

The Earl of Powis, after the death of his uncle.

The Duke of Bedford, after the death of his father.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

## LANCASHIRE, DERBYSHIRE, AND EAST COAST RAILWAY BILL.

## SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

\*LORD DENMAN: My Lords, I have an Amendment to propose on the Third Reading of this Bill. It passed through the former stage before I could propose my Amendment. It is that after Clause 20 there may be a new clause inserted preventing the compulsory purchase of land until after a certain part of the line in the district has been completed.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Has the noble Lord given notice of the Amendment?

\*LORD DENMAN: I have not been able to do so since the Report.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I must remind the noble Lord that it is out of order to move an Amendment of which notice has not been given after Third Reading.

\*LORD DENMAN: Well, my Lords, I can only say I hope this Bill, which affects the most beautiful part of Derbyshire will not be proceeded with. There is an enormous amount of capital involved in it, and my Amendment is that no compulsory powers for the purchase of land should be exercised until the portion of the works I mention has been carried out.

Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

## METROPOLITAN HOSPITALS, &amp;c.

Second Report from the Select Committee (with the Proceedings of the Committee), made, and to be printed; Minutes of Evidence, together with an Appendix, laid upon the Table, and to be delivered out. (No. 252.)

VOL. CCCLVI. [THIRD SERIES.]

## BILLS OF SALE BILL (H.L.).

A Bill to amend the law relating to Bills of Sale—was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1<sup>a</sup>; and to be printed. (No. 253.)

## POST OFFICE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>: to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> tomorrow: (*The Marquess of Salisbury*.) (No. 254.)

## PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) BILL.

(No. 228.)

## REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments reported (according to Order).

Further verbal Amendments made.

LORD MONKSWEILL: I want to ask the noble Viscount (Viscount Cross) if he is in a position to state the attitude which he proposes to take up with regard to the Amendment upon Clause 7 which was moved in Standing Committee by Lord Clifford.

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): I shall be able to give a better answer if the noble Lord would move it on the Third Reading. My Lords, the next Amendment I have is in Clause 47, page 27, lines 41 to 43, to leave out Sub-section 7. That is in order to meet the objection raised by the noble and learned Lord opposite in the same Committee. Then on page 28, line 3, at the end of the clause, I move to insert a separate sub-section. I understand that a grievance has been raised by the shopkeepers who wish to be placed on the same footing as those who sell meat in the open market. If meat is sold in the open market and it goes bad in the course of the day they simply give notice to the inspector and he orders it to be taken away. They simply ask that they should not be liable to be fined because they have it in their possession, and that they may be enabled to give notice to the inspector to have it taken away at an early opportunity at their expense.

Amendment moved, in Clause 47, page 27, lines 41 to 43, to leave out Subsection 7, and in page 28, line 3 to insert at end of Clause as a separate sub-section—

"Where a person has in his possession any article which is unsound or unwholesome, or

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unfit for the food of man, he may, by written notice to the Sanitary Authority, specifying such article, and containing a sufficient identification of it, request its removal, and the Sanitary Authority shall cause it to be removed as if it were trade refuse."—(*The Viscount Cross.*)

Amendment agreed to.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** The next Amendment I have to move is on page 30 to leave out Clause 55. The noble Earl opposite will remember that he raised a question as to the definition of dangerous and infectious diseases. The Department are perfectly willing to meet the objection of the noble Earl, and the way they propose to do it is this: To strike out Clause 55 and transpose the other clauses so as to come under the head of other infectious diseases.

Amendments agreed to, on page 30 to leave out Clause 55; on same page to transpose Clause 56 after Clause 80; on same page to transpose Clause 57 after Clause 71.—(*The Viscount Cross.*)

Clause 58.

Verbal Amendment made.

\***THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** With regard to the next Amendment in this Clause, to leave out from beginning of line 19 to "or" in line 21, I wish to say it appears to me—I may be wrong—that the effect of it is that a person who wilfully exposes himself in a public conveyance or enters a public conveyance without previous notice to the owner, will not be subject to a penalty. It certainly ought to be explained that if a man does it knowingly he will be subject to a penalty. It does not seem to me to be included in the re-enactment in the later clause.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** I think the noble Lord will find it in Clause 73 in the re-enactment.

\***THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** It is provided in Clause 73 that the owner or driver of a public conveyance should not knowingly convey a person suffering from an infectious disease, and so forth. The conveyance has to be disinfected, and he has to bear all the expenses of that disinfection; but that does not revive the penalty for entering the public conveyance.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** I would point out to the noble Earl the Amendment upon

Clause 73, that if a person so suffering is conveyed in a public conveyance the owner and driver of the conveyance should cause it to be disinfected, or, failing to do so, shall be liable to a fine—

"And the owner or driver of such conveyance should be entitled to recover in a summary manner from the person so conveyed by him, or by the person causing the person to be so conveyed."

**LORD HERSCHELL:** As the Bill at present stands there is a penalty on a person who wilfully and knowingly enters a public conveyance. This Amendment deals with a fine upon the owner and driver who conveys the person who wilfully and knowingly does it. For that he incurs a fine which, for some reason or other, it is now proposed to take out.

\***THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** Really the Amendment ought to commence at "and" in line 27. Perhaps the noble Viscount will consider it, and, if it is wrong, put it straight.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** Certainly.

Verbal Amendments made.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** There is an Amendment in page 39, line 16, to make the addition to the clause which I have mentioned.

Amendment moved, in Clause 73 page 39, line 16, at end of clause add—

("And if any person so suffering is conveyed in any public conveyance, the owner and driver thereof, as soon as it comes to his knowledge, shall cause such conveyance to be disinfected, and if he fails so to do, he shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds, and the owner or driver of such conveyance shall be entitled to recover in a summary manner from the person so conveyed by him, or from the person causing that person to be so conveyed, a sum sufficient to cover any loss and expense incurred by him in connection with such disinfection.")—(*The Viscount Cross.*)

Amendment agreed to.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** On Clause 110 I wish to point out that my right hon. Friend, the President of the Local Government Board has, since these Amendments have been placed on the paper, received communications in regard to placing the Sanitary Inspector on the same level as the Medical Officers of Health. So far as that matter is concerned, it was determined that we should take the opinion of your

Lordships with regard to striking out those words, which were introduced by Lord Fortescue in Standing Committee, as to placing the Sanitary Inspector on the same level as the Medical Officer.

Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> on Monday next; and to be printed as amended. (No. 255.)

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.  
(No. 240.)

REPORTS OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments reported (according to order).

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I would ask the noble Lord to be good enough to take the sub-sections of the new clause he proposes to bring up separately. It will greatly facilitate the discussion, I think, if he will be kind enough to do so.

\*LORD DE RAMSEY: It is rather difficult to follow the course which the noble Marquess suggests, because the whole object of this Amendment is to ask your Lordships to re-insert clauses which were agreed to in Committee of the whole House, but which have been struck out. However, I will, so far as possible, endeavour to meet the wishes of the noble Marquess. Clause 3, as it left this House in Committee, when it reached the Standing Committee was negatived by a small majority of two in a small Committee; and as it is a very essential point of this Bill, it is proposed to ask your Lordships to re-insert it. The main object of the Clause 3 was to transfer the sanitary inspection of workshops proper from the Factory Inspectors to the Sanitary Authority. A clause, I am told, has been inserted precisely the same in the Bill which your Lordships have just been engaged upon, the Public Health (London) Bill. The question that I have to ask your Lordships to decide, and the reason why I ask you to assent to this proposal, is chiefly, as I said in the Second Reading, on the ground of numbers. The number of workshops has immensely increased, and for the inspection of the whole of our factories, an immense number, we have only 54 Factory Inspectors. There are, it is supposed, between 100,000 and 200,000 workshops in the country, and there are 1,600 Inspectors in England alone for those workshops. Our proposal

is to allow the Factory Inspectors to enforce the regulations as to hours in these workshops as they have hitherto done, but we propose to put the sanitation of the workshops proper, with the other work to be undertaken by them, upon the Local Sanitary Authorities. The Government Inspectors, these 54 Inspectors in number, have ample work to do without looking after these 100,000 or 200,000 workshops. I know the objection raised to this clause was that it was supposed to be a retrograde policy, and going back from what was settled in the Act of 1878; but since that time the numbers of workshops have increased very largely, and also all our information goes to prove that the duties of the Local Sanitary Authorities are now carried out more efficiently than they used to be. I think I cannot put it upon stronger ground really than that question of numbers. It is impossible, without going to very large expense indeed, to increase the number of these Factory Inspectors to such an extent that they could efficiently inspect for the purpose of sanitation these countless workshops. Therefore, as this is a very essential point of the Bill, I ask your Lordships to assent to the proposal, which is virtually to re-instate Clause 3 as it left your Lordships House.

Amendment moved, in page 2 to insert as a new Clause after Clause 2:—

"(1.) Sections 3 and 33 of the Factories and Workshops Act, 1878 (which relate to cleanliness, ventilation, and overcrowding in, and limewashing of, factories and workshops) shall cease to apply to workshops.

(2.) For the purpose of their duties with respect to workshops (not being workshops to which the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, applies), a Sanitary Authority and their officers shall, without prejudice to their other powers have all such powers of entry, inspection, taking legal proceedings or otherwise, as an inspector under the principal Act.

(3.) If any child, young person, or woman, is employed in a workshop, and the medical officer of the Sanitary Authority becomes aware thereof, he shall forthwith give written notice thereof to the Factory Inspector of the district."—(*The Lord de Ramsey.*)

\*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I am sorry I cannot agree to the proposal of the noble Lord. This clause was fully considered in the Standing Committee, and it was rejected by 15 to 13 upon division. The noble Lord has given only one reason for taking this course

of reinstating the clause, and thereby removing from the Sanitary Inspectors their sanitary duties with regard to workshops. The fact, he says, is that there are not enough Factory Inspectors to do the work. My answer to that is, if there are not enough Factory Inspectors to do the work given to them, more ought to be appointed. This is deliberately going back upon the policy which was adopted by the noble Viscount, Lord Cross, when he brought in the Act of 1878. By that Act he gave these sanitary powers to Factory Inspectors. I have no doubt, considering his great knowledge of the subject, and the great care which he took with that Act, that he did so deliberately upon a conviction that they were proper persons to be entrusted with those duties. It is now proposed to upset that arrangement, and to return to the arrangement by which the sanitary inspection of workshops was left entirely in the hands of the ordinary Sanitary Inspectors. Your Lordships will remember that that sanitary inspection was established in 1875 by the Public Health Act. Therefore the noble Viscount opposite, when he brought in his Act of 1878, had all the facts before him. It was with the rules and regulations of the Public Health Act of 1875 within his knowledge that he deliberately determined to give these powers to the Factory Inspectors, and I can see no reason whatever for going back from the course which was then adopted with great advantage, as I believe. It is not a sufficient reason to say that the number of Factory Inspectors must be increased if they are to continue to be charged with sanitary duties. On general grounds I think the number ought to be increased, and the House ought not to go back from the policy adopted in 1878 by the Government which introduced the Act which the present Bill proposes to amend. But if the noble Lord is so much afraid of the Factory Inspectors being overworked in consequence of retaining the clause conferring upon them duties as to Sanitary Inspection, I would say that I have not the least objection, and I would offer no opposition to the last two sub-sections of this clause. If those two sub-sections be adopted, that will give to the Sanitary Inspectors a concurrent right of inspection with

*The Marquess of Ripon*

the Factory Inspectors, but it will retain the power of the Factory Inspectors, so that while they probably need not inspect with a view to sanitary matters as frequently as they now do, they will have power to inspect if they like, and I confess I for one have much greater confidence in the Factory Inspectors in these matters than I have in the local Sanitary Inspectors. If those two Sub-sections 2 and 3 be retained, there will be a concurrent inspection between the Sanitary Inspectors and the Factory Inspectors; but I earnestly hope your Lordships will not reverse the decision of the Standing Committee which was arrived at after very considerable discussion, and that you will preserve to the Factory Inspectors the powers which were given to them in 1878 by the Bill of my noble Friend, Viscount Cross. I therefore move that this Amendment be amended by leaving out the 1st Sub-section.

Amendment moved to amend the said proposed new Clause by leaving out Sub-section (1.)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, in a discussion of this kind it is always desirable to get as quickly as possible to the heart of the question. There is a good deal in the speech of the noble Marquess which I may put aside as useless—decorous, but very ordinary Parliamentary form; for instance, urging your Lordships not to reverse the decision of the Standing Committee. In the Standing Committee I believe this was carried by a strictly Party vote.

\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: No.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: At all events, it was carried by a majority of 15 to 13, therefore, I cannot say the authority of that vote is overwhelming. Then the noble Marquess points to the great experience and knowledge of my noble Friend, Lord Cross, and invites us to adhere to the decision at which Lord Cross arrived in 1875. I am the last person to derogate from the tribute which the noble Marquess has laid at the feet of Lord Cross, but of course some time has passed since 1875. A good deal of experience has been gained, conditions have shifted; the number of workshops has increased, and upon the

experience of the Home Office, with all the facts before it, Her Majesty's Government, acting upon the recommendation of the Home Office, has taken the opposite view. Therefore, I think we may set that tribute to Lord Cross aside as not bearing very much upon the question. I think the other ground that the noble Marquess advanced was, that we must not deliberately undo the policy which was deliberately adopted in 1878. To that I can only say that we pass our lives in deliberately undoing what some Parliament did before us, and that if we laid down that we are not deliberately to undo a decision to which a previous Parliament has come, we should attain to what might be a very happy result, that is to say we should cease from our labours altogether. No, my Lords; the real gist of the noble Lord's argument was that he does not trust the Sanitary Inspectors, because he has so framed his Amendment as to bring that feeling out. He does not propose to relieve the Sanitary Inspectors of that duty, and he does not trust the Factory Inspectors to perform duties where they do not exist in sufficient numbers to carry out. It is, in fact, the Japanese proposal which my noble Friend mentioned the other night—always to have one man to watch another man and see that he is doing his duty. I should wait for some ground upon which to attack the Sanitary Inspectors before condemning them. As far as information has reached me, I believe them to be a very valuable and efficient body of men who perform their duties with great skill, and I should be very sorry to cast any slur upon them. I certainly would not, for the sake of correcting a wholly imaginary weakness of efficiency in the Sanitary Inspectors, embark on an enormous expenditure, as the noble Marquess requires us to do, in order to give effect to his suspicions or his apprehensions, for the enormous multiplication of these Factory Inspectors would be a very expensive luxury. The nation is teeming with inspectors of various kinds; they are positively over-running the land. I have no doubt they have done an enormous deal of good; still we are rapidly reaching the condition of things in which there will be more people to inspect than people to be inspected; and I must plead for the Chancellor of

the Exchequer. This is really a proposal for an enormous additional expense. It will, I believe, not add to the efficiency of the Bill. It will in a great many respects dislocate the Bill. It will require the alteration of that Bill which my noble Friend Viscount Cross has just passed through the House, and it will do this merely to satisfy wholly imaginary suspicions and an estimate of the merits of Sanitary Inspectors which is not justified by experience. On these grounds I think your Lordships will do wisely, in spite of the overwhelming authority of a 15 to 13 majority in the Standing Committee, to restore the Bill to the condition in which it left this House.

\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I do not desire to say anything with regard to this having been a Party vote except this. I have not the slightest desire to put the matter on any invidious ground of any kind; but, as far as I am concerned, I was not in the least conscious of anything of the kind in voting upon this matter, and my friends, as the noble Marquess knows, are not very numerous. But what I wish is that this Amendment should be considered solely upon practical grounds. In the first place, I take a rather narrower view of the matter than my noble Friend. I agree with the noble Marquess in not desiring a large addition to the number of the Factory Inspectors. I quite agree with him upon that point; but the reason I think this Amendment is amended by the proposal of my noble Friend the Marquess of Ripon is this. I am bound to explain that my vote was given under a misapprehension, because I thought we were voting only upon the second and third sub-sections. Let me point out my reasons. The Factory Inspectors will retain all their powers as regards workshops, with the exception of these particular powers as to sanitation, ventilation, cleanliness, overcrowding, and lime-washing. Just observe what the practical effect will be if this Amendment passes as proposed. A Factory Inspector will go, in pursuance of his duties, to a workshop. He will find that the ventilation, cleanliness, and lime-washing are extremely defective, and instead of being able himself at once to give the necessary orders for remedying

these defects he will have to give notice to the Sanitary Inspector, who will then have to go to the workshop, and will be expected to put the law in force. What I desire is not that the Factory Inspector should exercise these powers and discharge these duties habitually, but that the powers should be retained, so that they can be exercised if it be necessary to do so. The noble Marquess has made remarks upon the performance of their duties by the Sanitary Inspectors. If he will pardon me for saying it, he cannot, I think, have had any practical experience of the work of Sanitary Inspectors. There are, in fact, Sanitary Inspectors and Sanitary Inspectors; some of them are very efficient; some of them are very inefficient. But there is something more than that. The Sanitary Inspectors are servants of certain bodies which are largely composed and conducted by the very men whose workshops have to be inspected, and everyone knows that Sanitary Inspectors are very often afraid to discharge their duties. Therefore this great eulogy on Sanitary Inspectors, I can assure the noble Marquess, is not founded on fact. At the same time, I recognise the necessity of securing the services of Sanitary Inspectors for the purposes of this Bill. I agree with him that it would be quite impossible to multiply them for the purpose of performing all the duties they are now to discharge; and all I plead for is that we should not take away from the Factory Inspectors the powers which they now possess, and which I believe they may occasionally exercise with great advantage; and to interfere with them appears to me to be an unnecessary piece of obstruction and red-tape.

\***LORD DE RAMSEY:** My Lords, I want to say one word upon the Amendment moved by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Ripon), and also to try and prove to your Lordships that the noble Earl who has just spoken is under a misapprehension as regards the powers of the Factory Inspectors under this Bill. If he will refer to Clause 2 he will see that when a Factory Inspector goes into a workshop to enforce the hours as it is his duty to do he also has the power if he sees anything wrong in the matter of sanitation to give information to the Local Authority at once. Then, after

*Kimberley*

that, if the Local Authority fails to act, the Secretary of State has power, by Clause 1, at once to take that particular trade, or district, or factory, or workshop, into his own hands for any period, say one or two years, if he thinks necessary. To that extent with regard to sanitation the Factory Inspectors have still their eyes open in workshops. They are bound to go there for the enforcement of the law as to hours, and if they see that the sanitation is wrong they are bound to report.

On Question, whether sub-section (1) shall stand part of the proposed new clause, their Lordships divided:—Contents 69; Not Contents 29.

Clause agreed to.

\***LORD THRING:** My Lords, a very few words indeed will be required, I trust, to enable your Lordships to understand the Amendment which I move, and to assent to it. The object of the Amendment is to give County Councils power to remedy any defects which may arise in the course of the performance of the duties of subordinate Sanitary Authorities. It is framed on the pattern of the clause introduced in the London Bill, and I am quite satisfied that if it is wanted in London it is tenfold more wanted in the country. I do not intend to throw any slur, as the noble Marquess has said, upon the Sanitary Authorities. I do not deny there are many efficient Sanitary Authorities, but what did we find in the Sweating Committee? I will just read your Lordships a few lines of description of one of those dens which had not been removed by the sanitary authorities. This is the evidence of the condition of one of the places where the tailoresses work:—

"There were a few gas-jets flaring in the room, coke for firing burning in a wretched fireplace, the sinks untrapped, the closets without water, and altogether the sanitary conditions abominable."

Then in another room described here, this was the kind of sanitation:—

"It was a room 9 feet by 15; a man and his wife and six children lived there, and there worked in the room during the daytime 10 men."

That was one of the wretched urban plague-spots. Then we come to Cradley Heath. What was the report there?

There they threw their slops into the street. That water went into the wells, and they drank it; and as the doctor who gave evidence about it naively remarked, there was a great deal more typhoid fever than there ought to be in the place. I will not trouble your Lordships with more instances. The evidence before the Sweating Committee teemed with them. The sanitary conditions were found to be abominable, and one thing in which we thought a practical improvement might be made was in sanitary inspection. What have the Government done? They may have saved money. I daresay they have. But they have undoubtedly weakened beyond all measure the sanitary law. What is the course I propose to your Lordships? I do not ask for any money; I do not ask even for an increase of inspectors; I simply ask this, that when a Sanitary Authority has failed to perform its duty in any place, the County Council should have power to perform it. Then the Government has taken great credit for the Local Government Bill. I admit that the powers of Local government have been vastly increased by it. What have they done there? They have given the general superintendence to the medical officer; and all this Amendment asks is that the medical officers should have power to enforce the sanitary law if the Local Authorities do not enforce it. I say, if you disregard this clause, you do not give the country what the Government has given in the London Bill. You disregard all the recommendations of the Sweating Committee, to which the noble Marquess has paid so many compliments, but whose recommendations so little has been done to carry out. You have disregarded altogether the evidence—and there is page after page of it—of the miserable state of the workshops throughout the country. And why should you disregard it? The County Councils have ample power to do it, and they are the proper power to do it. I ask for this clause in the name of justice; and I say you ought to give it, in order to provide in some measure for the comfort and convenience, and for some measure of decency, in the case of the poor tailoresses working in such a den as I have described to your Lordships, for the chainmakers of Cradley Heath, and

many other helpless workers throughout the country.

Moved, to insert after Clause 4—

"If it is proved to the satisfaction of the County Council of any county, except the County of London, that any Sanitary Authority within their jurisdiction, other than a municipal borough, has made default in doing their duty with respect to the inspection of workshops or workplaces, and the enforcement of the law relating to public health as to drains, cleanliness, ventilation, overcrowding, or limewashing, in such workshops and workplaces, the County Council may do any act or institute any proceeding which the Sanitary Authority in default might have done or instituted for the purpose of remedying the default of the Sanitary Authority, and shall be entitled to recover from such Sanitary Authority all such expenses in or about such act or proceedings as the County Council may have incurred, and are not recovered from any other person, and have not been incurred in any unnecessary proceeding. The County Council may appoint an inspector or inspectors for the purpose of assisting the county medical officer in the discharge of his duty under this section. The county medical officer, or any inspector appointed by the County Council to assist the medical officer, shall have the same powers of entering and inspecting a workshop or workplace within the county as the inspector of the Sanitary Authority has of entering and inspecting the workshops or workplaces within his jurisdiction. Any expenses incurred by the County Council in pursuance of this section shall be deemed to be general expenses incurred by them in performance of their duties. —(*The Lord Thring.*)

\***LORD DE RAMSEY:** My Lords, the noble Lord who has just spoken, is hardly just to the Government, when he says that little attention has been paid to the recommendations of the Sweating Committee. If he will take the report of the Sweating Committee and their recommendations, and compare them with the provisions in the Bill, he will see that some of those recommendations have been either totally agreed with or largely adopted. This is only a trifling proposal to interfere with the government of 1,300 areas! The noble Lord has left out of his proposal two authorities, which he has previously tried to include, and I fail to understand why he should fix upon the rural districts for his proposal, and desire to experiment upon them, when he leaves the county boroughs and the non-county boroughs out. It has as yet to be proved that the rural districts require the fatherly care, which the noble Lord does not propose

Prosecutor did not press the charge against him, and he got off with a nominal sentence. I say that this system of private prosecutions leads to great abuses. Public frauds have a tendency to discourage thrift, and thrift very much wants encouragement in this country. How is it that England is not so rich and prosperous in regard to small investments as France and other countries? The reason is that we have not here, as France, Germany, America, and Switzerland have done, encouraged the system of small investments. Our laws are unequal: they enable a rich man to obtain justice, but they deny it to the poor man. In France, in America, and in our Dependencies the small investor flourishes, but in England we do our best to discourage him by not instituting public prosecutors against offenders who commit frauds upon these investors. I beg to move the reduction of Item H of the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item H, Salaries, be reduced by £1,000, part of the Salary of the Public Prosecutor."—(*Sir G. Campbell.*)

\*(5.54.) MR. MATTHEWS: I hope the hon. Member will not think me discourteous if I decline to follow him into the details of the cases he has referred to. If he had pointed out any misconduct on the part of the Director of Public Prosecutions, I should have been prepared to defend an officer who has discharged his duty with rare zeal and ability. The system of private prosecution does not come within this Vote, and I decline, therefore, to enter into a discussion as to whether the English system of leaving persons aggrieved to prosecute is inferior to that of other countries. The single matter in which the remarks of the hon. Gentleman were relevant is the question of whether it ought to be part of the duty of the Director of Public Prosecutions to prosecute the promoters of fraudulent public companies. Public frauds always have been and are still prosecuted by that official, but the sort of frauds which are not so prosecuted are those in which a set of rogues and knaves put forward a number of false and fraudulent state-

*Sir G. Campbell*

ments, whilst other people who desire to get large interest join in the scheme, and when they lose their money, come shrieking to the Director of Public Prosecutions to get their money back. I do not agree that the Director of Public Prosecutions ought to be required to spend large sums of money in prosecuting cases of that sort. As to Cloëte's case, the learned Judge before whom it was to be tried had all the depositions before him, and he came to the conclusion that it was not clear any offence had been committed. I take leave to say, on behalf of an officer for whom I am responsible in this House, that he has always discharged his duty with uncommon zeal and industry, and that he deserves the commendation of the House rather than a reduction in his salary.

\*SIR G. CAMPBELL: We have just listened to a piece of special pleading on behalf of the present system, and that is just what I expected. I made no charge against the Public Prosecutor. I have no doubt he does his duty excellently well. What I have raised was the question of the desirability of his prosecuting in cases of company frauds. This, I complain, he does not now do.

(6.0.) MR. T. M. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary made a remark which was as much calculated to do mischief as anything I have ever heard. I gathered that what he said was to the effect that the persons who lost their money in public companies were those who tried to get large interest for it, and were no more to be pitied than the directors and promoters who took their money. I do not think a more unfortunate observation was ever dropped by a Minister, and I hope some Member of the Government will rise to correct it. The country is at this moment smarting under a number of public company blisters, and nothing could be more regrettable than the making of such an observation at this moment. It gives public company promoters to understand that, no matter what they do, they are not to be kept in check by the Public Prosecutor. No

and, of course, he knows nothing of the subject to which this clause refers; so I suppose it was drawn up by a married Committee of the Cabinet, that they compared their own domestic experiences, and that they struck a happy mean of convalescence at four weeks from the cases which have come under their notice. But what may suit Cabinets does not suit the great mass of the women of this country. As I have said, they protest against this legislation—at least, those in whose names I speak, and with whom I have been brought into contact. I asked my own London doctor, who has worked in the country, what he thought of this question, and he said—

"I only know this, that in the country it is very different from what it is in the Metropolis. I know I once confined a woman at 11 o'clock at night, and next day she was at work between 10 and 11 in the morning; I found her washing her clothes outside her house."

I have here a letter from a lady who knows thoroughly the state and condition of things among the working class women, Miss Lupton, the Secretary to the Laundry Women's Co-operative Association. She writes to me—

"Neighbours generally look after a woman for about two days; at the end of three days she is generally to be found doing her domestic work, cooking, and looking after her children, and sending them to school. If it is a hard case and workhouse relief is called in, it is given grudgingly for a week, and the Lying-in Hospitals keep a woman a fortnight."

That, my Lords, is underlined twice.

"What is to happen if these women, who are mostly bread-winners, are prevented from working for a month God alone knows, I don't know."

I have consulted a very distinguished lady physician, and she said to me—

"I can only tell you my experience is this, that I always go to my ordinary work one fortnight after the birth of my children."

Thus I venture to think this provision which may suit many is not necessary for the mass of the working women of this country. But the objections to it are more than this. It is objected to as needlessly interfering with the rights of full grown women to dispose of their labour; and, further, I would point out that it is impossible to carry out such a provision, and it shows the folly of the State attempting what is beyond its power. You provide that no woman who has been regularly confined shall be at work within less than four weeks

afterwards; but there are accidents in married life—no provision whatever is made for such cases—which require even greater care and rest, and there would thus be an absolute miscarriage of your humanitarianism in dealing with this question. That is the fact so far, but there are other grounds. If you legislate on this line you will have to go a great deal further. You will prevent a woman after her confinement following her legitimate occupation and earning wages from being employed until four weeks have elapsed, but you could not with all the Inspectors which my noble Friend would wish to impose upon this country, with all their aid and multiplying them by a hundred, you could not prevent women under those circumstances taking odd jobs which would probably be much harder work for them than that which they would otherwise be doing. In France the same sort of thing has been tried, and a French cousin of mine who was over here the other day was laughing at the whole thing. He told me that the latest proposal there was that every woman should be shut up for her confinement for a month, but that the women themselves had risen up against such a proceeding, for they said they knew, if they went away from home for a month, they would find some other woman in the house in their place when they returned; so that that proposal I think is likely to fall through. What does this Clause do? It takes away literally 1-12th of a woman's earnings in the year. I believe if some of the right rev. Prelates had their way they would prevent women working for a month before as well as a month after their confinement; and in that case one-sixth of the earnings of these poor women would be taken away. If that be so, how are these poor women to be compensated? Is that wretched, unhappy beast of burden, the ratepayer to have this additional burden put upon him? Are wages to be found for these women while you do not allow them to earn any themselves? But there is a very serious aspect to this question, and that is its moral aspect. I suppose the right rev. Prelates have paid very little attention to this, but there are such occurrences as children not born in wedlock, where there is no bread-winner to



help the woman when she is debarred by the laws of this country, if this measure passes, from working for her livelihood. What is to become of those poor women? The tendency of this legislation is threefold in such cases; it will tend to promote abortion; it will tend to encourage concealment; and in some cases, as these women write to me and say, it will necessitate prostitution in order that they may live. These are considerations which I respectfully submit to your Lordships, and I ask you to allow me to read a few extracts, which will be far more powerful than any words of mine, from letters which I have received on the subject. I have received letters from the Secretaries of the Tailoresses' Association, of the Bookbinders' Association, of the Upholsterers' Association, and of the Shirt and Collar Makers' Association. Those are all women who are associated for their trade purposes, and, if your Lordships will allow me to quote from their letters, this is what they say. I will take the Shirt and Collar Makers. The letter is very short, and the Secretary addressing me says she is sure that I will do my best.

"To prevent Clause 16 of the Factories Act becoming law, as it will interfere with the women of my trade, many of whom do not come back at the end of three weeks unless they are obliged to by need of bread. No woman of my trade would think of coming back unless she was fit to do so. I strongly object to the law interfering with matters of this sort. Women can be trusted to take care of themselves. The clause does not seem to realise that there are unfortunate women without husbands who are very glad to go to work at the very earliest time, so as to help to keep their child and keep out of the lowest depths of degradation."

I shall not trouble your Lordships with other letters of the same kind from persons of the same class, but I have here letters to which I earnestly call your Lordships' attention. One is a letter from Mrs. Fawcett, another is a letter from Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., and I have also two letters from Lady Goldsmith, who is the head of the Women's Employment Society. What says Mrs. Fawcett, a name never to be mentioned in either House of Parliament without honour. She says—

"Dear Lord Wemyss, I was very thankful to hear you were going to oppose the clause in the new Factory Bill, prohibiting the labour of  
*Earl Wemyss*

women for 4 weeks after childbirth. It appears to me such a provision would be either a dead letter, or in the hands of an employer a means of inquisitorial tyranny and annoyance. No Government can provide for the well being of mothers before and after childbirth, and it is playing with the subject to pretend to do so. These matters must rest, as it seems to us, in the good sense and good feeling and financial necessities of the principal party concerned. The clause, unless it becomes a dead letter, might press very injuriously on widows, deserted wives, and unmarried mothers. Take the case of an unmarried mother earning her living in a factory. The most extensive provision the law procures her from the father of her child is 6s. a week, and if the law provides nothing else for her she must work. If it is claimed that in these circumstances the mother and child can receive comfortable maintenance out of the rates, some of the worst evils of the old Poor Law will be revived. If honest work is denied her, the chances are she will be forced into a lower depth of evil than any into which she has already sunk. Her inducement to conceal the birth of her child, already very strong, will be reinforced, and I earnestly hope you will be successful in endeavouring to oppose this clause."

Then Mrs. Dr. Garrett Anderson comes next. What does she say? I have already told your Lordships of one medical lady who informs me she goes to work within 14 days after her confinement. Mrs. Garrett Anderson says—

"So far as I am able to judge, the clause is quite unnecessary, and I believe it would do far more harm than good. Many women who work hard all their lives are quite able to work in less than a month after their confinement, and whether they are or not, they ought to be left entirely to decide for themselves. If legislation is wanted on such a point, why not extend it to the other conditions of health."

And that is where legislation of this sort breaks down—

"It might with as much sense be made illegal to work within a given time after any other form of illness."

I have two other important letters one is from the Honorary Secretary of the Women's Employment Society, Miss Heather Bigg, of which Lady Goldsmith is the head, and it is much to the same effect as the others. Those ladies clearly perceive one cause for the demand for this kind of legislation, namely, the desire of the Trade Unions to keep women from competing with their members. In this letter Miss Bigg says—

"Several representative working women with whom I have talked on the subject, assure me that in our country there is no general need for such a provision. It is the grossest libel upon the English working man to assert that he is in

the habit of forcing his wife to return to work before she is fit for it. . . . With regard to the enforcement of the contemplated law, this would be difficult, if not impossible. In Austria a similar prohibition of women's work after confinement is supposed to be in force, but it appears from the Report of the Inspector of Industries there (1888) that the Law is very generally infringed. The mere attempt to enforce such a law, however, would be productive of hardship. . . . Clause 16 embodies one of the recommendations of the Berlin Labour Conference, but it also embodies a pernicious tendency to make concern for women's health a plea for driving them out of the labour market."

Do not forget that my Lords. This, however, is more plainly referred to in the last letter which I think it necessary to read to your Lordships. Lady Goldsmid writes to the effect that there may be surprise felt why there has not been a move made in this matter before, but they could not believe there was such a provision in an English Parliamentary measure until a few days ago. I may say that I did not myself know it. Lady Goldsmid says—

"I have only just heard that in the new Factories Bill there is a clause to forbid employers employing a woman until four weeks after she has given birth to a child."

The whole story is told very briefly on one sheet of notepaper. Lady Goldsmid says—

"For three different reasons the provision seems to me to be mischievous and undesirable. First, the State interference with adult women, depriving them of individuality and responsibility and keeping them as perpetual minors."

That is the first thing—

"Next, the condition of women after childbirth varies in almost every case, one being at the end of a fortnight like another at the end of four weeks."

I have given you authority for that—

"Thirdly, the pressure upon women who have to gain their livelihood is so great in many cases that if the law forbade their returning to their accustomed employment for so long, they would be driven to other work no less and perhaps more onerous. This is not an ideal state of things, but it is a fact, and it is to be deplored that the State should step in to put additional fetters on women, who might now reasonably hope for the removal of those which they have long endured and found to be a burden. I am referring to impediments in some branches of work, some of which have not been removed."

Now mark what follows, my Lords, I pray you, for this is at the bottom of the agitation of Members of Parliament and others in dealing with this matter as they are now trying to do. Here is

Lady Goldsmid's view of the motive power of all this. She says—

"All the agitation which has been going on this Session to restrict women's work has been mainly caused by men, Trade Unionists, for their own interests, and against those of the women."

I have nothing more to add, save to apologise to your Lordships for taking up so much of your time. This subject is one of great importance, and I hope in dealing with so very difficult and delicate a matter I have not given offence to the ears of any of your Lordships. All I would say in conclusion is, that in speaking last Wednesday week at St. James's Hall, to an admiring and applauding audience, the Prime Minister said there was

"a great tendency to come to the State for everything at the present day, but that, after all, with all the goodwill in the world, there was little the State could and ought to do."

All I hope is that when listening to these letters which I have read the noble Marquess and your Lordships may come to the conclusion that this 16th clause is one of those matters which Parliament had better leave alone, and which if it interferes with, it will fail to deal with satisfactorily, and I beg to move the omission of this clause.

Amendment moved, to leave out Clause 16.—(*The Lord Wemyss*.)

\***LORD DE RAMSEY**: My Lords, it is hardly advisable to allow this clause to be omitted. It was a suggestion of the Berlin Conference, and has been for good reasons inserted in this Bill. Of course, your Lordships will decide whether it is advisable or not to endeavour to prevent a woman for a month after childbirth doing work. The opinion is that it is advisable not only for her own sake, but also possibly for the sake of those yet unborn. There is no doubt it may be difficult to enforce thoroughly and strictly the proposal here made. I think it was made a chief point in the other House that the time before childbirth as well as after should be taken into account. That is hardly practicable, but if your Lordships think this is practicable I hope you will allow it to remain.

**THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY**: My Lords, I wish to give full consideration to anything that is said by my noble Friend, and especially by the very distinguished

persons whose letters he quoted, but I missed from the noble Lord's speech any allusion to the frightful evils which are inflicted upon women who are forced to go to their work before they are fit for doing it upon these occasions. But the noble Lord spoke of the right of women to settle the matter for themselves. Of course he has a perfect right to go against the whole principle of our factory legislation if he chooses, but that is the principle of our factory legislation. The principle is that we should take care of those who, for some reason or other are subject to other people and are not able to take care of themselves. Our factory legislation does not profess to take care of adult men, but of women and children. It has from its first inception taken care of them on the ground that they are liable to be forced to do that which is inconsistent with their health and well-being by those who are stronger than themselves. There is another consideration which my noble Friend did not notice, but which, I think, is of great importance. I think it is of great importance to protect these women themselves from the terrible evils which result from over exertion under these circumstances; but there is another reason why we should interfere for their protection and prevent them being forced to go to work too soon: that is, that the child suffers. The child is no longer properly nourished, and that is inflicting very serious injury on a being whom we are bound to protect. Of course, a great injury may be done at that time which is liable to end in the child growing up a stunted, dwarfed, unhealthy man. If my noble and learned Friend's memory can carry him back to the fearful revelations which were made of the condition of the population before the Factory Acts were passed, he will, I think, realise that we are bound to take care of the life of immature boys and girls who cannot take care of themselves, and whose health is valuable, not only to themselves, but also to their countrymen, because they constitute the mass of the population. There is a great deal to be said in these matters. This may not be a precise limit; but, on the whole, the evil is so great that, although it may not be perfectly logical, although it may occasionally preclude women who are strong

*The Marquess of Salisbury*

enough to work from working at too early a period on these occasions, I still think, as at present advised, your Lordships' House would be unwise to reject this clause.

\*EARL WEMYSS: I would like to ask the noble Lord a question, but before doing so, I would say a word on the point he has raised, with regard to women being forced to do that which would be bad for them; but this Bill does not prevent this. No doubt a brutal husband cannot send his wife to employment under this clause within a month after childbirth to a factory, but he can force her to take any scrap work he can find for her to do, which may be much harder than her ordinary work. It defeats itself. Then there is another point—this Berlin Conference; it is apparently a millstone which is to be hung about the neck of our social legislation. We are told we must do this on account of the recommendations of the Berlin Conference.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I did not make any such suggestion. I did not raise that point at all.

\*EARL WEMYSS: I beg pardon, it was said by Lord de Ramsey, I think, who is in charge of the Bill, and it is said also outside. I have read it from these letters. I have no wish to press this matter to a Division if that can be avoided, but I have felt bound, acting for these ladies, to bring the matter to an issue as favourable to them as I can. I would ask is there any likelihood of my noble Friend, before the Third Reading, re-considering his view and allowing this clause to be omitted in accordance with my Amendment?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Of course I never refuse to consider the arguments of noble Lords, and I will speak to the Home Secretary upon the matter which has been brought forward by the noble Earl, but I confess that, as at present advised, the arguments to my mind are very strong in favour of retaining the clause.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Does the noble Lord wish to divide the House?

\*EARL WEMYSS: I divide simply in protest.

On Question whether the clause shall stand part of the Bill, their Lordships divided:—Contents 81; Not-Contents 24.

\***LORD DE RAMSEY:** I have an Amendment now in Clause 26, page 10, line 29, to insert "every contractor employed by any such occupier." This is in conjunction with another Amendment, inserted to meet the wishes of many noble Lords who have been anxious to extend the powers of making it compulsory, as far as possible, to include the middleman and those whom he employs in the service of the factory or workshop. The noble Lord, Lord Sandhurst, moved an Amendment which carried out exactly the same good object, but there was something to which exception was taken in the wording of his Amendment. I hope he will think the Amendment I propose now carries out the object he has had so much at heart, in reducing the evils of sweating. I hope your Lordships will accept the Amendment.

Amendment moved, in Clause 26, page 10, line 29, after "therein" to insert "and every contractor employed by any such occupier."—(*The Lord de Ramsey.*)

**LORD SANDHURST:** I am very much obliged to the noble Lord for the way in which I have been met by him on behalf of the Government. I think it will furnish a plan by which we may get at the information the Inspectors so much desire; and it will be done, I think, without interfering with the privacy of the domestic workshops. I do not suppose, of course, for one moment, that it will abolish sweating, but still it will bring within the reach of Inspectors that information as to the whereabouts of the very worst class of sweating dens which is so much required. I think it is very desirable they should be got at if possible.

\***LORD DORMER:** My Lords, before this Motion is put I should like to ask the noble Lord in charge of the Bill whether the power granted to the Home Office to appoint sub-Inspectors is to be exercised, and if it is, whether the Home Office is prepared to appoint female sub-Inspectors. It is not suggested that these Inspectors should visit or inspect machinery, nor, if there is any objection to it, that they should visit factories and workshops in the slums of Shoreditch or Whitechapel, or places of that sort; but that they should visit workshops

and factories in the great centres of our industry in which hundreds of women are often employed in one factory. Since this Bill was before your Lordships in Committee my noble Friend Lord Leigh has received a letter, which I have seen, from a large employer in my neighbourhood. The letter itself has been handed to the noble Lord in charge of the Bill, and I can only speak from recollection. This gentleman tells us he has 250 women and more employed in his works in Staffordshire, and he would be very glad if women Inspectors were appointed. The women would themselves take it as a great boon, because they feel that they could more easily and with greater freedom answer questions on sanitary subjects, and on the arrangements made for their comfort if the questions were put by a female Inspector. I have heard it said that women would not like, or be qualified, to undertake this work, but I would refer to those who have passed their examinations and received their diplomas in medicine, and I assure your Lordships there are many ladies who would make admirable officials and Inspectors. I hope the noble Lord will be able to tell us that the Home Office will be prepared to appoint at least, as an experiment, three or four of these female Inspectors; and from what we have heard to-night of the overwork of the Factory Inspectors, and the small number of them, I hope this will be agreed to.

\***LORD DE RAMSEY:** My Lords, as regards the female Inspectors, the Secretary of State has the power now of appointing them if he thinks fit. The second question that the noble Lord asked is, "Has that power ever been exercised?" To the best of my belief it has not. Thirdly, he asks, "Is the Home Office prepared to appoint one or two as an experiment?" There would be some difficulty in having a joint inspection carried out between male and female Inspectors in factories. A joint inspection, or dual control of that kind might be disadvantageous, but I am not at all prepared to say in places where women only are employed a female Inspector might not be of advantage. The noble Lord will not, of course, expect a definite declaration of any sort from me on this subject; but I would wish, repre-

senting the Secretary of State, to speak to some extent sympathetically of the object which the noble Lord opposite and other Lords have in this matter. I understand their wishes would be met if even one female Inspector were appointed as an experiment; and I can only say the matter is receiving the best attention from the Secretary of State, and that if it is feasible and possible he will exercise his power.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill to be read 3<sup>d</sup> to-morrow; and to be printed, as amended. [No. 257.]

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

(No. 244.)

##### REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments reported (according to order).

\***LORD SANDFORD**: My Lords, the Amendment which stands in my name on page 2, line 13, is very simple. It is intended to prevent the unnecessary multiplication of Parliamentary Papers. As the clause stands, a separate Report of all these cases must be made each year; and I propose that they should be done in the Annual Report to Her Majesty, which, as a matter of course, is presented to both Houses.

Amendment moved, in Clause 4, Sub-section 2, page 2, line 31, to leave out ("report annually to Parliament.") and insert ("publish in their annual Report a list of.")—(*The Lord Sandford.*)

\***THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL** (**Viscount CRANBROOK**): I think the object of the noble Lord is really met by the clause as it stands. The Department is not likely to cease to make Annual Reports, and the clause as it is seems to me framed in the best way to carry out all the noble Lord's wishes. I do not wish to alter the clause unnecessarily, and the words really seem to me to carry out the object he has in view.

\***LORD SANDFORD**: The words in the clause, as I understand them, require a separate Report to be made in these cases, and that is the very thing I wish to avoid.

\***VISCOUNT CRANBROOK**: I do not agree with this, and I do not wish to alter the Bill in regard to something  
*Lord de Ramsey*

which I do not think really adds anything to it.

Amendment negatived.

\***LORD SANDFORD**: The second Amendment is somewhat different. I think the clause as it stands is based upon a false assumption. It is based upon the assumption that the object of this Bill is to provide as many free places as possible. Now, I think the intention of the Bill is that we should provide only as many free places as are necessary. The clause assumes you will provide as many as possible, because the Department is called upon to report the cases in which they have sanctioned the imposition of fees. The presumption, therefore, is that they are not to sanction the imposition of fees; but are to provide as many free places as possible. By the insertion of the words which I propose, "or refused" the Bill will be impartial, as these words will make it necessary for the Department to publish a Report of the cases, not only in which they have moved unduly in the direction of free education, but of the cases in which, though requested by the parents, as will often be the case, they have refused to sanction the imposition of fees which the parents are both able and willing to pay. I think it would be advisable that you should in this Bill put both the refusal and the sanction of fees upon the same equal and impartial footing.

Amendment moved, in Clause 4, page 2, line 32, after ("sanctioned") to insert ("or refused.")—(*The Lord Sandford.*)

\***VISCOUNT CRANBROOK**: I really do not see the necessity for putting this in, although I do not object to it. The list would be merely lengthened a little, and unless there is some objection made in other quarters I shall not object to putting in these words "or refused."

Amendment agreed to.

\***LORD SANDFORD**: My Lords, I am surprised that the words which I now move to leave out should have remained in the amended copy of the Bill. I am afraid it must have been from some stupidity or want of knowledge of the Forms of the House that I did not move their omission when the Bill was in Committee; but I understood they

had been agreed to be left out as a corollary to the similar Amendment made in the earlier part of the same clause.

Amendment moved, in Clause 4, Subsection 4, page 3, line 4, to leave out from ("or") to ("population") in line 6.—(*The Lord Sandford.*)

\***THE MARQUESS OF RIPON**: I really hope Her Majesty's Government will not agree to leave out these words. There was no mistake on the last occasion. We quite understood the noble Marquess opposite to say that he would consider this question, and that it would be discussed at this stage of the Bill.

\***VISCOUNT CRANBROOK**: No; on the contrary, I stated distinctly I accepted the Amendment, though I did not think it of importance. I do not know whether noble Lords understood it, but I accepted it openly in the House.

\***THE MARQUESS OF RIPON**: The first Amendment which was put in related to a different matter. This Amendment refers to the question whether the schools which are free are sufficient for the wants of the population. I confess I attach considerable importance to the words of this clause, because, to my mind, they have more than one meaning. My noble Friend (Lord Sandford) the other day, after I had ventured to say that the word "suitable" in the 8th section of the Elementary Education Act had always been regarded by Mr. Forster and myself as bearing some relation to the religious suitability of the school for the class of parents whose children were to frequent it, quoted to your Lordships a circular, which was issued some 20 years ago, at the time I was at the Council Office, in which that definition was not included. I thought my memory must have failed me in that matter, but I referred to the proceedings in the Commission which was presided over by my noble Friend opposite (Lord Cross) a few years ago, and in that Commission I found that this answer was given by the late Mr. Patrick Cumin, the very able Secretary to the Education Department. The noble Lord asked him this question: "You follow what Mr. Forster said in his speech, that he meant by 'efficient' good buildings and good teaching, and that by 'suitable' "

he meant suitable to the particular religious views of the parents of the children?" to which Mr. Patrick Cumin answered, "Yes, that is so." That may be in the recollection of my noble Friend (Lord Cross), because Mr. Patrick Cumin put a somewhat narrow interpretation upon the extent to which that phrase ought to go; and my noble Friend referred to the question afterwards in some further discussion, in which I confess I thought he had the better of Mr. Patrick Cumin. I am, therefore, entitled to say that the view originally taken of the word "suitable" embraced the suitability of the school in respect to the religious teaching there given, and that the religious atmosphere, as I may call it, was a matter to be considered at the time when you were dealing with the school supply of the district. It is not now a question of supply of schools, but it is a question of supply of free schools, and, therefore, I cannot abandon the view taken in 1870 with regard to the advisability of including in this case the word "suitable," or as it happens in this part of the clause the negative "unsuitable." But there may be other kinds of suitability, no doubt, and one of them is that you may have a large town district, and you may have your free schools all at one end of it, and your not-free schools at the other end of it. They may be just within the three-mile limit no doubt, but, at the same time, it would be only reasonable in a case of that kind that the free schools should be supplied within a proper distance of the home of the parents who require to use them. Under those circumstances, I should greatly regret to see these words left out. I do not think that their omission will facilitate the discussion of the Amendments in another place, because I am told that these words were deliberately accepted by the Government there. It was understood that they admitted them freely, and it will be regarded as a proceeding somewhat unusual if they are now, without some good reason assigned, omitted from the clause. Under those circumstances, I hope the noble Viscount will maintain the words as they stand.

\***VISCOUNT CRANBROOK**: In regard to admitting the Amendment, though I do not consider this a material Amend-

ment, still I do not think it is so material as to make me withdraw from what I said before; but I would just remark in regard to what the noble Marquess has said that under the Public Education Act of 1870 it was not a question of deficiency of free places, but of public elementary schools entirely. It is a public elementary school, when it has these conditions attached to it, as I mentioned before, that it has proper buildings, and that it is within a reasonable distance, and if it has a Conscience Clause it is a suitable school. Under the Elementary Education Act there were certain schools which practically made the question of suitability very important; for instance, there were places in which certified efficient schools, not public elementary, existed without any Conscience Clause at all, and therefore, if there was a population beyond that which used the school, no doubt there was reason for interfering. The noble Marquess shakes his head, but I have referred to the Statute, and have made inquiry, and I find that undoubtedly that was the case; you had to take into account the existing school accommodation, of whatever kind; and if it was accommodation without a Conscience Clause, no doubt there was then a ground for having a School Board and for having interference. In this case no such question arises; this clause deals entirely with public elementary schools, and does not enter into the question of suitable schools of any kind outside the elementary question. That being so, it is in accordance with the Elementary Act, a suitable school.

\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: There was a discussion the other night as to how these words "suitable" and "unsuitable" found their way into the original Bill. I have taken the trouble to inquire into the matter, and I find that neither of these words was in the Bill originally.

\*VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I believe that was so.

\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Both of these words were inserted as Amendments in the clause, and there is not the least doubt in the minds of those who have given me information on the subject that considerable importance was attached to these words. They were

*Viscount Cranbrook*

not in any way considered as the noble Viscount regards them—as of no consequence; and I have very little doubt that the noble Lord opposite sees that by getting rid of these words he is making a considerable change in the clause. The argument as to distance seems to me certainly to be one which ought to be considered. It is quite clear there may be such an arrangement of schools in the district that the provision of free accommodation may, although sufficient in point of numbers, be extremely unsuitable; and I know that for that reason, putting aside altogether the question of religious difficulty, the words are thought by many to be desirable. I do not think that the omission of "suitable" in the former part of the clause necessarily entails the omission of this word here. Although to a certain extent they are related they refer to different things. I do not feel quite so competent to give an opinion upon the religious difficulty as the noble Marquess; but looking to the great and serious difficulties, which have not diminished, with regard to the feelings and sentiments of people of various denominations in this country, I think myself it would be a pity that the requirement of suitability should not be retained, which might possibly enable the Education Department in some cases to mitigate those unfortunate dissensions which we do not desire to see.

\*THE BISHOP OF LONDON: I should like to point out that one of the arguments of the noble Lord in favour of retaining the word "suitable" is entirely met by the preceding words in the sub-section, because it says "in any school district or any part of a school district," and, therefore, it might very fairly come before the Education Department on the ground that here was a part of the school district which was not sufficiently supplied. I do not think that, using "suitability" in that sense, it is necessary to provide any further; but with regard to the other meaning of the word "unsuitable," I can only repeat what the Lord President has said about the words "suitable" and "unsuitable"—they have always, from 1870 downwards, referred to cases where there was no Conscience Clause, and every public and elementary school has always been dealt with in that way. The

reason for my pressing this is because the noble Marquess just now seemed to think the evidence given before the Commission, which I can remember, negatived this view. Now, although it is quite true that Mr. Patrick Coram expressed that view, yet he certainly maintained that public elementary schools were in all cases to be suitable.

Amendment agreed to.

\***LORD SANDFORD:** The next Amendment, in line 7, is to secure that an inquiry shall be public in cases where inquiry is necessary. In consulting the feeling of a district the inquiry should necessarily be public—that is to say, all persons interested should have notice and should be able to attend the inquiry if they please, and to hear what is said on the other side, as to supplying additional free accommodation. At present public inquiries are held in non-School Board districts, and by this Amendment I propose to secure that public inquiry should be held in any School Board district in which more free accommodation is proposed on the application of the same persons, or may call for such an inquiry in districts not under a School Board.

Moved, in Clause 4, page 3, line 7, after ("case") insert—

"Which inquiry shall, on the request of the same persons as are entitled under section nine of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to apply for a public inquiry, be a public inquiry if the district is under a school board."—(*The Lord Sandford.*)

\***VISCOUNT CRANBROOK:** I mentioned in Committee that I would consider this matter between then and now upon an Amendment which the noble Lord introduced. This has been submitted to the Parliamentary draughtsman, and it seems to be an efficient way of dealing with it; and I am quite ready to accept this Amendment as to public inquiry if noble Lords desire it.

\***THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** Is it quite clear that in non-School Board districts there is a public inquiry.

\***VISCOUNT CRANBROOK:** Yes.

Amendment agreed to.

\***THE BISHOP OF LONDON:** My Lords, in page 3, line 27, in the middle of the second paragraph of Clause 5, I propose to insert words in accordance with what I said when I moved an Amendment to

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this clause in Committee of the whole House. I moved an Amendment which would have left out from the beginning at the word "provided" down to Section 19 in that paragraph, and substituted for them power in any of these School Boards to associate themselves together and be treated by the Education Department as a single school. The objection was made by the Lord President that this would be practically unworkable. I did not see myself why it should be unworkable, but I undertook to endeavour to propose a different form of dealing with the matter, and what I propose now is to leave what has already been agreed to standing, and to insert words which will bring about in certain cases the result I have mentioned. Those words are to the effect that the managers of two or more public elementary schools may agree together, and may appoint a Committee and draw up a scheme, and that this scheme shall be submitted to the Education Department, and, if approved by them, those schools shall be treated as one school for such purposes as the scheme provides. I believe this cannot interfere with the principle of the Bill in the slightest degree, and I do not see that it will do anything to bring any greater expenditure upon the Government, nor will it in any way impede or retard the provisions for free education; but it will enable voluntary schools in a great many places to readjust their system in such a way that one school shall take one part in that system and another school may take another part. I do not know that anybody has any serious objection to that. I believe the words I have adopted have the approval of the Lord President of the Council, and I ask for their insertion.

Moved, in page 3, line 27, after ("section nineteen"), to add as a new paragraph—

("Where the managers of two or more public elementary schools in the same or neighbouring school districts, not being schools provided by a school board, agree to associate, and elect a committee for the schools in accordance with a scheme to be approved by the Education Department, the schools may be treated as one school for such of the purposes of the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1891, as may be mentioned in the scheme, and the committee may for such purposes be treated as the managers of the associated schools.")—(*The Bishop of London.*)

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\*VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: When we discussed this question the other day, the noble Lord opposite expressed a very general opinion that it was desirable, if possible, to group schools. I see no way of doing it except by asking for the confidence of the House—that they will trust the Education Department to frame rules for that purpose. It seems to me somewhat difficult to lay down schemes; but if you have sufficient confidence in us, I shall be happy to undertake to do it.

\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: It seems to me to be eminently a matter for the action of the Department, and I think it very desirable.

Amendment agreed to.

\*THE BISHOP OF LONDON: The next Amendment is that, where two or more schools are under the same managers, I propose to insert, in order to make it perfectly clear, the words "public elementary." It is necessary to insert those words in order to make it impossible that the managers should group with their own public elementary schools of a different character.

\*VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: Agreed.

Amendment agreed to.

\*THE BISHOP OF LONDON: The last Amendment I have to propose is in Clause 6. The clause appears to me to be very unjust, as I said the other day when I went to a Division on the point, and was defeated; but, at any rate, it seems to me the schools to be dealt with under this clause should be those schools which the Bill, as a whole, deals with, because the Bill, at the very beginning, limits its operations to schools that are not "evening schools"—"not being evening schools" is the expression used in line 12, page 1, and, in order to make the whole thing move *pari passu*, I think the same rule ought to be applied here, because it is obvious the voluntary schools could not bring in evening schools. They are not within the Bill, and are not assisted. I think we ought to extend it in this particular, when we do not extend it to those schools in other cases.

\*VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I am sorry I cannot accept this Amendment. It seems to me the evening schools are out of our purview, and the managers deal with those schools as they think proper. The voluntary schools have

full power, if they think proper, to make their evening schools free, and there is nothing to interfere with them. Take the case of Birmingham. Birmingham will gain very largely by the fee grants, having had low school fees. Therefore, if they think proper to employ some of the funds they will have in their hands for that purpose, they will be at liberty to do so.

Amendment (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> to-morrow; and to be printed as amended. (No. 257.)

#### TRUSTS AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND)

BILL.—(No. 245.)

Amendments reported (according to order): A further amendment made; and Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> to-morrow.

#### COUNTY COUNCILS (ELECTIONS) BILL.

(No. 248.)

Amendments reported (according to order); and the Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> to-morrow.

#### PENAL SERVITUDE BILL.—(No. 249.)

Amendment reported (according to order): Further amendments made; and Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> to-morrow.

#### MARKETS AND FAIRS (WEIGHING OF CATTLE) BILL.—(No. 243.)

##### REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments reported (according to Order).

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN): My Lords, in moving that this Report be now received, I wish to ask your Lordships to be good enough to allow me to move an Amendment, although I have not been able to give notice of it. The Amendment is in Clause 3. It has been felt, although it would be in the power of the market authority to produce Returns and to secure the weighing of cattle, yet with regard to the price there appears to be no means of ascertaining exactly what the price of the various cattle sold is. I have looked into the question, and I believe it would be impossible that the clause should work as it now stands. I propose in page 2, line 1, Clause 3, to insert, after the word ("and") the following words:—"As far as the market authority

can ascertain same.") I beg to move that Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> to-morrow.

#### CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS BILL

[H.L.]—(No. 230.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order); and passed; and sent to the Commons.

#### LOCAL REGISTRATION OF TITLE (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 250.)

Amendments reported (according to order); further amendments made; Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> to-morrow; and to be printed as amended. (No. 258.)

#### PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 228.)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

\***LORD ELPHINSTONE**: My Lords, before the House goes into Committee on this Bill, I would make an appeal to my noble Friend the Secretary for Scotland. When this Bill was before your Lordships on Second Reading I suggested to my noble Friend who has charge of the Bill that it be suspended and brought in early next Session, as I said that none of the County Councils in Scotland knew anything about the Bill. My noble Friend stated the Bill was sent down to Scotland, but I find that the Scotch Office did not send the Bill down. Formerly the Scotch Office used to send down local Bills to Scotland, but I understand that the Stationery Office interfered, and said they were defrauded of their pence. I hope my noble Friend will arrange that on future occasions Bills shall be sent down by the Scotch Office.

\***THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND** (The Marquess of LOTHIAN): I should like to say, in reference to what the noble Lord has said, that I stated the Bill was sent down as soon as printed, but I did not say it had been sent down from the Scotch Office. With regard to the suggestion of my noble Friend, I may inform him that I have already made arrangements by which I hope it may be found possible to send copies of Bills affecting Scotland to the several County Councils. It is not part of my

official duty to send them, but I think it is desirable that the County Councils should be made acquainted with the provisions of Bills affecting Scotland as soon as may be possible.

House in Committee.

Clause 1.

Verbal Amendments made.

\***LORD ELPHINSTONE**: I have an Amendment, in page 1, line 2, to leave out ("the application of") and to insert ("an application by an absolute majority of.")

\***LORD HAMILTON OF DALZELL**: I believe that it is in conformity with my promise to the Secretary for Scotland that that should be put in. I have no objection to it also applying to the District Council if the noble Lord thinks it proper.

Amendment moved, in Clause 2, page 1, line 27, at end of Clause, to add ("and agreed to by an absolute majority of the whole members of the county council.") —(*The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell*.)

**THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN**: With reference to these two Amendments I have an Amendment here which will embody the views of both noble Lords who have just spoken. The noble Lords have referred to the District Councils, and to an absolute majority in the County Councils. If they will accept this Amendment in place of those two Amendments, I shall be glad to propose to add at the end of the clause—

"Unless approved of by an absolute majority of the members of the District Committee or County Council as the case may be."

I think that will meet the views of both noble Lords.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining Clauses agreed to, with verbal Amendments.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee, and to be printed, as amended. (No. 259.)

#### LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS) BILL [H.L.]—(No. 24<sup>a</sup>.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order); amendments made: Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

## LUNACY BILL [H.L.]—(No. 247.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order); amendments made: Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

## LOCAL TAXATION (CUSTOMS AND EXCISE) ACT, 1890.

LORD MONTEAGLE OF BRANDON, in moving for a Return showing the annual amount allocated to each county in England and Wales under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, for technical education and other purposes, distinguishing the amount devoted in each county (*a*) to technical education generally, and (*b*) to dairy instruction in particular; and to ask what steps Her Majesty's Government intended to take to extend those benefits to Ireland, especially as regarded dairy instruction, said: My Lords, I will not detain the House long upon the Motion which stands in my name, but I trust I may be allowed to make a few remarks in moving it. The House is probably aware that under the Local Taxation Act, the Customs and Excise Act of last year, large sums of money were allocated to counties in England, and were especially ear-marked for the support of technical education. The Local Authorities were specially empowered to devote it for that purpose, and the County Councils of England and Wales are engaged at the present time in making arrangements with that object. Many of them I understand have agreed to devote this money—£700,000 for the whole of England and Wales—to technical education. The corresponding sum in the case of Ireland—something over £100,000—was devoted between primary education, for increasing the salaries of national teachers in Ireland, and intermediary education. Nothing was done for technical education. The result is that in this important matter of technical education Ireland is most lamentably deficient. My object in asking for this Return is not to criticise what the County Councils in England have done, but to base upon that the inquiry of Her Majesty's Government what steps they intend to take with regard to Ireland. I have specially asked that the way in which it has been devoted in England and Wales shall be shown separately for each county, and I

have also asked Her Majesty's Government to direct their special attention to the subject of dairy instruction in the country. With regard to the subject generally, I will only say that the backwardness in this matter was shared by Ireland with England until very recently, but England is now in a fair position, owing to the grant of last year, to overcome that deficiency. Ireland, however, will be relatively in a worse position than ever, and unless something is done for the encouragement of technical education, Ireland will become more than ever a purely agricultural country without any provision for industries at all. Hoping that Her Majesty's Government may shortly be in a position to devote their attention to the subject, and to do something for the promotion of technical education generally, I will pass on to the subject of dairy instruction. My reason for moving this at the present moment is that not only is the subject extremely urgent, but it is eminently practical. It is urgent because the vast improvement in other countries, notably Denmark and Sweden, has put Irish butter at a great disadvantage. England was in the same position until recently, but the County Councils in England taking advantage of the Act of last year are remedying that defect, and will no doubt put upon the market as good an article as Denmark and Sweden. But in the meantime Ireland is left very much as she was. I am not forgetting that a great deal has been done in Ireland in the past time, because Ireland has rather been in the van. The Irish Government has spent a good deal of money in promoting dairying. Schools have been established both in Dublin and Cork, and I am most thankful to the Government for having started that work. I should like to see more done in that direction. I think that the Munster school is to a large extent a local venture; though under a Government Board and receiving a Government grant, it is largely carried on and assisted by local efforts. The excellent work it has done in the past might be very largely extended by an additional grant, and I hope Her Majesty's Government will be able to see their way to doing something in that direction. I wish to point out to the Government that those institutions which I have mentioned

at Glasnevin and Cork, valuable as they are, and excellent as is their work, do not meet the wants of the country. Recently, the manufacture of butter has become more a matter of factory than domestic work. What we want in Ireland is that where these factories have been largely established we should be able to go to the factories and to the farmers to instruct them, instead of asking the farmers to go to school. This very fact is an argument for the particular kind of instruction which I hope Her Majesty's Government will be able to give. If you had a skilled expert to go round to instruct these people and the managers of the factories which are starting up, there would be nothing required for that purpose but the salary of the Inspector and his travelling expenses. By this means one man would cover a large district. I should think one Inspector would cover the whole district of Munster, and this would be an absolutely small expense in proportion to the results which might be expected from it. Before I sit down I would just remark that I was glad to see the Chief Secretary, in another place yesterday, is reported to have said he hoped to be able to assist the Land Commission with funds for developing in every way the agricultural prosperity of the country. I hope I have succeeded in showing to the House that there is a means ready to their hand for conferring an important benefit upon the country, and at a very small cost. I must before I conclude take this opportunity of thanking Her Majesty's Government and the Chief Secretary for the great efforts they have made to promote the well-being of Ireland and the development of her industries. What is being done in the West by the establishment of the Congested Districts Board will, I hope, lead to marked results in those districts; but I hope Her Majesty's Government will realise that the other districts in the country, though not so poor as the West, have also claims upon them, and that they will be able to see their way to doing something in the direction I have described.

LORD BELPER: I only venture to interpose for a moment to ask the Government, if they give such a Return as is asked for, that they will put it in a more detailed and scientific form than

that in which it is moved for. The Return asked for is with regard to technical instruction generally, and then as to dairy instruction in particular. There are a large number of other industries in which it would be extremely useful to have technical instruction in the other branches of agriculture, mining industries, cookery, and so on. I think such a Return would be very useful, especially with regard to those counties which may not have finished their own schemes of technical education. There is only one other point which I would call to the noble Lord's attention. As he is aware, some of these County Councils who are engaged in these schemes, which are of a very intricate character, have not yet finished them, and I hope if he sends to the County Council for such Returns as are asked for, the Local Government Board will give them a little further time to make them, say, the end of the autumn. By that time I think he would get more complete Returns than at the present moment.

\*LORD HENNIKER: My Lords, as far as the part of the question put by the noble Lord opposite in which I am concerned, I have to state, on the part of the Department which I have the honour to represent in this House, that there is no objection whatever to the Return asked for, but there is a little objection to the form in which it is asked. It would not be so convenient to give it in the form of the Motion of the noble Lord, and it would be more comprehensive in the form I propose. I have no doubt the form in which I propose it to your Lordships will be accepted by the noble Lord. In form it is a little wider, and I think it will give all the information he wants, and also give all the particulars which my noble Friend opposite wishes for. It has been thought by the Department, who have considered the matter very carefully, that this might be the preferable form. Perhaps you will allow me to read it. I propose that the Return should be this—

"A Return showing the amount paid to the council of each county and county borough in England and Wales out of the residue of local taxation, Customs and Excise duties, in respect of the year ended March 31, 1891, and the decisions of the councils as to the purposes to which the sums so received are to be applied, distinguishing, as far as possible, the moneys to be devoted to technical education generally,

and the part of those moneys to be devoted—  
I. (a) to dairying, (b) mining, and (c) agricultural instruction; and II. to instruction in other industries."

I think what the noble Lord opposite has said with regard to putting off the making of the Return a little later, so as to get a more complete Return, may be a matter of importance. I know that in my own district, where I am Chairman of the County Council, we have come to a sort of temporary arrangement as to a scheme of technical instruction, and I think a great many counties are in the same position. It may therefore be wiser, perhaps, to put it off for a short time. I have no doubt the noble Lord wishes to have as complete a Return as possible. I will call the attention of the President of the Local Government Board to this point, for I think we shall do better to secure as complete a Return as possible, even if we have to wait two or three months longer for it. I think that would be the best way if the noble Lord consents to it.

EARL CADOGAN: My Lords, before the Motion is put, as the last few lines of it refer mainly to Ireland, and as the noble Lord's speech dealt almost entirely with that portion of the Kingdom, I may, perhaps be allowed to say a few words in regard to what is being done in Ireland at the present moment, and also with regard to what is to be done in the future. With reference to the Customs and Excise Returns as regards Ireland, the sum coming to that country under the Customs and Excise Act 1890, has been allocated to primary and intermediate education. The Government are fully alive to the importance of technical education, and the advantage to be derived from a knowledge of the most important methods of dairying in Ireland. I would, however, remind the noble Lord that, in addition to such facilities as were given to the localities in Ireland to provide instruction under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, the Government have aided in supplying, through the Munster Model Farm and through the National Board, a competent knowledge of dairying to many hundreds of persons. The National Board have, moreover, recently made arrangements whereby two of their in-

*Lord Henniker*

structors will impart information on the subject, not only to pupils in the schools, but also to farmers. This is, broadly, how the case stands at the present time. With regard to the future, my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland hopes next year to be in a position to consider what further steps may be taken to promote technical education (especially as regards dairying) in Ireland.

LORD MONTEAGLE OF BRANDON: I am much obliged to the noble Lord for the answer he has given. I think it would be better if the Return showed what was devoted to dairying instruction in other branches than dairying.

\*LORD HENNIKER: Perhaps, I might point out that the Return will deal with technical education generally, and what part of these moneys have been devoted—first, to dairying; second, to mining; and third, to agricultural industries. Then another head is the instruction in other industries. Everything is put separately. I think that is what the noble Lord means.

LORD MONTEAGLE OF BRANDON: I have only one word to say as to what fell from the noble Earl upon two points. He referred to the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. I will not touch upon that now, for I am afraid it does not refer to Ireland at all; but I daresay the Government will consider the point when they come to deal with the whole question. I was glad to hear from the noble Earl what I was not aware of before—that the National Board are going to appoint two travelling Inspectors; but I should like to point out it is important they should be really trained experts, because if it is done on the lines of previous experiments which have been made by the National Board in sending out dairy-maids, I think that would not meet the case as regards the factories now being established.

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: With regard to what my noble Friend opposite (Lord Monteagle) has said relating to Ireland, it was very much on the lines of a question which I put the other day with reference to the necessity of encouraging agriculture in Ireland for the benefit of the population generally. My noble Friend (Lord Cadogan) gave me a certain amount of

satisfaction in his answer, and I sincerely hope Her Majesty's Government will take up the question another year; but I would point out to my noble Friend (Lord Monteagle) that dairying was included in the question I asked, and I am of opinion that the Land Commissioners have done well by establishing an Agricultural Department; but it is an Agricultural Department not supported by the State, except in so far as regards the money which is provided for Inspectors to collect prices under the Act of 1887. That is the only money they receive at present. I think if Her Majesty's Government would in future consider whether it would be possible to transfer the powers of technical education, and dairying, and other things, to this Department, instead of keeping them as they are at present under the National Board, it would be much better. My noble Friend (Lord Monteagle) alluded to the butter factories which are being started all over the country. I am sorry to say I do not think they are doing as much good as he thinks, because men who send their milk to those factories almost inevitably lose a number of their calves.

**LORD MONTEAGLE or BRANDON:** Not necessarily.

**THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** I am sorry to say I found it so in my district. I hope the noble Lord will bear the questions in mind, and that the Land Commission may be turned into an Agricultural Department enabled to carry out some of the suggestions of the noble Lord opposite.

**LORD MONTEAGLE or BRANDON:** I entirely agree in what the noble Lord opposite has said.

"Return showing the amount paid to the Council of each county and county borough in England and Wales out of the residue of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties in respect of the year ended the 31st of March, 1891, and the decision of the Councils as to the purposes to which the sums so received are to be applied, distinguishing so far as possible the moneys to be devoted to technical education generally, and the part of those moneys to be devoted—(1.) to (a.) dairy, (b.) mining, and (c.) agricultural instruction; and (2.) to instruction in other industries.—(*The Lord Monteagle of Brandon.*)

Ordered to be laid before the House.

House adjourned at half-past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 23rd July, 1891.

### PRIVATE BUSINESS.

#### STANDING ORDERS—COUNTY COUNCILS AND PRIVATE BILLS.

(3.0.) **MR. HASTINGS (Worcester, E.):** I beg to move a new Standing Order, giving to the Councils the right to appear and oppose Private Bills. At the present moment Town Councils and Local Boards have a *locus standi* to oppose any Private Bill which, in their opinion, injuriously affects their locality, and my proposition is that, subject to the decision of the Court of Referees, the County Councils should have the same privilege.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the following New Standing Order be adopted to follow Standing Order 134A—

'134A. Ordered, That it shall be competent to the Referees on Private Bills to admit the Petitioners, being the Council of any Administrative County or County Borough, the whole or any part of which is alleged to be injuriously affected by a Bill, to be heard against such Bill if they think fit.'—(*Mr. Hastings.*)

**MR. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin):** I do not rise for the purpose of opposing this Standing Order, nor the Standing Order which is to follow, but I think it is right the House should understand exactly what is proposed to be done. It is quite true that this Motion follows very much the lines of the Standing Order which applies to municipal towns, but there is a substantial difference to which I think attention ought to be called. Under the Local Government Act the County Councils are invested with many of the privileges of municipal towns, but they have no authority in respect to the water of a town, except to prevent the pollution of a river. The only question at issue is whether a County Council should have a right to appear in opposition to a Bill which may affect a particular district of a county, and it is proposed to leave it to the Court of Referees to say whether the County Council has a *locus standi*.

At present the *locus standi* must depend upon the possession of a right or interest, and the Local Government Act does not give to the County Councils a right or interest in respect of the water of a county. Early this Session the question arose as to the right of County Councils to appear in opposition to a Water Bill which affected the interests of the county, and the Court of Referees, after considerable argument and not without some difference of opinion, came to the conclusion that the Councils had no *locus standi*. The *locus standi* must depend upon a right, and a County Council has no general right of supervision, control, and management of the water supply of the county. Therefore, to admit them to a *locus standi* would be to give them a right and interest which Parliament has not given. I am not prepared to deny that there may be cases in which it is not only convenient, but proper, that a County Council should be able to appear for the county beyond the interest of an Urban and Local Authority. But if we are to give this right, it should be understood that we are deliberately giving, by a Standing Order, what Parliament itself has refrained from giving. As to the second Standing Order which the hon. Member proposes to move, and which alleges that the administrative county may be injuriously affected by the provisions of a Bill relating to the water supply of any town or district, I think they ought to be entitled to be heard against the Bill.

\*(3.10.) MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth): As Chairman of the Court of Referees on ordinary occasions, I have very little to add to what has been stated by the Chairman of Committees, but I think it is only right to remind the House that the proposed Standing Order would apply not only to Water Bills, to which he has specially referred, but to Railway and all other Private Bills alleged injuriously to affect the county. It would be a new function for County Councils, but I see no reason why they should not be admitted to be heard against any such Bill, subject to the judgment of the Court of Referees, as to whether the alleged injury is of such a nature and degree as to justify the intervention.

MR. MILNES GASKELL (York, W. R., Morley), who was imperfectly heard  
*Mr. Courtney*

in the Gallery, was understood to support the proposed Standing Order.

MR. WOODALL (Hanley): I understood when the Local Government Bill was passing through the House that the President of the Local Government Board promised to consider this question. I should be glad to learn what the result of that consideration has been.

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I do not remember having given any undertaking of the kind referred to by the hon. Member, but as far as the Government are concerned they have no objection to offer to the proposed Standing Order.

Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That the said Order be a Standing Order of this House.

MR. HASTINGS: I beg now to move a new Standing Order entitling County Councils to be heard against Bills dealing with water supply. In so important a matter as the pollution of water, I think that any County Council whose district is likely to be injuriously affected should have the right to be heard. I am aware that the proposed Standing Order differs in some degree from the existing Standing Order in regard to the rights of Local Boards, but I think it does so rightly, inasmuch as the area of a county is much larger. A stream may have its source in one county and flow through another. I hope the House will agree to the proposal.

Motion made, and Question proposed, That the following New Standing Order be adopted to follow Standing Order 134B.

"134c. Ordered, that the Council of any Administrative County alleging in their Petition that such Administrative County or any part thereof, may be injuriously affected by the provisions of any Bill relating to the water supply of any town or district, whether situate within or without such County, shall be entitled to be heard against such Bill."—(Mr. Hastings.)

\*MR. C. S. PARKER: The difference between this and the previous Standing Order is that this relates to water only, and is not permissive but imperative, taking the question altogether out of the jurisdiction of the Court of Referees. Urban Local Authorities have such a right to be heard, and what this Standing Order does, is to place County Councils

in as good a position. They are certainly the natural defenders of the interests of the county as a whole, and where there are matters that require joint action, such as the interests of small towns and villages, the county may well protect them. Therefore, if it is to remain imperative upon the Court of Referees to admit Urban Authorities to be heard as regards water supply, I think the same privilege may well be enjoyed by the County Councils.

(3.15.) Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That the said Order be a Standing Order of this House.

#### PETITIONS—POINT OF ORDER.

The next Private Business on the Order Paper was the consideration of a number of Provisional Order Bills relating to the rates and charges of various Railway Companies. In each case objection was taken, and the Order was postponed until to-morrow.

MR. ATKINSON (Boston): Mr. Speaker, I wish to read a Petition to the House, upon which is founded the opposition that I shall endeavour to lead to-morrow against these Bills. It is from the timber importers of Hull. It is as follows. [The hon. Member was proceeding to read the Petition, but was interrupted by loud cries of "Order."]

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The usual practice is for an hon. Member to state the substance of a Petition he presents, unless he desires it to be read by the Clerk at the Table.

MR. ATKINSON: I am sorry, Sir, but I asked you whether I should read the Petition, and you said "Yes."

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I called upon the hon. Member to present the Petition, not to read it.

MR. ATKINSON: Well, I would rather the Clerk should read it, than read it myself.

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

The Petition was then read by the Clerk at the Table.

#### QUESTIONS.

##### PROMOTION OF OFFICERS ON THE INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

SIR H. HAVELOCK-ALLAN (Durham, S.E.): I had given notice of my

intention to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State for India has had under his consideration the advisability of taking some steps to accelerate the present slow rate of promotion of officers of the Indian Staff Corps; if not, whether he will give early consideration to the subject; and whether he is in a position to make any communication to the House as to the views of the Government of India on this matter? As I do not see the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary in his place, may I ask whether any other Member of the Government is prepared to answer the question?

There was no response.

SIR H. HAVELOCK-ALLAN: Then, as there is no Minister present who is instructed to answer the question, I will defer it until to-morrow.

##### CHIEF RESIDENCY MAGISTRATE AT BOMBAY.

MR. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): In the absence of the Under Secretary of State for India I beg to postpone the question of which I have given notice—To ask whether the Secretary of State is aware that Mr. Slater, a junior barrister, has been appointed by the Bombay Government to act as Chief Residency Magistrate at Bombay; and whether Mr. Slater is duly qualified, according to the regulations, to hold this appointment?

##### OLD CRIMEAN AND INDIAN SOLDIERS

MR. J. WILSON (Lanark, Govan): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the sum of money to be devoted to the old Crimean and Indian soldiers will also be applicable to the Land Transport Corps who served before the fall of Sebastopol?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The Land Transport Corps who served in the Crimean and Indian Campaigns would have a claim to generous treatment as other soldiers who served in the same campaign.

##### COUNTY BOUNDARIES.

MR. HASTINGS (Worcester, E.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will lay



upon the Table of the House any Reports made to the Board by County Councils in England and Wales on the subject of the alterations in county boundaries proposed by the Boundary Commissioners?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): Nearly all the County Councils of counties in England and Wales which would be affected by the alterations in county boundaries proposed by the Boundary Commissioners have made Reports to the Local Government Board on the subject. The representations affecting each county have already, almost without exception, been communicated to the County Councils interested, and the proposals as regards the parishes comprised in different Unions have also in almost every instance been communicated to the Boards of Guardians, and have been considered by them. Publicity has, therefore, been given to the representations, and the Board have no reason to doubt that those interested in the question have full information on the subject. As the Return would be a voluminous and costly one, my hon. Friend will not, I trust, under the circumstances which I have mentioned, think it necessary that a Return should be presented.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that, in the Return ordered to be printed on the 7th July, 1891, showing the number of electors on the register in each Parliamentary constituency, in the cases of upwards of 200 county divisions in England and Wales the numbers of electors returned include not only such duplicates as were usual before the passing of the Local Government Act in 1888, but also duplicates of voters on the ownership lists whose names are also included for County Council purposes on the occupation lists, and are marked §; and that these duplicate names so marked are in many cases 10 per cent. or more of the total number of voters given in the Return; and whether, inasmuch as it would be easy for the Returning Officers to count the names so marked and to deduct them from the total number, he will give such instructions as will remedy this alleged

*Mr. Hastings*

inaccuracy in making out future Returns?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): I cannot answer for the accuracy of the figures and proportions cited by the hon. Member, but I have given instructions that in future Returns of this kind names against which an asterisk or mark is placed in pursuance of Section 7, Subsection 5, of the County Electors Act, 1888, shall, if possible, be excluded.

#### HOLYROOD PALACE.

MR. BARCLAY (Forfarshire): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will be good enough to state the conclusions of the authorities with respect to admission to Holyrood Palace?

\*THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): The question of the fees charged for admission to Holyrood Palace has been considered, as I promised, in conjunction with the permanent officers of the Office of Works in London and Edinburgh. On the whole, up to the present, the information furnished to me leads me to think that the abolition of the fee would be of very little advantage to any individuals, and might give rise to a system of touts and touting, which would be much more objectionable than the small charge involved in the present system. A proposal for adding another free day would present fewer objections, and is now under consideration.

#### NORTH UIST.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he has received communications from the proprietor of the Island of North Uist and others, complaining of the inefficiency of the local and internal postal services; and whether he can state the annual postal revenue from the island, and the cost of these internal services?

\*THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University): I have received communications on this subject from the proprietor of the island, and I have caused replies to be sent explaining in much detail the reasons against altering the existing internal postal service. There has not been time to ascertain exactly how the revenue from the corre-

spondence of the island compares with the expenditure, but the information shall be obtained and furnished to the hon. Member.

#### BUSHMILLS DISTILLERY COMPANY.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Bushmills Old Distillery Company made an application to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to store whisky temporarily in a warehouse situated in the Market Place, Bushmills; whether he is aware that the warehouses in the distillery are already filled to their utmost capacity; and whether the Commissioners of Inland Revenue have acceded to this request; and, if not, will he explain why?

\*MR. JACKSON: I am informed that the Board of Inland Revenue has acceded to the request of the company for an additional warehouse which they require for a limited period until other warehouses are completed.

#### THE CYPRUS TRIBUTE.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has taken, or intends to take, any steps to bring about an arrangement with the Porte for the commutation of the annual payment of £92,800 now due from Cyprus to the creditors of the Porte, and an arrangement with France to pay off the Guaranteed Four Per Cent. Loan of 1855, and to raise the money on cheaper terms?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): The question of the hon. Member describes the tribute of Cyprus as due to the creditors of the Porte. So far as the Government is concerned, their obligation is to the Porte, and not to its creditors. I mention this lest some misapprehension should arise from my taking no notice of this suggestion in the question. With regard to the substance of the question, the times have not been propitious for either of the two operations specified by the hon. Member, and I can make no declaration at all as to what I might ultimately be able to do.

#### TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State

for the Colonies, whether the Secretary of State has considered the statement made in Colonial Report No. 108 (Trinidad and Tobago), page 35, by Mr. Commissioner Hay, on the subject of heliographic and telegraphic communication between the two islands; and, seeing that the former system has failed on trial, he will now sanction and advise that telegraphic communication be forthwith established between them, and thus facilitate the proper carrying on of the government of the two islands under one administration, as directed by Order in Council, 17th November, 1888?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The importance of establishing telegraphic communication with Tobago has not been overlooked, and it is hoped that the Revenue of that island may, before long, be able to bear the cost.

#### BURSTING OF 6-INCH GUNS.

ADMIRAL FIELD: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the 6-inch gun, which recently burst with such disastrous results on board H.M.S. *Cordelia*, was of same pattern as the 6-inch gun which burst on board H.M.S. *Active*, in 1882 or 1883, during her gun trials at Spithead; whether any steps were afterwards taken to strengthen the remaining guns of same pattern; whether the *Cordelia's* gun had been so strengthened; whether the naval experts made any representation on the subject, or expressed themselves as satisfied with the guns when so strengthened; and whether, in view of the naval feeling on the subject outside the Admiralty, their Lordships will direct that a certain percentage of the remaining guns of this pattern be tested to bursting point, in order to restore confidence in those remaining, or else that they may be withdrawn from service afloat?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): Yes; the gun was of the same pattern, but the *Active's* gun burst in the chase, and not near the breech as in this case. These guns were ordered, in 1882, to be chase-hooped as they came in for repair, and pending such strengthening they were only to be

fired with a reduced charge. The *Cordelia's* guns had not been so strengthened, but the recent accident could not have been prevented by this means, as the gun went near the breech. I am not aware that any representation was made by naval experts upon the structure or strength of this particular mark of gun, but the Ordnance Committee (which included naval officers), in April, 1882, recommended that no more guns of this mark should be manufactured. The experiment of testing the endurance of this design of gun was tried in 1882, and a gun was continuously fired with 400 battering charges, and the firing was only ceased when the gun failed to rotate the projectiles. Looking to the fact that this gun is of an inferior design to that of the guns subsequently made of the same calibre, I have made arrangements by which the guns of this mark will be immediately replaced by those of a later date in all ships except those about to be relieved. This change can be effected without in any way interfering with the supply of guns for ships now building or coming on for commission.

#### ST. HELENA.

ADMIRAL FIELD: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Secretary of State has considered the recommendation of the Acting Governor of St. Helena, in No. 118, Colonial Reports, page 17, as to receiving Imperial assistance towards meeting the expenses of the Government, especially in the matter of the salary of the Governor, in view of the fact that the inhabitants are suffering from the general depression caused by the diversion of ship traffic to the East, from the Cape route to the Suez Canal, whereby the number of vessels calling at the island has fallen from 853 in 1869, to 288 in 1889; and, seeing that the island is held solely for Imperial purposes, and that the revenue is insufficient for local requirements, will the Secretary of State be prepared to ask Parliament for a grant in aid as formerly?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The recommendation has been considered, and Lord Knutsford has been in communication with the Treasury upon the subject; but  
*Lord G. Hamilton*

he is not prepared to recommend that Parliament should be asked at present for any assistance.

#### POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH STORNOWAY.

DR. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that the larger steamer that has been put on the Strome-Stornoway route by the mail contractor takes on an average a longer time than the smaller one previously used; whether, of late, the time used on the voyage has been weekly increasing; whether she is an old boat with defective boilers that cannot stand sufficient steam pressure; whether she frequently misses the 5.45. a.m. train from Strome, and so causes serious loss to fish curers and merchants in having their fish forwarded to the southern markets; why the time of departure for Stornoway has been altered from 9 p.m. to 11 p.m. which causes the 5.45. a.m. train to be missed; whether he knows that her being allowed to call at Portree means a loss of three hours for passengers to or from Stornoway; and whether he will put sufficient pressure on the mail contractor to induce him to give an efficient and suitable service on this line?

\*MR. RAIKES: The mail steamer now serving Stornoway is not a new one, but I have no reason to believe that she is inefficient either from age or imperfect condition. She is a much larger steamer than the one formerly employed, and affords improved passenger accommodation. When the time for the voyage is exceeded, I am informed that the delay arises in a great measure from causes not within the contractor's control. The Harbour Commissioners of Stornoway offer no adequate facilities for landing the mails, though requested to do so, and during the fishing season there has been much difficulty in this respect. It is true that the steamer, on the inward voyage from Stornoway to Strome, has frequently missed the 5.45 a.m. train at Strome. This has arisen from her being detained on the outward journey from Strome to Stornoway by the late arrival of the mail train, and this delay again is occasioned by the late working of the train in the opposite direction, the line of railway being single and the fish traffic heavy. It was hoped that by

altering the hour of departure—not from 9 p.m. to 11 p.m., but from 10 a.m. to 11 p.m.—the connection with the early morning train from Strome would be secured; but so far, for the reasons given, this expectation has not been realised. It is on rare occasions that this steamer calls at Portree, and then only by special permission, which is not granted unless it appears necessary on public grounds. No doubt passengers are delayed on such occasions; but, so far as the arrival of the mails at Stornoway is concerned, no public inconvenience has arisen. The hon. Member may rest assured that no opportunity will be lost of securing as efficient a performance as possible of this Service.

#### EXAMINATIONS FOR THE ARMY.

**MR. SUMMERS:** I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will obtain from the Committee of Head Masters permission to publish their confidential Memorandum on the subject of examinations for the Army; and whether he will in future, decline to correspond with this Committee on public matters except upon the understanding that the correspondence may, if it is thought necessary, be published?

\***MR. E. STANHOPE:** The War Department benefits by receiving in confidence a free expression of the views of the Head Masters; and it would militate seriously against that freedom if the idea gained ground that such Reports might subsequently be made public. It follows that I am not prepared to comply with the suggestion in the second paragraph of the question.

#### SALE OF OPIUM IN INDIA.

**MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire):** I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that an examination of the last Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India shows the total number of places licensed for the sale of opium in the Indian Empire to be 11,244; and whether that number is correct, or the statement he made on 25th June, when he gave the total number of licences as 8,834?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GOSSET, Chatham):** The Secretary of State considers this question is based upon some

error of computation. The moral and material progress Report shows no such total as that which is indicated in the question.

#### MR. STOREY AND THE DURHAM POLICE.

**MR. R. T. REID (Dumfries, &c.):** I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether a single person has yet been proceeded against by the police for any riotous or illegal conduct on the occasion of the Silksworth baton charge on 25th February last, although numerous persons wounded in that charge have commenced civil actions for damages against Superintendent Oliver and other policemen; whether his attention has been called to the fact that, on 7th April, Mr. Brewis laid informations against Police Constables Reed and Hodgson for perjury alleged to have been committed on 21st March, Mr. Storey, M.P., being one of the witnesses; and that thereupon, on 10th April, Police Constable Snaith, who was not present at Newport Farm, laid an information against Mr. Storey for perjury alleged to have been committed on 7th March, 34 days before; that the summons against Mr. Storey was granted by Mr. C. J. Briggs, a County Magistrate, in the absence of the Magistrates' clerk, and made returnable to the County Bench in opposition to the unbroken practice since Sunderland obtained a Borough Bench 50 years ago; whether he is aware that Mr. Storey, having been committed by the County Justices, a Divisional Court quashed the committal with costs against the said Justices; after which a second summons against Mr. Storey was granted by two Borough Magistrates, and that on that occasion Mr. Strachan, the counsel for the prosecutors, stated that the prosecution was retaliatory; whether he is aware that, on 9th July, a Borough Bench, consisting of the usual rota, unanimously dismissed the summons without calling on Mr. Storey's counsel; that Snaith demanded to be bound over under the Vexatious Indictments Act, and was so bound, the Magistrates having no option; and that, on 17th July, Mr. Strachan, the counsel for the prosecution, offered, in open Court, to withdraw the charge against Mr. Storey if the civil actions against the police were abandoned, and

although this was declined, Mr. Strachan nevertheless withdrew the charge; and whether the Home Secretary will grant an open inquiry into the conduct of the Magistrates and the police, and all the circumstances of the case?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Chief Constable that no person has been proceeded against by the police in connection with the proceedings at Sunderland of February 25 last. Civil actions for damages are pending, as I am informed, against members of the police force. The informations for perjury were laid on the dates mentioned in the question. The summons against the hon. Member for Sunderland was granted by Mr. Briggs, a County Magistrate, the deputy clerk, who is a solicitor, being present. The Magistrate's clerk informs me that the summons was made returnable to the County Bench because it was a charge arising out of a case heard by County Magistrates, and was therefore considered a county case, and, as such, returnable to the County Bench according to the usual practice. The Divisional Court quashed the committal, with costs against the Justices, on the ground that they had refused to allow the Borough Magistrates to sit with them in the adjudication. A second summons was then granted against the hon. Member by the Borough Bench. I am informed by the clerk to the Borough Justices that the counsel for the prosecution expressed his own opinion that it was to be regretted that all such proceedings had not been allowed to drop when the strike was finished, but, as proceedings were commenced by other parties, his client was bound to proceed. The Borough Bench unanimously dismissed the summons, and Snaith demanded to be bound over, a similar course having been pursued in the charge of perjury against Inspector Dobson, which had also been dismissed by the Borough Bench. I have seen a newspaper account of the proceedings before the Judge of Assize, from which I infer (and this is confirmed by the Chief Constable, who was present in Court) that both charges, that against the police and that of the police against the hon. Member for Sunderland,

Mr. R. T. Reid

were withdrawn in deference to a suggestion of the learned Judge himself, and with the entire concurrence of counsel engaged on both sides. The initiative did not proceed from Mr. Strachan, as suggested in the question. I do not see any ground for inquiry into the conduct of the Magistrates. The County Magistrates were no doubt wrong, in point of law, in the decision they came to as to this exclusive jurisdiction. But when they had had the opportunity of obtaining better legal advice, they did, by their counsel, before the Divisional Court, explain that they had acted upon the advice of their clerk on a point which was new to them, and expressed their regret at the mistake they had made. I see no reason to doubt their good faith. With regard to the Durham police, actions are pending against them which would be prejudiced by any inquiry at this time, and the proper persons to inquire, if inquiry be ultimately thought desirable with regard to the public advantage and to the good of the neighbourhood, are the Standing Joint Committee of the county.

Mr. R. T. REID: I wish to draw attention to one point which the right hon. Gentleman has omitted to answer. Is it not the fact that, when the case came before the Assizes, counsel appearing for the police, in the first instance, offered to withdraw the charge against Mr. Storey on condition of the civil action being abandoned, and that it was only on the counsel for the accused declining to do so that the charge was entirely withdrawn?

\*Mr. MATTHEWS: I can only judge by the newspaper report, which states that after a suggestion had been made by the Judge, and after the hon. Member for the Brigg Division (Mr. Waddy), who appeared for Mr. Storey, had acceded to it, the counsel who represented the police offered also to withdraw the charge against Mr. Storey. Mr. Strachan said he withdrew it unreservedly, and urged that byegones should be byegones. That, no doubt, involved a proposition that everything should cease, but afterwards the charge against Mr. Storey was unreservedly withdrawn.

Mr. STOREY (Sunderland): I wish to be permitted to suggest that something else followed, namely—

"Mr. Strachan said: I shall call no evidence against Mr. Storey, on the understanding that all the other proceedings will also be stayed.

Mr. Waddy: You mean the civil proceedings?—Certainly not. We are prepared to go on with this case.

Whereupon Mr. Strachan said: Very well, I will withdraw the charge unreservedly. I offer no evidence."

I wish to ask the Home Secretary whether he thinks it a proper use of the Criminal Law to attempt thus to put pressure upon me to withdraw all civil actions?

MR. MATTHEWS: It would be extremely improper to use the Criminal Law in order to secure a withdrawal of civil actions; but I may point out that the newspaper report with which I have been furnished is not in accordance with what the hon. Member has just read.

MR. STOREY: What is the newspaper the right hon. Gentleman has been furnished with?

MR. MATTHEWS: The *Durham County Advertiser*. It has been furnished to me by the Chief Inspector. The report contains the passage which I have read.

MR. STOREY: I was present in Court, and heard what was said.

Subsequently,

MR. STOREY said: I am prepared to raise this question in the House either by moving the adjournment or by making a personal explanation, but I am extremely unwilling that there should be any heat or controversy in the House on a matter personal to myself, as there would be if I were to move the adjournment. I prefer, therefore, after consulting with Mr. Speaker, to make a brief personal statement on a matter sufficiently notorious and which recently affected not only my personal liberty but the character which I had won by 30 years of public life. I do not at all assume that a Member of Parliament ought to be treated with more favour than another man, but, on the other hand, neither do I think the Criminal Law ought to be used as an engine of oppression against a Member of Parliament. The charge brought against me was that I had been guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury. I will not enter into the circumstances. I will not take the trouble to deny on the floor of this House that that charge was true, or that it had any truth in it.

What I want is to enlist the sense of fairness, which has always distinguished this House, while I state the exact circumstances of the charge. It was brought in respect of an action of mine which took place 34 days before, and it was not brought until actions had been commenced against the police by persons who thought they were aggrieved. The Chief Superintendent did not make the charge; the Superintendents of Police had not the manliness to make it, but they put forward an ordinary policeman who was not present during the circumstances at all; he knew nothing about them; and yet this man was put up to go to the Court and swear that he knew I had been guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury. It was a police prosecution, but they did not venture to take the money out of the county funds. They went to private persons—the owner of the colliery, the Marquess of Londonderry—for the money wherewith to prosecute me; and, finally, they insisted, instead of taking it to the Borough Bench, on sending it to the County Bench, which had no jurisdiction whatever in the matter except in conjunction with the Borough Magistrates. I shall say nothing about the proceedings before the County Bench. The whole world is aware of them. They committed me for trial, and the Court of Queen's Bench held that it was illegal. When the second summons was issued against me the counsel for the prosecution distinctly stated that it was applied for because civil actions had been brought by me as the defendant in the case against the police. That is the point to which I desire particularly to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, and I will give the right hon. Gentleman exactly what was said, because fortunately I have a shorthand note of it. Before the second hearing the Chief Constable had offered to compound the charge against me and to withdraw any reflection upon my character if the civil actions against the police were withdrawn. The Chief Constable made that offer in a letter to an hon. Member of this House. [An hon. MEMBER: What name?] I do not want to give names. I, of course, indignantly rejected the idea of any compromise, and I think the Home Secretary ought to take cognizance of

such a suggestion on the part of the police as that. If it was a *bond fide* criminal charge against me, the police were not doing their duty in trying to compound it. The matter came in due course before the Borough Magistrates, and I must say, in justification of the Borough Magistrates, that it was not a packed Bench, but there was this remarkable fact—that while on the first occasion there were 13 witnesses against me, on the second hearing there were only seven, the other six being witnesses who had on the first hearing given evidence more or less in support of my view. Therefore the prosecution did not again produce them. When the matter came before an unprejudiced tribunal it was speedily dismissed, without any one being called upon to say a word on my behalf. And then what happened? It only shows the hardship of the case. As soon as the case was dismissed, this ordinary policeman applied to be and was bound over to prosecute under the Vexatious Indictments Act. I, as the defendant, had no power to prevent the policeman from doing so; the Magistrates had no option in the matter, and therefore I was subjected to the indignity of being compelled to attend the Assizes in order to meet the charge that was brought against me. Well, the case came on at the Assizes, and what happened there? The learned Judge expressed his opinion, after reading the depositions, that the case had better be stopped. The counsel for the prosecution—Mr. Strachan—thereupon in open Court suggested a compromise, which appears to have been in his mind from the first, and offered to withdraw from the prosecution if the civil actions against the police were withdrawn. That proposal I declined to accept, and the case against me was then unreservedly withdrawn. The Home Secretary told the House that the newspaper reports did not contain this statement. Now, I know what newspaper reports are, and, fortunately for myself, I had taken means to supply myself with a *verbatim* shorthand note. The charge, I say, was unreservedly withdrawn; but I have been subjected for three or four months to intense annoyance, to much pain of mind and body, and to much discredit in the eyes of people who did not know the facts. What is my

*Mr. Storey*

remedy? I could commence an action for damages against the policeman Snaith. That is to say that Colonel White, the two Inspectors, and Lord Londonderry, who combined in the matter or found the money for the criminal proceedings, will escape scot free. I have no power over them, and if I want a remedy I can only go against the policeman. I think the House will agree with me that the whole proceeding is monstrously mean and most unfair. I have nothing more to say in regard to the matter. I thank you, Sir, for having allowed me to make these remarks, and I thank the House for having listened to them. I have never condescended to deny these charges, and I will not do so now. If any hon. Member can conceive that I would commit wilful perjury or say what I knew to be untrue, even if I were not on oath, he is welcome to his opinion. I have been a Member of the House for more than 11 years, and I hope, please God, to be a Member of it for some years to come. However much hon. Members may differ from me politically, I hope that they believe me to be a man who would stand to his opinion and who would stick to the truth, and would not commit wilful perjury. I think that I have stated some things which call for the interference of the Home Secretary, because, although the police are not under his control, if the right hon. Gentleman would give me the opportunity I will prove up to the hilt that the police in the County of Durham have used the law as an instrument of oppression against me in order to get civil actions against themselves abated.

#### THE KINETON NATIONAL SCHOOL.

MR. COBB: I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether any, and if so what, steps have been taken to provide a new school in place of the National School, at Kineton (Warwickshire), which was condemned by Her Majesty's Inspector in July, 1890; whether the Department has received satisfactory assurances that the necessary funds for building will be provided by voluntary subscriptions; and, if so, when the new school will be ready for use; and whether, if such assurances have not been given, the Department will adopt

the procedure laid down in the Education Acts for the compulsory supply of schools?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): Plans for a new school were finally approved on the 5th of June, and the Department have no reason to doubt that the necessary funds will be forthcoming, particularly as, upon a recent poll of the parish, the ratepayers rejected a resolution in favour of a School Board by more than two to one.

#### WESLEYAN DAY SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH.

MR. SUMMERS: I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether his attention has been called to the scheme of the charity known as the Wesleyan Day School in the Borough of Scarborough, and more particularly to Clause 3 of the scheme, which provides that the balance of the net proceeds of the sale of the school

"Shall be invested, and the income thereof applied in granting rewards or prizes to deserving children resident in Scarborough who attend a public elementary school, and who are also regular attendants at some Wesleyan Sunday school;"

and whether he will advise the Home Secretary to withhold his consent to the scheme until such proportion of the proceeds of the sale as the building grant bore to the original cost of the buildings shall have been repaid to the State?

SIR W. HART DYKE: The Department have not advised the Home Secretary to attach such a condition to the sale in question, seeing that the proceeds are to be dealt with, as near as possible, within the terms of the original trust, under a scheme which has been approved by the Charity Commissioners.

#### GALVANISED SHEETS.

MR. SUMMERS: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will consider the advisability of giving instructions that, in future Returns of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom, galvanised sheets, which constitute a trade by themselves, shall be entered as a separate item instead of being included, as at present, under the heading of "hoops, sheets, and boiler and armour plates"?

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\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): The exports of galvanised sheets are already shown separately in the Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom; but I will refer to the Revising Committee, which meets in the Autumn, the question whether galvanised sheets can be separately entered in the monthly accounts of trade without unduly adding to the bulk of that publication.

#### THE PRESIDENTE ERRAZURIZ.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the following statement in the *Daily News* of Tuesday:—

"The new Chilean cruiser *Presidente Errazuriz*, which arrived at Falmouth several days ago from Havre, is still in Falmouth Harbour, and her captain seems to have had considerable difficulty in obtaining a crew. On Saturday about 30 men who had been engaged at Plymouth by one of the officers, arrived at Falmouth. They included engineers, stokers, and ordinary seamen, and one of the men stated yesterday that after the engineers went on board, they refused to sign articles on the ground that part of the agreement, which was that the whole of the men should receive a month's pay in advance, had not been fulfilled. They also stated that, with the exception of the chief engineer, all the engineers on board had been put in irons, and, on hearing this, the other men refused to join the ship";

whether a Chilean warship has been permitted to engage a crew in Falmouth; and what steps, if any, have been taken by the authorities to prevent breaches of the Foreign Enlistment Acts, and the entrapment of British subjects, and their enforced employment in the Chilean Civil War?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): I have seen the statement. Her Majesty's Government have not interfered, as the Foreign Enlistment Act does not apply to the case, and Her Majesty's Government have no power in the matter.

In reply to a further question by Dr. CAMERON,

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON said: I do not suppose that anybody in this country requires to be told that a state of war exists in Chili; but a vessel belonging to a Foreign Power has a right to engage



British subjects, so long as no belligerent rights have been recognised on the other side.

#### MALTA.

DR. CAMERON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on what ground the Government of Malta has postponed the meeting of the Legislative Council, which should have taken place on the 15th instant, until the 31st of October; and whether their action in doing so has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for the Colonies?

BARON H. DE WORMS: As none of the unofficial members were disposed to accept seats in the Executive Council, and as there was no pressing business requiring that the Council of Government should sit later into the summer, the Governor, in accordance with the usual practice, has prorogued the Council until 31st October. This step does not require the sanction of the Secretary of State, but has his approval.

DR. CAMERON: I understand that the prorogation was in accordance with the usual practice?

BARON H. DE WORMS: Yes, Sir.

#### LICENCES IN WALES.

MR. A. THOMAS (Glamorgan, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a report in the *South Wales Daily News*, of the 29th June, in which it is stated that a certain Magistrate residing near Pontypridd is in the habit of granting occasional licences for the sale of intoxicants, though applications for such licences have been refused when applied for in open Court; and whether it is lawful for him to grant licences under those conditions?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have not seen the newspaper referred to by the hon. Member. I have no information that the Magistrate in question is in the habit of granting occasional licences. He did, I believe, on two occasions grant such a licence, not being aware that on one of those occasions it had been previously refused at Petty Sessions. I am advised that his action was lawful under the provisions of the 26 & 27 Vic., c. 33.

*Sir J. Fergusson*

#### NEWFOUNDLAND.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can give the House the text of the Bill passed by the Newfoundland Legislature for the enforcement of the *modus vivendi* and the arbitrator's awards, and also any further information as to the negotiations respecting a permanent Act for the enforcement of Treaties and other obligations on the Newfoundland shore?

BARON H. DE WORMS: I will lay on the Table a copy of the Act passed by the Newfoundland Legislature. The permanent measure which is in contemplation is still under consideration.

#### JUDGE METCALFE.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the language used by Judge Metcalfe in delivering Judgment in the case of "Kilby and Coleman v. Baker," in the Bristol County Court, on 7th July, and reported in the *Western Daily Mail*; and whether he will bring the matter under the notice of the Lord Chancellor?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have seen a newspaper report of the case. I have no control over County Court Judges. I would suggest that if the hon. Member wishes to make any representation on the subject he should address himself directly to the Lord Chancellor.

MR. FENWICK: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this man goes out of his way to denounce in a wholesale and indiscriminate manner the officials connected with Trades Unions, and that he declared in reference to certain actions for compensation, under the Employers' Liability Act of 1886, that if the Union Secretary appeared in them in future he would disallow the costs, and that he was strongly tempted to do so then, although the facts of the case were clear, and showed that the accident occurred in consequence of the negligence of the employer? Will the right hon. Gentleman call the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the conduct of this man, who repeatedly goes out of his way to denounce persons whose probity can in no way be called in question?

**MR. MATTHEWS:** I am wholly unaware of the facts mentioned by the hon. Member.

#### EMIGRANTS TO ARGENTINA.

**ADMIRAL FIELD:** I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any Report has been received from our Consul or representative at Buenos Ayres relative to distressed British subjects anxious to return to this country owing to inability to obtain employment; whether he has read the accounts published in the *Buenos Ayres Standard* of 13th June, forwarded for his information; whether he is aware that the French Legislature has voted £40,000 to assist unemployed French people in River Plate to return home, and that the Spanish Government have taken similar action in respect of Spanish subjects; and whether the British Consul can be authorised to provide passages for a certain number of our distressed countrymen, to enable them to migrate to Canada or the United States or to return home.

**\*SIR J. FERGUSSON:** As regards paragraphs 1 and 2, we have received Reports lately relative to the failure of the Naposta Colony, which Mr. Herbert, of Her Majesty's Legation, visited. Many of the colonists had arrived in the capital; some had found work, but many had not. We have not heard of any such grants by France and Spain. There are no funds at the disposal of the Foreign Office for the purpose indicated.

#### THE SALVATION ARMY AT EASTBOURNE.

**MR. ATKINSON (Boston):** I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will allow the poor women and men of the Salvation Army, who are sentenced to prison at Eastbourne, to be visited on Saturday next by a Justice of the Peace of Hull, Middlesex, Westminster, and Sussex, of 27 years' standing, whose object is to see if complaints made to him of the bad treatment of the Salvation Army by other Justices of Sussex are correctly made?

**MR. MATTHEWS:** If my hon. Friend is a Justice of the Peace for the County of Sussex he requires no authority from me to visit and inquire into the treat-

ment of the Salvationists recently convicted at Eastbourne. He has this authority under Section 15 of the Prison Act of 1877.

#### TELEGRAMS TO RUSSIA.

**MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury):** I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether the charge for a telegram from England to Russia in Europe is 5½d. per word, and the charge for a telegram from St. Petersburg to any part of Russia in Asia is about 4d. per word, whilst according to the Post Office Guide the charge for a telegram from England to Russia in Asia is for the first region 1s. 8d. per word, and for the second region 2s. 7d. per word, whereas the sum of the two separate charges from England to Russia in Asia is but 9½d.; and whether he can account for the discrepancy between the British charge for a telegram to Russia in Asia, and the sum of the above-mentioned two separate charges?

**\*MR. RAIKES:** The charge for telegrams from England to Russia are correctly stated by the hon. Member. From St. Petersburg to Russia in Asia the charge is, I believe, 4d. per word *plus* 6d. per telegram. The discrepancy is mainly due to the fact that for an international telegram under the extra-European *régime*, Russia, like other countries, requires a higher rate than for a telegram circulating exclusively within her own dominions. The terminal rate for the first region of Russia in Asia is 150 centimes, and the terminal rate for the second region is 262½ centimes.

**\*MR. HENNIKER HEATON:** Will the right hon. Gentleman give an assurance that representations have been, or will be, made to Russia on this subject?

**\*MR. RAIKES:** That is not a matter which comes within my province.

#### SCOTCH CENSUS ENUMERATORS.

**MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.):** I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether enumerators for the Census of 1891, *i.e.*, William Baxter, Alex. Alexander, and James Christie, Old Meldrum Parish, Aberdeenshire, have yet been paid; and, if not, will he explain why?

**\*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. F. B. ROBERTSON, Bute):** The enumerators

referred to in the question have not yet been paid, because certain questions have arisen in other parts of the county which necessitated a reference to the Sheriff for investigation. These questions have now been adjusted, and the money has been remitted to the Sheriff clerk to carry out the payments.

#### OUTRAGES UPON EUROPEANS IN CHINA.

SIR W. HARCOURT (Derby): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, having regard to the outrages recently reported upon European residents at Wusueh and other places in China, whether he will state what measures have been taken for the protection of British residents on the Chinese coast; and what is the present situation in that region?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: In a letter from the British Admiral on the China Station, dated Shanghai, May 23, he stated that he had strengthened the force of British vessels in the River Yangtze Kiang, and that four would be stationed there; in addition, there was a German gunboat at Hankow, and three ships of war in the river. Sir John Walsham reported on the 21st ult. that there were nine foreign men-of-war in the river and also a strong naval force at Shanghai on the day following the outbreak of the riot. The Chinese Government appear to be fully alive to the gravity of the situation, and on the first outbreak at Wuhu telegraphed to the Viceroy to take immediate action. In reply to the representations made to them on the part of Her Majesty's Government, they have given assurances that a rigorous investigation would be made into the circumstances attending these anti-foreign riots, and that none of the guilty parties should go unpunished. Two men have been executed at Wuhu, two condemned to death at Wusueh, and several mandarins degraded. Correspondence on the subject will be laid before Parliament as soon as it can be prepared.

#### DISPUTE WITH THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to  
*Mr. J. P. B. Robertson*

a report telegraphed to the French paper, the *Estafette*, of Paris, that the British Mediterranean Fleet would shortly proceed to the Piræus to enforce the demands recently made by the British Minister at Athens on the Greek Government, for satisfaction of certain claims by British subjects against the Syra Steamship Company and in regard to the Lake Copais Company; and whether Her Majesty's Government will communicate to Parliament what is the nature of those claims, and how long they have been in existence?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: The movements of the Mediterranean Squadron have no connection with the cases referred to. It will be considered whether the Papers can be presented just now with a due regard to the interests concerned.

#### MOROCCO.

MR. RENTOUL (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that the Presbyterian and other missionaries in Morocco believe that they are at present in a position of great danger owing to the threats of the natives; and whether he can take any steps to secure the safety of the missionaries, or give any assurance which may allay the fears which the friends of the missionaries in this country entertain; whether he knows of any conduct on the part of the missionaries in any sense calculated to provoke hostility; and if he can point out any methods by which mission work could be carried on with greater safety in Morocco than at present?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: It is unfortunately the case that the injudicious proceedings of certain missionaries have aroused the fanatical feelings of the native population in Morocco City and elsewhere and given rise to complaints from the Moorish Government. Her Majesty's Acting Charge d'Affaires has taken steps to warn them of the danger to which they are exposing themselves and others. It would be well if the societies with which these gentlemen and ladies are connected would support the action of Her Majesty's Representative, as he reports that—

"That it is much to be regretted that the want of tact of a few of the Protestant missionaries in this country should in a great

measure counteract and undo the really good work that is being done in a quiet and unostentatious manner by others, who, by their tender ministrations to the poor and sick have been steadily gaining the respect and esteem of all."

#### THE SCOTCH UNIVERSITIES.

**MR. BRYCE** (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he can state when the Scottish University Commissioners propose to present to Her Majesty their Special Report upon the questions affecting the theological faculties in the Scottish Universities; and whether, as soon as the Report has been presented, it, and the evidence taken upon the subject by the Commissioners, will be issued as a Parliamentary Paper?

\***MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON**: The Commissioners have not yet settled the terms of their Report on this subject, but hope to do so on their re-assembling in the month of October. The hon. and learned Member will readily understand that until Her Majesty's commands have been received I am unable to answer the latter part of the question.

#### COLOUR VISION.

**SIR H. ROSCOE** (Manchester, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Committee on Colour Vision, appointed by the Royal Society at his suggestion, is about to issue a Report before the end of the present Session?

\***SIR M. HICKS BEACH**: I am informed that the Committee have prepared a Draft Report, but the subject has been found so difficult that the Committee consider it still necessary to make further inquiries and practical experiments, and it is not probable that the Report will be presented until next year.

#### THE LICENSING LAWS.

**MR. COBB**: I beg to ask the Attorney General whether, in order to remove some misapprehension which seems to exist as to a recent case at Wolverhampton, he can state what is the existing law as to licensed victuallers supplying alcoholic liquors after the legal hours in cases of illness; and whether it is legal to supply them in such cases upon a Magistrate's order or upon a medical certificate?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL** (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): In reply to the question of the hon. Member, I have no knowledge whatever of the facts of the case to which he refers, nor can I state the existing law with regard to licensed victuallers otherwise than by referring the hon. Member to the provisions of the Statutes of 1872 and 1874. If the hon. Member will communicate with me as to the circumstances of any particular case I shall be happy to give him any assistance in my power.

#### THE CENSUS RETURNS.

**SIR E. J. REED**: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if his attention has been called to the following facts recorded in the Preliminary Report upon the Census of England and Wales for 1891, namely, that the number of Members of the House of Commons for England and Wales, irrespective of the Universities, being 490, and the enumerated population being 29,001,018, an equal numerical distribution would give one Member to 59,186 persons (p. xii.); and that the present population of the Cardiff District of Boroughs exceeds 132,000, and is represented in the House of Commons by one Member only, while the aggregate populations of Durham City, Pontefract, Bury St. Edmunds, Grantham, Penryn and Falmouth, King's Lynn, and Boston, which amount only to 120,239, are represented in this House by seven Members (Table III.), and whether he will undertake to submit to Parliament, in its next Session, a measure for giving to the Cardiff District of Boroughs more adequate representation?

**MR. GOSCHEN**: I am not prepared, on behalf of the First Lord of the Treasury, to give the pledge suggested by the hon. Member. If the question of proportional representation is to be dealt with, it would have to be considered generally and would raise some extremely interesting issues. I do not think it could be dealt with in the piecemeal manner proposed.

**MR. BARTLEY** (Islington, N.): Is it a fact that many of the London divisions have over 100,000 population with only one Member?

**MR. GOSCHEN**: I think that if this question were opened and considered generally it would give rise to some extremely interesting issues.

SIR E. J. REED: May I ask whether there cannot be some automatic arrangement for a periodical revision of representation such as is the practice in the United States?

MR. GOSCHEN: The hon. Gentleman asks me a question of great political scope, and I do not feel that I am able to deal with such a wide issue on this occasion.

#### THE LONDON WATER BILL.

SIR J. LUBBOCK (London University): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether Her Majesty's Government will give facilities to enable me to pass the London County Council (Water Supply, &c.) Bill in the form recommended by the Select Committee?

MR. GOSCHEN: No, Sir. I understand that the Bill is highly contentious, and it would be contrary to our pledges to give such facilities.

MR. J. STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): Will any steps be taken to allow the London County Council to expend money?

\*MR. RITCHIE: It would require to be introduced in a General Powers Bill.

#### SATURDAY SITTING.

MR. J. S. GATHORNE-HARDY (Kent, Medway): May I ask whether there is any intention on the part of the Government to ask the House to sit on Saturday?

MR. GOSCHEN: I will state later in the evening whether there will be a Saturday sitting or not. The Government are anxious to consult the general convenience of all hon. Members, but the question is whether hon. Members would prefer to sit on Saturday, or, by not sitting on Saturday, sit a day longer at the close of the Session.

#### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Third Report, with Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix, brought up, and read;

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 361.]

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Crofters' Common Grazings (Scotland) Bill, with-

out Amendment; Ranges Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law relating to Chartered Accountants." [Chartered Accountants Bill [Lords.]]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to transfer the Middlesex Registry of Deeds to the Land Registry, and provide for the conduct of the business thereof." [Land Registry (Middlesex Deeds) Bill [Lords.]]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend 'The Lunacy Act, 1890.'" [Lunacy Bill [Lords.]]

#### RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).

That they do request that this House will be pleased to communicate to their Lordships, a Copy of the Report, &c., from the Select Committee appointed by this House in the present Session of Parliament on Railway Servants (Hours of Labour).

#### MR. DE COBAIN.

(4.24.) MR. MACARTNEY: I wish to ask Mr. Speaker whether he has received any communication from any elector or electors in the East Division of Belfast.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Order, order!

\*MR. SPEAKER: Under the circumstances I shall reply to the question put to me by the hon. Member. A communication was made to me this morning by letter.

MR. T. M. HEALY: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask, as this is a matter affecting the constitutional rights and privileges of this House, whether it is proper for persons out of doors to address certain representations to you, Sir; and whether, if there should be founded upon that for electoral purposes a question by a Member of this House, that would not be a gross irregularity?

\*MR. SPEAKER: It is because the constitutional rights of the House are affected that I propose to answer the question. A Memorial was sent to me both in my personal and official capacity from certain electors of Belfast. I do not think it right to lay it before the House. It is, of course, a very different matter indeed from the subject I com-

municated to the House the other day, and which directly affected the investigation of the case by the House. This is a communication on behalf of a certain number of electors complaining of the suspense under which the electorate are placed in the present circumstances, but it is a matter entirely for the House. If there is any suspense, that is caused by the action of the House, and I am not the proper medium of communication for information of that sort. If the electors desire any representation of that kind to be made, it should be made in the form of a Petition presented by a Member of the House and laid before the House in the ordinary way. That is the only reason why I have gone out of the ordinary course, in answering a question on the subject.

\*Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I should like to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the practical disenfranchisement of East Belfast, by the course of events which has occurred, he will take that fact into account in considering the course which the Government will pursue?

\*Mr. GOSCHEN: I was about to move that the Order on the Paper for the attendance of Mr. de Cobain be discharged. I have carefully considered what passed in the House a few days ago, and I have certainly come to the conclusion—and nothing I have heard has tended to weaken it—that I shall be meeting the wishes of the House if, in view of the medical certificate, I move that the Order for the attendance of Mr. de Cobain be discharged. I am bound to add in this matter that it appears to me that we have simply to look to the impartial duty of this House, and that we have to take care that there shall be no assumption of guilt, notwithstanding whatever appearances there may be, one way or the other, and that we cannot allow political considerations, even when connected with so important a constituency, to induce us to move one step in setting a precedent which may be of considerable scope in the future. My hon. Friend (Mr. T. W. Russell) asks me whether I have taken the political convenience of the electors into consideration.

\*Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: I have not considered their political convenience at all. It simply amounts to disfranchisement.

\*Mr. GOSCHEN: I did not say Party considerations, and I do not for one moment suggest that my hon. Friend meant Party considerations; he meant the political consideration whether the constituency should remain without its Member or not. That is, no doubt, a very important consideration, but I am bound to say I look also to the fact that we are close to the end of the Session, and I think we are bound not to deviate from the course we consider right, namely, that, in the face of the declarations made, we should not proceed to expulsion. I venture to think that that will be the general sense of the House, and I therefore beg to move that the Order for the attendance of Mr. de Cobain be discharged.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be discharged."—(*The Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

(4.32.) Mr. T. M. HEALY: I desire to say a word with reference to the political or party considerations said to be involved. I have never known Party considerations to be imported into such a matter in the way they have been by a letter in this morning's papers and by the remarks of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell). Mr. de Cobain's seat is filled as much as is the seat of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. Is it to be suggested that a Member shall be expelled the House because there are a number of ambitious candidates who desire to have his seat? It is the coolest assumption I ever heard of. With regard to the disfranchisement, which now weighs so much with the hon. Member for South Tyrone, there are two Members in Galway Gaol; and has the hon. Member troubled himself about the disfranchisement of Mayo or Cork? The late Member for Aston Manor was in South Africa for two years, and no complaint was made of disfranchisement. I never heard anything more indecent than the suggestion that this House, which is a High Court of Justice, should intervene for the sake of the convenience of certain candidates for a seat which is not vacant.

\*Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: The hon. Member has attributed to me a motive which it never occurred to me to entertain, namely, consideration for the candidates for East Belfast. What I had

in my mind was this—that for months a great constituency has been disfranchised by Mr. de Cobain's absence from the House, and he now refuses to come to the House to perform his duties as a Member. It is quite true that there are some Irish constituencies that take the non-attendance of their Members very easily. Irish Members who are not in gaol have disappeared almost entirely, and have hardly been seen during the present Session. It does not follow because those constituencies do not care whether they are represented or not that the constituency of East Belfast takes the same view. It never occurred to me to think of the convenience of Sir W. Charley or Mr. James Henderson, who are candidates. I was thinking of the constituency itself. Part of the City of Belfast has been disfranchised during this Session, and it objects to that disfranchisement existing any longer. I quite concur, however, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it is better in the circumstances to give Mr. de Cobain the further chance that time may give him, and so far as I am concerned, I do not raise any objection to the Motion. Mr. de Cobain might be prejudiced if the House proceeded to his expulsion, but assuredly he has done more to prejudice himself than any one else has.

(4.35.) MR. J. LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): I do not wish to intervene in the controversy between the hon. Gentleman opposite, but rather to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer what course he intends to pursue with regard to this matter in the future Session. The right hon. Gentleman speaks of postponing the matter on the ground of the late period of the Session. That may be a means of saving time and of promoting the convenience of the House; but has the right hon. Gentleman considered what expectation he has of dealing with this matter at any future time? There is much to be said in favour of the House allowing its Members to be dealt with according to law, and not interfering in their favour or against them when they are charged with offences which have no relation to their position as Members of the House. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer bases the Motion for discharging the order on the late period of the Session, I must enter a protest against its withdrawal on any such

*Mr. T. W. Russell*

ground. The certificate before the House discloses no ground for, our waiving for a moment the proceeding on which we have embarked. The certificate does not state that Mr. de Cobain was precluded from obeying the order of the House, and that he would be injured by complying with that order; on the other hand, it refers to the possible consequences of Mr. de Cobain appearing before another tribunal with which this House has nothing to do. If an application is to be made for postponement of trial on any such ground as is set forth in the certificate, it ought to be made, not to this House, but to the tribunal before which the case will come. With the exception of the case of Mr. Sadleir, precedents have to be looked for a long way back, and in almost all the cases in which the House has taken action the offences had a direct bearing on the position of the accused as Members of the House. If the House makes an order and allows it to be evaded by such a transparent device as the excuse now put forward, the proceeding will not tend to the dignity of the House. We have not had even a personal assurance from Mr. de Cobain that he intends at any time to return and submit himself to the order of the House or to place himself within the jurisdiction of the tribunals of the land. On the contrary, there is published in the newspapers an announcement purporting to be signed by him in precisely the opposite sense. We shall probably be told next Session that climatic or other considerations precluded him from obeying the order of the House; and then the lateness of the Session or the antiquity of the Parliament may be assigned as a reason for allowing the proposed proceedings to fall into abeyance. We have made an order which has been ostentatiously set at defiance. Whether we were wise in making it is a point on which I myself have great doubt. I hope the House will not make a further order without intending that it shall be obeyed, or, if it be not, that action shall not be delayed except for far more substantial reasons than those now advanced.

\*(4.42.) MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman has stated that there is no evidence of the intention of the hon. Member for East Belfast to appear in his place in the House. The certificate

entered on the Votes is to the effect that he will not be well enough to appear on July 23, which, by implication, is a declaration that he intends to appear when he is able. Further, his solicitor says Mr. de Cobain states that the charges are wholly without foundation, that they are the result of conspiracy, and that it is and always has been Mr. de Cobain's intention to return to Ireland and meet them. With these declarations before us the best course is to wait and see whether he does meet the charges in the course of the present year.

Question put, and agreed to.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 410.)

Lords Amendments considered.

(4.44.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I think it would be convenient if the Chief Secretary would state to the House generally the course which the Government intend to pursue with regard to the Lords' Amendments. There are some of the Lords' Amendments to which I and my hon. Friends have no strong objection, but there are others to which we are entirely opposed. One of the latter is the long Amendment moved by Lord Waterford, the object of which is already sufficiently met in the Act of 1888. The Amendment moved by Lord Arran is also of a highly contentious character. It would be absurd to enact that a fee-simple owner should be subject to all the conditions of one who is not an owner. How would Lord Arran like to hold his own estates on the terms he suggests for the purchaser? Undoubtedly the title of the tenants will be as indefensible as that of Lord Arran. Lord Londonderry, an ex-Lord Lieutenant, has introduced a very remarkable Amendment on the question of the composition of the staff of the Land Commission. If the Government desired this alteration in the Bill, it would have been more frank on their part to have asked the present Lord Lieutenant to introduce the Amendment. Will the House believe that the entire body of the Land Commissioners reported in favour of the Bill as it left the House of Commons, and the entire

body of the Fair Rent Commissioners reported in favour of Lord Londonderry's Amendment. All the Fair Rent Commissioners are new to their work, every one of them having been appointed within the last two years, whilst those who have reported in favour of the original clause have been in office since the coming into force of the Act of 1875. To deny to the Commissioners responsible for the working of the Act any voice in the selection of the staff which is to assist them, is a very extraordinary position to assume. The further Amendment moved by Lord Londonderry with respect to the £50 limit I do not regard as of much importance; but I do most strongly object to the Amendment respecting the tenants' interest. The Bill as passed by the House of Commons contained a distinct recognition that the tenant was only buying the landlord's interest, and had an interest of his own. On the question of the annual value, I prefer the measure as it left the House of Commons. On the whole I would advise the Government not to persist in the great bulk of the Lords' Amendments.

(4.54.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I think the Government would do well to accept the suggestion of my hon. and learned Friend. One Amendment which will provoke opposition is the Amendment which provides that the tenant who asks for an award of three-fourths of the purchase-money shall pay interest at a lower rate. Such a tenant already has a great advantage in not paying anything to the Insurance Fund, and he least requires any additional advantage. The adoption of the Amendment will reduce the fund intended by the Act for the advantage of the labourers. In my opinion it is detrimental to the public interest. As to the Amendment of the Marquess of Waterford, it does more than it professes to do, and makes various changes in the law which will necessitate very detailed attention. Then the Lords provide that the tenant shall buy the holding, although since 1870 he has been a joint owner of the land. I do not know why this change has been made, unless it be because the Lords dislike any reference to the fact that the tenant has already any interest in the holding. I, therefore, ask the



Government to consider whether they will not restore this part of the Bill to its original form. The next Amendment is that proposed by Lord Londonderry respecting the proportion between the two classes of tenants. I declined to consider the £30,000,000 as a final amount, and I was, therefore, opposed to the introduction of a limit. As the Amendment of Lord Londonderry tends rather to diminish the action of the limit, I am not disposed to find fault with it, but may I point out to the Attorney General that the language of the first sub-section of Lord Londonderry's clause may be open to serious misinterpretation, for in it Lord Londonderry speaks of the annual share of the county in the guarantee fund, as the amount which is to be deemed to be allocated. But the clause does not propose to limit the amount that may be advanced at any time, and despite the wording of the clause, the county share may all be advanced in any year, or even in any month. But this sentence, "the annual share of the county in the guarantee fund is to be deemed to be allocated," may be held to mean that no more than 1-25th of the share of the county may be allocated in any one year. I would suggest that the clause be rendered less open to misinterpretation by striking out Sub-sections 2 and 3, and somewhat altering the wording of Sub-section 1. The next Amendment, which empowers the Land Commission under certain circumstances to order the Sheriff into possession of the holding, is also open to objection. I say that, as the Land Commission will stand in the position of litigants, they ought not to have the power of ordering the Sheriff to take possession, but it should be vested in some other Court. There is another clause on which I hope we shall get a satisfactory declaration from the right hon. Gentleman. The purchase system has now been in operation for some years, and under the Ashbourne Act the tenants have bought under certain conditions, such as that they shall not sublet, &c. Lord Arran, however, by his new clause, proposes to place tenants buying under this Act under less favourable conditions as to rights of ownership. We know that the law of waste rests upon the Act of 1860, which was passed before the tenants had any

*Mr. Sexton*

interest in the soil, and the Irish Law Courts have so interpreted it that if a tenant alters an outhouse so as to give shelter to an evicted tenant, the alteration, although it may actually improve the holding, is to be deemed to be waste. Can it be seriously contended that if a man who purchases a farm under this Act after 20 or 30 years, when he has paid the bulk of his debt to the estate, gives shelter in an outhouse on the farm to an evicted tenant, and makes the out-office more suitable as a habitation, he should be evicted from his freehold? If so, then I say that the purchase system is being reduced to a farce, and the right hon. Gentleman will have placed such an obstacle in the way of transactions that the Act will have no effectual operation. There are only one or two other Amendments to which I wish to allude. One is the power given to the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary to make appointments in the office of the Land Commission. The two Purchase Commissioners hold that their names should be included in the Bill with a view to their being consulted in regard to these appointments. The three Land Commissioners do not hold that view. You have already prevented the Land Department interfering with the Purchase Department for one or two years. It may be said that the Commissioners will be consulted in this matter, but unless their names are inserted in the Bill they will not be consulted as of right. I think there should be some reference as of right by the Lord Lieutenant to the Land Commissioners. It can do no harm. I hold that for the efficiency of the Department every opportunity should be afforded the Purchase Commissioners to express an opinion on these matters, and I fear unless the clause is amended as I suggest there will be considerable friction. I further object to the provision giving an appeal to two Commissioners. If it so happened that the two Purchase Commissioners sat in any particular case the appeal would be from them to the three Land Commissioners, and that is really by a side wind restoring to the Bill one of the most objectionable provisions it formerly contained—a provision against which we had a prolonged fight in Committee. We object to any control by the three Land Commissioners over the

two Purchase Commissioners. The Government virtually conceded that point to us in Committee. I hope that we shall not be deprived of the concession by a side wind, and that the right hon. Gentleman will restore the clause to the condition in which it left this House. The last Amendment to which I shall refer is that dealing with the average amount of abatements of rent by the landlord. Any arrears of rent cancelled at the time of purchase may, under the Act, be treated as abatements of rent. I do not think that that should be the case, for abatements are reductions of rent granted at the time of payment. I believe the effect of this Amendment will be to lower the number of years' purchase in every case, and operate as an impediment to purchase. For that reason I would suggest the propriety of disagreeing with it.

(5.12.) **MR. LEA** (Londonderry, S.): I do not know how far it is desirable to deal with the Amendments in detail. I rather agree with the remarks of the hon. Member on the clause as to waste. It is a matter of considerable difficulty, and I hope the Government will save the House the trouble of further considering it. I also agree with what he said as to the £50 limit. I do not agree with the hon. Member, however, in regard to the appointment of the Land Commission. If the two sets of Commissioners have disagreed upon this point already it will be a bone of contention in the future, and, therefore, I am of opinion that the Government had better keep the matter in its own hands. I always understood that appointments of this nature were made on the responsibility of the Government of the day, and it seems to me that while, of course, they will consider the wishes of the Commissioners, they had better retain the power in their own hands. I hope, too, the right hon. Gentleman will clearly express his opinion as to the Amendment in regard to the power of delegation, because I think it would be very unwise to minimise the effect of that clause.

**MR. MACARTNEY** (Antrim, S.): I think the House has already recognised the extreme inconvenience of acting on the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Longford in asking for a statement of the views of the Go-

vernment relative to the Amendments at this particular stage. I am unable to perceive how the deliberations of the House can be assisted by the right hon. Gentleman's declaring without further debate which of the Amendments he will accept and which he will object to. I think it would be much better to proceed with the Amendments at once, one by one, than to continue a general discussion.

(5.16.) **THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND** (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am not sure that the course which has been pursued by the House is a convenient one, though I believe it is not without precedent. In the circumstances, however, I cannot remain altogether silent, but I fear the brief statement I have to make will not be fully satisfactory to some of the Irish Members. I cannot say what course the House will take in the matter; I can only indicate what the Government will respectfully invite the House to do. Points have been raised with regard to six or seven Amendments, and in the majority I am afraid I cannot meet the wishes of hon. Members opposite. With respect to the office of the Land Commission, I should be sorry to make myself responsible for any Amendment which would have the effect of preventing individual members of the Commission from expressing their opinion to the Lord Lieutenant and giving him material upon which to form a judgment as to the proper men to be appointed. I am not disposed, however, to introduce anything into the Act which would deprive the Lord Lieutenant of the authority given him. I cannot conceive that the Lord Lieutenant would feel it part of his duty to exclude from his consideration any representation made to him either by the Land or by the Purchase Commissioners. Another point raised is with regard to the phrase "the interest which the tenant purchases in his holding." I think it will be admitted that the modification introduced by the Lords into the measure will have no operative or administrative effect. It is a matter, no doubt, for discussion whether the wording which they have adopted or the wording of the Bill is the most appropriate; but I think it can hardly be maintained that any difference at all

will be made in the administration of the Act. I do not think it will be advisable on that point to raise a Debate. As to the Tenants' Insurance Fund, it appears to me that the solution arrived at by the other House is a convenient solution. Another question raised has reference to the tenants who are to be excused, not only from providing for the Insurance Fund, but also from the county percentage—that is to say, those who pay down a fourth of the purchase money. I think it will be admitted that, both in the interests of the Treasury and everybody concerned, it is extremely desirable to encourage tenants to make these substantial advances towards the purchase of their holdings. That was essentially the principle of all former Purchase Acts. While this proposal deprives the county of the half-percentage, it relieves the county of all risk. The hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast seems to think that in the other House they have departed from the compromise arrived at in this House as to the Court of Appeal which is to sit on a question of value, but I think the hon. Gentleman will see that he is mistaken on that point. The Government only contemplated the case of an appeal from a Commissioner sitting alone, and they decided that in such a case the appeal should always be to two Lay Commissioners and a Judicial Commissioner, one of the Lay Commissioners being a Commissioner appointed under the Act of 1881, and the other a Commissioner appointed under the Act of 1885. They did not contemplate the case of an appeal which, as a matter of fact, has never arisen, in which two Commissioners should sit together as a Court of First Instance. If the Bill had been left in its original shape there would be no appeal at all from two Commissioners sitting together, and the intention of the House that in all cases there should be an appeal in cases of value would have been defeated. I may say at once that if a proviso is introduced to prevent two Commissioners sitting as a Court of First Instance I shall not have the slightest objection to leaving the clause in its original shape. It is only to provide against a possibility which has never occurred that that change has been made. It only remains for me to notice the two long

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

and elaborate clauses which are described in the Amendment Paper, B and G—one relates to the "liability of the tenant after agreement for sale," and the other to "provisions as to holdings subject to purchase annuity." I have a natural leaning towards the clauses. Clause B has been adopted, I believe, with very little modification from the Land Department Bill for which I was responsible, but it will be quite impossible to accept it in its present shape, as it provides no machinery for dealing with the 1 per cent. which will accumulate in the interval between the agreement and the final vesting order. It would at this stage be very difficult to provide the necessary machinery for dealing with the 1 per cent. I am afraid that if you put into the Bill a large rate of interest which the landlord is to get, which he is not to have the trouble of collecting, and which he is to enjoy during the whole period that proceedings are pending, a great inducement to hurry on proceedings will be removed from him. I should much regret that. In regard to Clause G (provisions as to holdings subject to purchase annuity), which I believe is taken almost without a change from our Bill, I have to admit that there are various objections to it. I am one of those who have been constantly striving to find some method of dealing with an undoubted evil of land purchase, namely, the destruction of timber, and it really is largely with a view to that that I introduced in the Land Purchase Bill what now appears as Sub-section (b) in this clause. But further consideration has convinced me that that object, with which the whole House will sympathise, will not be attained by that sub-section, which would prevent the destruction of hedgerow trees, but not of woods and plantations, and therefore I cannot ask the House to accept it upon that ground. As to the provisions about main drainage and watercourses, if a tenant chooses to neglect drains and watercourses, there is ample power to compel him to make them right without asking the Land Commission to step in; and if, in addition, regard is had to the undoubted fact that every restriction placed on the full enjoyment of ownership is so far a check on land purchase, I think we shall probably not be long in coming to the conclusion that if any-

thing is to be done in this direction in the Land Department Bill it will have to be in a modified form, and after a more prolonged consideration than is possible in the course of the present Session.

Amendments, as far as Clause A, agreed to.

Lords' Amendment considered, in page 7, after Clause 6, to insert the following clause :

(Advance of three-fourths of purchase money.)

(A.)—Notwithstanding anything in the Land Purchase Acts or this Act, any advance made after the passing of this Act, which shall not exceed three-fourths of the price paid for a holding, shall be repaid by an annuity of three pounds fifteen shillings per cent. on the amount of such advance for forty-nine years, and no payment shall be made to the guarantee fund by way of county per-centage in respect of any such advance."

Amendment read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

(5.36.) MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I wish to move an Amendment providing that a tenant who advances one-fourth of the purchase money himself shall not have the whole of the advantage which the Lords propose to give him. I think the House might agree that the tenant who receives three-fourths only should get as good terms as the tenant who receives the whole, and to that extent I think the Lords' Amendment is beneficial; but when it goes further and says that those tenants who are generally large and wealthy tenants are to pay nothing in order to provide better housing for the labourers, I cannot see why the House should assent to that. The smallest tenant who buys under this Bill will pay 5s. on every £100 advanced for the better housing of the labourers. As it is, there will be a great temptation for men to borrow at higher rates in order to enable them, as it were, to pay the one-fourth out of their own pockets. It will be unfortunate if they do this, from the point of view of the State, and of the man himself. I, therefore, propose the Amendment of which I have given notice.

Amendment proposed, in line 4 of the proposed new Clause, to leave out "three

pounds fifteen shillings," and insert "four pounds."

Question proposed, "That three pounds fifteen shillings stand part of the Clause."

(5.41.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): The hon. and learned Member's argument is skilful, but the tenant will have to pay 5s. more if his proposal is agreed to. I protest against any class of tenants having to pay a shilling more to the British taxpayer than is absolutely necessary. I shall certainly vote against the tenant having to pay £4 when the Government are willing to let him off with £3 15s. I have always had great hopes that ultimately when the instalments have been well paid up the House of Commons will lower the percentage, which I think has been fixed higher than is absolutely necessary. If you had one section of the tenants paying £3 15s. and another £4, you would have an irresistible argument in favour of reducing the amount paid by the other tenants. The hon. and learned Member said his Amendment would increase the amount that would be given to the labourers. I think that is a mistake. I quite acknowledge that it is extremely proper that the overflow of the Guarantee Fund, if any, should go into the hands of the labourers. I must say I would sooner help the labourers by a more direct contribution from the State, and I think it would be a very great evil if we assented to the hon. and learned Member's Amendment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it will be accepted on all sides that the House ought to encourage these tenants to pay part themselves. It diminishes the risk to the taxpayer and the localities, but it does more than that, because, if you get a very large body of tenants to pay one-fourth of the purchase money themselves, a much larger total amount becomes available for land purchase than would otherwise be the case. The question is whether the encouragement we give is too much. I do not think it is. I think we may well ask the locality to give up the 5s. per cent. However, I do not wish to prolong discussion, and I will accept the hon. and learned Member's proposal if he will agree to alter £3 15s. to £3 17s. 6d.

(5.50.) MR. SEXTON: The hon. and gallant gentleman below me (Colonel Nolan) says he wants the Irish tenants to pay as little as possible to the British Treasury. I do not yield to the hon. and gallant Gentleman in the desire to secure the best terms for the tenant. That has been the object of the arduous labours we have undertaken on this Bill—labours in which the hon. and gallant Gentleman has given us no material assistance. I object to seeing the tenants treated unequally. I object to seeing the poorer tenants paying £4 per cent., whilst a small class of wealthy tenants escape at £3 15s. per cent., and are thus relieved of the obligation to contribute towards improving the wretched position of the agricultural labourers in Ireland. I doubt very much whether the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland is a sound one. He says it is desirable to encourage the tenants to find part of the purchase money. You may tempt the tenants to their own injury. Tenants may be so eager to make a bargain with the landlords on favourable terms that they may, not having the one-fourth, borrow it upon comparatively oppressive terms, and find themselves, after a short period, unable to repay it. Under these circumstances, the tenant who provides the one-fourth will be as likely as, if not more likely than, any other man to fall into such a condition as will necessitate the sale of his holding and the placing of the burden on the county. However, I am willing to recognise any disposition on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to make a concession, and to recommend my hon. and learned Friend to adopt the homely plan of "splitting the difference."

MR. KNOX: I withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment agreed to :—To leave out "£3 15s.," and insert "£3 17s. 6d."—(*Mr. Knox.*)

Further Amendment agreed to,

In line 5, to leave out from "no," to end of Clause, and insert "An annual sum, at the rate of two shillings and sixpence for every hundred pounds of the advance, shall be paid and applied in the same manner as the county percentage mentioned in section four of this Act."—(*Mr. Knox.*)

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Question, that this House do agree with the Clause as amended, put and agreed to.

Clause B (Liability of tenant after agreement for sale), the next Amendment, disagreed to.

Page 7, line 21, leave out from "value," to "then," in line 22, and insert "of the holding as in this Act defined," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

(6.5.) MR. SEXTON: As the clause left this House it read to the effect that "where an advance for the purchase of a holding is less than twenty times the annual value as in this Act defined of the interest which the tenant agrees to buy in the holding," &c. This is the only place in the whole expanse of this Act in which reference is made to what the tenant buys; it is the only spot in which it is defined. In Committee on the Bill of last year we convinced the Government that they ought to define what is bought as "the interest which the tenant agrees to buy." That corresponds with the fact. It is not the annual value of the holding, but the annual value of the landlord's interest which is bought. If it were the annual value of the holding the tenant would have to buy the landlord's interest and his own interest as well. With all the respect I have for the House of Lords, I cannot be induced to consent to the insertion of these words. The right hon. Gentleman knows that it is not the holding, but the landlord's interest which the tenant buys. What reason can he put forward for inserting these fanciful words, which do not correspond with the facts of the case?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman apparently forgets the argument which I addressed to the House earlier in the evening, to the effect that these words would not make any substantial alteration in the working of the Bill, and that it was merely a question of drafting. I still adhere to that view. It is true that the tenants in Ireland are

part owners of the holding as a productive machine. Every lawyer will admit that the owner of the holding is in effect the landlord, and the landlord only. If it is technically inaccurate to say that the landlord is the owner of the holding, it is, equally, technically inaccurate to say that the tenant is part owner.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** The State is the real owner; the landlord is only a tenant after all.

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** The hon. and learned Member will admit that I am using the word not inaccurately when I say that a Court of Law would regard the landlord as the owner and not the tenant.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** No.

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I think that is so. No doubt the landlord and tenant, regarding them as part of a productive machine, are part of one concern. The hon. and learned Gentleman seems to have forgotten that this is not the first Land Purchase Bill passed by the House of Commons. The whole of this Bill is drafted on the two preceding Acts, and I do not think it would be wise or expedient as a matter of drafting to insert in the middle of a new Act fresh distinctions.

**MR. SEXTON:** You did it in the Bill of last year.

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** The Bill of last Session was not passed. Considering that the measure is based on two preceding Acts, it would be an unfortunate and an inexpedient thing to introduce new language. The Land Purchase Act has been in operation for six years, and nearly £10,000,000 have been applied, and to say now that the tenant buys only the landlord's share of the holding is surely most superfluous. I think it is not a point on which it is worth while to engage in controversy with the other House. It is not a substantial point, so far as I can make out; it is a question of drafting, and I would, therefore, ask the House in this case to agree with the Amendment made in the Bill by the other House.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** If the right hon. Gentleman gets up to say that this is a light matter, let him give in on the point and restore the Bill to its original form. He says that this Amendment does not do anybody any harm, and

therefore, let us do violence to the solemn judgment of this House, and let us agree with the House of Lords. The right hon. Gentleman says that the landlord is the owner of the holding, but I would refer him to the language of the Attorney General, who declared that the tenants of Ireland were the owners of half the value of the estates.

**\*(6.18.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. MADDEN, Dublin University):** What I stated was that in many instances the interest of the tenant had sold for a larger sum than the interest of the landlord.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** It would certainly be a remarkable thing if anything could be gained from the correction now made. The Irish Secretary is taking an unreasonable and inopportune course at present. These words have a high declaratory value, just as had the words in the Act of 1881, defining that the tenant was not to be rented on his own improvements. A great controversy centred round those words; and I regard the words now under discussion as having a similar and as high a declaratory value. The Government attach no value to them, and they set up the judgment of the House of Lords against the judgment of the House of Commons. For my part, until we get a Parliament of our own, I prefer the judgment of the House of Commons. If it is a mere matter of drafting I would like to know something about the paternity of these words. I am really surprised that the Government should put the House to the trouble of a Debate and a Division on this matter, and I would point out that concession on small matters might affect our attitude on matters of greater importance.

**\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.):** I think the clause ought to stand as it left this House. The House of Lords' Amendment takes away the recognition of the tenant's interest, and I am not disposed that such recognition should be blotted out. I do not think any great fuss need be made about it; I do not think it will affect purchase one way or the other; still I cannot be expected to support the proposal to blot out the recognition of the tenant's interest.

**MR. NEVILLE (Liverpool, Exchange):** I beg to differ altogether from the Chief

Secretary in regard to the use of the word "owner" by lawyers.

"MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I said the word was used in Acts of 1885 and 1888, and that we had better adhere to it as a matter of drafting.

MR. NEVILLE: But earlier in his observations the right hon. Gentleman said that undoubtedly the word owner was used in the Courts of Law. In that respect he is inaccurate. The term is utterly unknown in real property, and when it occurs in an Act of Parliament the Courts have to do the best to put an interpretation upon it. So far as the Amendment is defended as being accurate, I venture to think that my hon. and learned Friend is right, and that the Chief Secretary is wrong.

\*(6.25.) MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): This is a matter of greater importance than it appears. It is a question of whether or not you are going to meet the sentiment of the Irish people, who in all their struggles have never acknowledged that their interest in the land had any right to be taken away from them. It is unfortunate that you should put language into this Bill which will tend to defeat the object of the Bill. But it is of a piece with all ameliorative legislation for Ireland—something is done to make it unpleasant. It was so with Catholic Emancipation, the Catholic communities being then treated in a way to make that measure hateful. If you take away this acknowledgment of the tenant's interest you will make a great mistake.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I really hope the Chief Secretary will not insist upon the Amendment. I gather from him that he did not himself consider the words to be of any importance, his argument being that they are only necessary from a drafting point of view. He has also stated that the landlord is owner of the property. That may be so in strict law, but the Act of 1881 has recognised the interest of the tenant, and I say the very object of this Bill is to do away with dual ownership. Of course the landlord may still be the owner in a certain sense, but in point of fact the tenant is the co-owner, and the words in the Bill as it left this House recognised the interest of the tenant. I hope the Chief Secretary will not insist on the Amendment.

*Mr. Neville*

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I have no doubt whatever that the words as they left this House were logically correct, and expressed the exact situation of the tenant. If you insert these words you create some confusion.

MR. J. JORDAN (Clare, W.): All our agitation has been for the recognition of tenant right, and it would be a great pity to insert words which would obliterate that recognition. If they do not alter the matter one way or the other, I do not see why the right hon. Gentleman should stick so tenaciously to them. The House of Lords know very little of the matter further than the collection of rents is concerned. I hope the feeling of the tenants will be consulted; and while I mean no disrespect to that august Assembly the House of Lords, I prefer to stick to the words of the House of Commons as they passed them. I advise the Chief Secretary to forego this Amendment.

MR. KNOX: The condition which we contend for is adopted already by the Act of 1885, Section 8, which makes it clear that the distinction is already drawn in the previous Act. I fail to see now why we should be asked to accept what is really a change in the law—a change of the terminology to be employed. I venture to think that if this alteration be carried it will be necessary to have a consequential Amendment to the effect that the tenant has a certain interest in the holding. I hope the Chief Secretary will not force us to continue this discussion, especially as we are supported, not only by Members on these Benches, but also by the Member for South Tyrone.

(6.30.) The House divided:—Ayes 143; Noes 116.—(Div. List, No. 371.)

Page 8, line 17, leave out "from time to time," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*.)

MR. SEXTON: I fail to understand why this Amendment is made at all. Supposing the Lord Lieutenant should be at liberty to revoke not only the first declaration which he made, but

also any subsequent declaration. Now, if you take out the words "from time to time," it would rather appear that it refers to only one declaration. The words "from time to time" leave the Lord Lieutenant at liberty to revoke any declaration imposed on the county.

MR. MADDEN: These words are superfluous, and unnecessary words in an Act of Parliament are mischievous.

Question put, and agreed to.

Page 8, line 20, after ("such") to insert ("subsequent or"), the next Amendment, agreed to.

Page 9, line 2, after ("arise") to insert ("or likely to arise"), the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman will remember that I pointed out to him it might be possible to relieve individual purchasers by giving relief in advance. These words "or likely to arise," will give the Lord Lieutenant power to advance an instalment not quite due, but soon to be due, before the legal title comes into operation.

MR. MADDEN: I think the Amendment would act as the hon. Gentleman has pointed out.

Question put, and agreed to.

Subsequent Amendments, as far as the Amendment in page 11, line 11, agreed to.

Page 11, line 11, leave out Sub-section (3) of Clause 10, and insert new Sub-section (3), the next Amendment, read a second time.

(6.50.) MR. SEXTON: It will be convenient now to deal with the question as to the proportions in which the divisions of the money should be made. It was arranged that the county share of the money should be divided into two parts, and that the question of further arrangement should not arise until the large and small farms had taken their full share. Lord Londonderry proposed that instead of waiting for this, 1-25th of the fund should yearly be proportionately divided between the large and small farms. There has been a

good deal of misapprehension as to the effect of this proposal, but I think the small tenants need not be apprehensive that they will be damnified, because their interests can be guarded. Now, in the Lords Amendment, page 11, it is provided that,

"One twenty-fifth of the total amount available for advances under this Act in each county shall in each financial year be deemed to be allocated according to the proportion above mentioned."

If these words are allowed to stand it is clear that you cannot issue in any year more than one twenty-fifth of a share of the county stock; but I do not think that that is what was really intended. I can understand that some language must be used, importing that there should be a certain sum set aside in each year, and I would suggest that you should leave out the first sub-section, and that in the second sub-section instead of speaking of the "amount so deemed to be allocated," you should say, "if the advances applied for, and which appear to the Land Commission likely to be sanctioned for the purchase of holdings exceeding £50 rental fall short in any year of the amount so deemed to be allocated to the class of holdings exceeding £50 valuation, the difference shall be carried to the proportion of the annual share of the county in the Guarantee Fund."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I would suggest that it would be better to introduce after the word "the," in the third line, the words, "for the purposes of this sub-section." Those words would, I think, carry out the object of the hon. Member.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am inclined to think that the Amendment before the House would be an improvement, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will stand by the words he has now suggested.

MR. KNOX: I understand the right hon. Gentleman to suggest that after the word "the," the words, "for the purposes of this sub-section" should be inserted. It is difficult to see precisely what the sub-section would direct the Land Commission to do. I venture to think that the Amendment suggested by the hon. Member for West Belfast is the only one that will carry out his object.

(7.1.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I agree with the hon. Member for Cavan, and

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would urge the right hon. Gentleman to make the alteration suggested by the hon. Member for West Belfast, and send it up to the House of Lords. The Lords will then see it on the paper, and having considered it, they can send it back to us, and we can consider it a second time. The matter is of great importance, and I do not think it should be hurriedly dealt with.

\*MR. SPEAKER: What is the hon. Member's suggestion?

MR. SEXTON: I suggest the omission of the 1st Sub-section, because so long as you say there is a certain sum to be allocated there will always be a danger of misapprehension, for it may be held that no more can be spent.

Amendment proposed to the Lords Amendment, to omit Sub-section ("a").  
—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section ('a') stand part of the Lords' Amendment."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: If the 1st sub-section is omitted the whole meaning of the clause will be obscure.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the right hon. Gentleman is wrong. It appears to me the hon. Member's words will carry out the object he and the Government have in view, namely, that we should only consider the 25th part of the total amount allocated to the county under this clause.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: If the 1st sub-section is omitted the 25th part disappears altogether.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, no.

MR. SEXTON: There are two ways of describing the same thing. One is calling it the "1-25th part of the total amount available for advances," and the other is calling it "the annual share of the Guarantee Fund." If you multiply the annual share of the Guarantee Fund by 25, you have the total value of the Guaranteed Stock.

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed to the Lords Amendment,

In line 8, to omit the words "amount so deemed to be allocated," in order to insert the words "proportion of the annual share of the county in the Guaranteed Fund allotted by Sub-sections 1 and 2 of this section."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Amendment agreed to.

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

Other Amendments agreed to,

After line 10, to add "to be available for the purchase of any holding within the county for the purchase of which advances may be made under this Act."—(*The Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Sub-section (c), line 4, to omit the words "amount so deemed to be allocated," in order to insert the words "proportion of the annual share of the county in the Guaranteed Fund allotted by sub-sections 1 and 2 of this section."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Sub-section (c), line 6, to add "to be available for the purchase of any holding within the county for the purchase of which advances may be made under this Act."—(*The Attorney General for Ireland.*)

(7.9.) MR. T. M. HEALY: The Lords Amendment Sub-section (d) runs as follows:—

"Returns shall be published by the Land Commission at the end of each financial year in at least one newspaper circulating in each county setting out the amount (if any) carried to the common fund under the provisions of this sub-section in the preceding year and the class of holdings in respect of which such amount has been so carried."

I beg to move to leave out "one newspaper," in order to insert "two newspapers." I do so on the very solid ground that if "one newspaper" is retained, the newspaper selected will very probably be the Tory newspaper, whereas, if we have the words "two newspapers," one of them may be the Nationalist newspaper.

Amendment moved to Sub-section (d), line 2, to omit "one newspaper," in order to insert "two newspapers."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Amendment agreed to.

(7.11.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I beg to move to add at the end of Sub-section (d)—

"And such Returns shall be laid before Parliament. No advance shall be sanctioned from the common fund till such Return has lain not less than thirty days before both Houses of Parliament. And if within such period of thirty days either House of Parliament passes a resolution objecting to advances from such fund, no advances therefrom shall be sanctioned."

I have no very strong objection to the Lords Amendment. We have extended the principle of this part of the Bill so as to apply the money not only to small holders, but to large holders. I do not like that at all. I hold the policy of this measure to be, as the Chief Secretary has told us over and over again, to

increase the stability of Ireland by largely extending the number of peasant proprietors. It seems to me that our original course has been altered, and that it has been decided that a certain amount of British money has to be expended; and that if we cannot find peasants to spend it on, we must spend it in the creation of an additional number of small landlords. I agree with what was said in another place that small landlords are the worst of landlords, and that it will not be to the advantage of Ireland to increase their number. The Bill is altered in one very material particular. It was originally provided that when an allocation of money was made to small tenants in order to apply it to large tenants, the Order should be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and a Resolution of either House would prevent the Order taking effect. The clause providing for the matter being laid before Parliament has now been dropped out, and the consequence is that this House will lose the power of preventing, if it desires to do so, the allocation of this money to small landlords instead of to peasant proprietors.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the Amendment, to add the words—

"And such returns shall be laid before Parliament. No advance shall be sanctioned from the common fund till such return has lain not less than thirty days before both Houses of Parliament. And if within such period of thirty days either House of Parliament passes a resolution objecting to advances from such fund, no advances therefrom shall be sanctioned."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

(7.15.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope the hon. Gentleman will not press this. He appears to think that if either House of Parliament express an opinion adverse to the proposed allocation by the Land Commission then the old proportion would remain, but he will observe that the only effect would be that if objection were taken nobody would get the advances, and that is not our desire.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. KNOX: The Amendment I propose by adding another sub-section will, I think, be accepted. Its object is evident: to give direction to the Land Commissioners to give a

preference to applications which were previously barred by the fixed proportion of advances. It is not an absolutely binding proviso; it allows a discretion to the Commissioners.

Amendment proposed to the Lords Amendment, at end of Sub-section (d), to add—

(e.) "In sanctioning advances out of such common fund the Land Commission shall give the preference, so far as is practicable, to applications which would have been sanctioned earlier but for the amount deemed to be allocated as aforesaid having been insufficient to allow of such applications being sanctioned."—(*Mr. Knox.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Lords Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Page 11, line 37, the next Amendment, disagreed to; and a Consequential Amendment made to the Bill.

Amendments, as far as the Amendment in page 13, line 8, agreed to.

Page 13, line 8, after ("stock") insert—

(3.) "The trustees of any incumbrance, charge, annuity, or rent, may at their discretion (notwithstanding any general prohibition of investment in securities not mentioned in the instrument creating the trust) accept in payment of such incumbrance or charge, or the capital value of such annuity or rent, a sum of guaranteed land stock equal in nominal amount to such incumbrance, charge, or capital value.

(4.) Where any holdings on an estate are sold by the land judge to the tenants thereof the land judge may accept in payment of the purchase money guaranteed land stock as equal in value to the nominal amount thereof,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

Amendments proposed, in line 8, to leave out from "rent," in line 5, to end of sub-section, and insert "guaranteed land stock as equal in value to the nominal amount thereof"; after "thereof," in line 2 of Sub-section (4), insert "or to the Land Commission."—(*The Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Amendments agreed to.

Lords Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Amendments, as far as the Amendment at the end of Clause 17, agreed to.

Amendment to add, at end of Clause 17—

"(2.) Anything done before the passing of this Act, which if done after such passing would have been valid by virtue of this section, shall be deemed to have been validly done, without prejudice to any proceedings with reference thereto instituted in a Court of Law before the passing of this Act,"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. T. M. HEALY: May we have some explanation of this?

\*MR. MADDEN: The effect of the Amendment is to provide that in such cases where there has been a redemption of certain charges such as is contemplated in the clause antecedent to the passing of this Act, then such transactions shall not be deemed invalid.

MR. T. M. HEALY: There is something crooked under this which we have not got at. The right hon. Gentleman has given an explanation I cannot understand, and there must be some meaning behind for this *ex post facto* legislation. It covers, probably, one of those little jobs the Government are ready to undertake for their friends the landlords.

MR. SEXTON: I think we cannot assent to this without some better explanation. It has relation to a matter upon which a noble Lord in another place proposed a clause so outrageous that the House of Lords would give no countenance to it, and it would seem that the Lord Chancellor for Ireland has drawn up words to effect the object desired in a manner not so likely to excite the ire of the House of Commons. What in effect this will do, this *ex post facto* legislation, will be to pass an amnesty for an act which, when done, was illegal—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I confess I do not in the least understand the proposal and its retrospective action, and, therefore, propose to disagree with the Amendment.

Lords Amendment disagreed to.

Clause C (Extended investment of purchase money of holding), the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say a word upon this?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Without going into the technical details, the object, shortly stated, is to enable landlords who sell out

to invest in something besides Consols. The main object is to encourage sales.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: It is, I think, a reasonable proposition, and might even be extended.

Amendment proposed, in line 3, to leave out "1887" and insert "1890."—(*The Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Agreed to.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the beginning of Sub-section (3), to the word "the," in line 3.—(*Mr. Knox.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause C, as amended, agreed to.

Clause D (Redemption of tithe rent-charge under 50 & 51 Vic. c. 33), the next Amendment, agreed to.

Page 15, line 10, leave out "cottages," and insert "dwellings," the next Amendment, disagreed to.

Clause E (Application of guarantee deposit in case of sale of holding for default), the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. SEXTON: I am not sure that I understand this. If a holding is sold in default, a person having a beneficial interest in the guarantee deposit may allow this to go towards making good the default in the annuity. That seems reasonable, but that may prejudice the security in the future.

(7.45.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am inclined to think the locality will gain rather than lose by the Amendment.

Lords Amendment agreed to.

New Clause—

(Power to Land Commission to let or manage holdings.)

"F. The Land Commission while any such sale is pending and also if unable to sell, or if they think it useless to attempt a sale, shall temporarily let or manage the holding for such time and in such manner as they think expedient.

For the purpose of the sale or of the management of a holding under the Land Purchase Acts, as amended by this Act, the Land Commission may issue an order declaring the holding to be vested in them, and directing the sheriff to put them or their agent or nominee into possession of the holding, and thereupon the holding shall vest in the Commission as if

possession of it had been recovered in an action for the recovery of possession on the title at the suit of the Commission, and the order shall be executed by the sheriff in the like manner as a writ of possession, after a judgment recovered in such an action,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed. "That the House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

(7.47.) MR. SEXTON: I should like to know what is to become of the liability to the guarantee deposit during the period the Land Commission hold the farm. If the tenant or purchaser continues to hold the farm and makes any profit, he can pay the annuity, and there would be no liability to the Guarantee Fund. Suppose the Land Commission make some profit, would it not be equitable to provide that that profit should go towards a reduction of the annuity? I propose to add—

MR. KNOX: Perhaps my hon. Friend will allow me to ask what is meant by the words "such sale"? It seems to me this is a clause to provide that the Land Commission may employ the dismissed servants of the Land Corporation. The hon. Member for South Tyrone intends to get rid of part of his ragged regiment, and the Land Commission, apparently, are going to take them on.

(7.49.) MR. T. M. HEALY: This is a regular emergency clause. In some cases the Land Commission have made mistakes; they have lent too much money. If they are to have power to go on in an emergency way, they will put the State to an enormous amount of expense for the purpose of stocking farms. I do not know who brought in this clause, but if it is the Government I agree they are in a difficulty. Suppose the Government make a loss, is the country to suffer? Suppose there is an outrage on a farm—that the tail of a cow is cut off—are the Land Commission to appear before the Grand Jury and claim compensation? If the Land Commission make a bad bargain, in the name of Heaven let them open their eyes to the fact and sell the farm for the best price they can get!

MR. KNOX: I do not know what "such sale" means. Perhaps the At-

torney General for Ireland will introduce words defining the phrase.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Drop the clause.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Perhaps the simplest plan would be to omit the first paragraph.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the first word "the," inclusive, to the word "for," in line 5.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Amendment."

MR. SEXTON: But the second paragraph is worse, for it proposes that when the Land Commission consider they have a right to a holding, they may issue an order declaring the holding to be vested in them. The Land Commission, being in the position of litigants, are to constitute themselves the Court. Surely it is an unalterable principle of law that any person or body having a claim on what is *prima facie* another man's, must go in some recognised Court to make good the claim.

COLONEL NOLAN: This seems to be a most despotic clause; and if it is to be introduced at all, it should have been introduced in the Bill as brought in.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I hope the Government will not abandon the clause. [*Cries of "Oh!"*] Well, I will give my reasons. The hon. and learned Member for Longford said the Land Commission may make a loss. Yes, but if a farm is left derelict the loss will remain, and it is better to try to make something out of it than nothing at all. We have had farms boycotted, and I suppose we shall have farms boycotted in future. If this clause is struck out the Land Commission will have no power to endeavour to make such farms useful and profitable.

MR. T. M. HEALY: From the point of view of a lawyer this is the most amazing proposition I have ever heard. The Sheriff, the most ancient functionary in existence, is to have an order directed to him by whom? By the Land Commission, without legal process of any sort or description, and in a case in which they themselves are litigants. Was there ever since the world began such a proposition? Why is a slur to be thrown on the Court of Queen's Bench, for instance? Have you not got

every Court in the land open to you? Is it suggested that the ordinary Courts of Law will not do their duty? If there is any class of litigation offering nice points of technicality it is the law of the Sheriff. Have the Government considered the A B C of Sheriff law? Suppose a Sheriff goes to a farm, can he plead the order of the Land Commission? Is that to be pleaded as a bar to any action? Again, in ordinary cases a Sheriff is entitled to notice of action. Is the Sheriff to have the right of notice if an action is brought against him in these cases? If this clause is to be adopted the Government will have to prescribe forms of writs. You must define the offence, and the powers of the Sheriff and—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. and learned Gentleman will allow me to speak, I think I may make a suggestion which will shorten the discussion. I agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman that there is great objection to allowing the Land Purchase Commissioners to be Judges in their own case, and, without going to a Court at all, putting themselves in possession of someone else's holding. In its present shape, therefore, the clause is inadmissible. I will now move that the House disagree with the Amendment, on the understanding that I may consider whether it will not be possible to bring up some Amendment to carry out the object which I think we ought all to regard as good. In face of the overwhelming objections urged by the hon. and learned Gentleman I cannot proceed with the clause.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON (Devon, South Molton): I think we ought clearly to understand that some provision will be inserted in the Bill subsequently, in pursuance of which a defaulting tenant may be legally ejected from his holding.

\*MR. MADDEN: The Government are quite willing to consider the suggestion, and no doubt it would be an advantage if, for the purpose of sale, the Land Commission were in a position to give clear possession.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn

Question, "That the House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*,)—put, and agreed to.

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

#### (8.5.) New Clause—

(Provisions as to holdings subject to purchase annuity.)

"G.—(1.) A holding, while subject to a purchase annuity under the Land Purchase Acts, shall, as between the Land Commission and the proprietor for the time being of the holding, be subject to the following conditions of purchase, that is to say, to the conditions specified in section thirty of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, and also to the following conditions:—

- (a.) The proprietor shall not, without the consent of the Land Commission, do any act which, if done by a tenant at will, would as between him and his landlord be waste.
- (b.) The proprietor shall keep all main drains and watercourses upon the holdings at the date of the agreement for sale in good order, repair, and condition.
- (c.) The proprietor shall permit any person authorised in that behalf by the Land Commission at all reasonable times to enter upon the holding and ascertain how far the several conditions of purchase are being observed.

(2) Where the proprietor persistently, after written notice given by the Land Commission requiring him to observe the same, contravenes any of the conditions of purchase which are set out in this section, or where the holding is liable to be sold for a breach of any of the conditions of purchase specified in section thirty of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, then, without prejudice to any other remedy, the holding shall be liable to be sold under this Act.

(3) In addition to the remedies already existing the Land Commission may, at their discretion, upon being satisfied that the proprietor has been guilty of a breach of any of the above conditions by an officer of the Land Commission, or other person duly authorised by them in that behalf, summon, under the provisions of the Petty Sessions (Ireland) Act, 1861, such proprietor before the magistrates sitting at any petty sessions held in and for the petty sessions district in which such holding is situate or such proprietor resides, and upon proof of such breach the magistrates may for each breach inflict summarily on the proprietor a fine not exceeding five pounds to be recovered as in other cases of summary jurisdiction.

(4.) It shall be the duty of the Land Commission to enforce the observance of the conditions of purchase."

the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*.)

MR. MACARTNEY: I regret that the House cannot agree to the clause, because I think that everyone will suffer if

some clause of this sort is not adopted. I fear there are a certain class of tenants who will, in respect to timber and drainage, use their rights as freehold proprietors very detrimentally. But I presume it is out of the power of this House, or of anyone else, to draft a clause which will safeguard the interests of the holding, and, at the same time, preserve to the freeholder that reasonable power over his holding which he ought to possess.

COLONEL NOLAN: Of course, the objects the hon. Member has in view are useful objects; but if you are going to put these purchasers on a different footing to others, they cease to be proprietors at all.

(8.11.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I look upon this as the expiring kick of the Irish landlords. I would suggest to the Government, in regard to the future, that as they have said they would endeavour to bring up words to effect this same purpose, they should do so. Let them bring up some Amendment which will have the effect of preserving the timber on the holdings of the peasantry; they will not find us opposing it. Ireland is almost soaked with water, and the necessity of doing something to keep the trees on the land is very great. The Government should have Inspectors going all over the country and preventing the destruction of timber save where the tenant wants it for firewood, or for "mending his plough or gates," as, I think, an old Statute phrases it. I do not think trees should be allowed to be cut down for the purpose of sale, except with the consent of the Land Commission. No doubt it is a strong thing to interfere with a man's liberty, but I think the circumstances would justify us in compelling the tenant—during the 49 years, at any rate—to consult the Land Commission before cutting down timber for the purpose of sale. When these Amendments go back to the Lords I think the Government might well insert some words dealing with this forestry question.

\*SIR J. COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.): I think the opportunity should not be lost of doing all that may be possible to preserve the shelter of trees in Ireland. From my own experience it is deplorable to see the disappear-

ance of shelter absolutely necessary for the welfare of the stock on the farms. Therefore, I join with the hon. and learned Member opposite in begging the Chief Secretary and the Government to endeavour in another place to do all that is possible with regard to the preservation of timber. I know one district in Ireland where the tenants not only cut down trees and have got out of the habit of digging turf, but have actually got into the habit of cutting down the furze and hedges. The result is that the agricultural value of the district is seriously declining.

\*(8.16.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I greatly regret that the Government did not deal with this when the Bill was before the House. It is a matter of the greatest importance in Ireland. I admit that the old landlords cut down the timber very considerably. In my own constituency at the present time they are cutting down the timber and selling it. We are creating a new race of proprietors, and, as a matter of fact, already under the Ashbourne Acts the damage they have done is immense. The new purchasers are cutting down the trees for the purpose of sale in every direction, and I think it a great pity that the Government did not deal with the question in the Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is an easy matter for hon. Gentlemen to say that we ought to bring in an Amendment in the House of Lords dealing with this question, but as a matter of fact, I have puzzled over this question as over the other numerous and complicated questions raised by the Bill. The real difficulty, as far as plantations are concerned, is that they are not parts of the holdings, and it is not possible to advance money upon them. The State might be asked to buy woods as well as turbary. Investments in turbary the Treasury expect to be recouped, whether it is or not; but woods are an investment of doubtful value. They do not come to maturity for many years, and during all the time they require careful supervision. I do not feel that I could go to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and say, "Advance the British taxpayers' money in order to preserve timber." I have thought whether something might be done through the County Councils.

It would hardly be fair to landlords to stop them from cutting down trees in woods on the ground that by so doing they diminish the security for the money advanced on their holdings; and a provision of that kind, even if it were equitable, would not meet the whole case. I will consider whether anything can be done in the future, but I can assure the House the Government have often thought of the matter and have not been able to arrive at any conclusion.

\*MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: This question is an important and difficult one, and I may remind the House and the Chief Secretary that in most countries in Europe, especially in France, where small ownerships prevail, the local authorities have power to prevent the cutting down of woods and plantations where they are necessary for the cultivation of the land and for shelter.

(8.21.) MR. JORDAN: I think some means should be devised by which both landlords and tenants may be prevented from cutting down timber in the country. I know cases where landlords have cut down timber and where tenants the moment they have bought out the landlords cut down every tree in the place. Something should be done to prevent these people from cutting down all the timber, and to require them to re-plant wherever they cut down. That system is in practice in Westmoreland. There they cut down the timber every 15 years; but they re-plant as they cut down, so that they have always timber to cut, and have always timber growing. It is the greatest possible pity that some scheme cannot be devised for the re-forestation of Ireland. We have mountains that are fit for little—that are nude and bare—and it would be a great advantage to the country if some steps would be taken to plant them with trees.

Question put, and agreed to. (8.23.)

(8.52.) Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Page 16, line 34, after the word "redeemed" insert "and the sinking fund payments and dividends on account of  
*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

stock cancelled," the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I should like to ask the Government the meaning of this Amendment. Is it intended to modify the wording of Sub-section 2, Clause 1, in regard to the sinking fund payments?

MR. SEXTON: The insertion of these words was the result of a discussion which took place upon the subject. They were intended to meet the case of what would happen in regard to the sinking fund dividends. If you purchase stock and cancel it before the end of the term for which the annuity is payable, you must pay into the sinking fund the sum that would otherwise have had to be paid in dividends on the stock.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Seeing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has returned to his place, I beg to repeat the question which I put to the Government just now. I wish to ask him whether the words it is now proposed to add are intended to modify in any way Sub-section 2, of Clause 1. Since the discussion which took place upon the subject in this House I have seen the opinion of a Barrister who was consulted in regard to it, and that opinion was to the effect that the process of retardation which the Chancellor of the Exchequer alluded to will not take place under the clause as it stands. What I desire to know is whether the words it is now proposed to add will cure that defect?

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): As I can only address the House once I shall be glad if the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to reserve what I have to say upon the point he has raised until I am enabled to reply generally to hon. Members who desire to discuss this Amendment.

\*(9.0.) MR. KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): I think the Government might be saved a great deal of time if they had not pressed this Amendment. As I read it, and I admit it is worded in a most guarded manner—it is an attempt on the part of the Government to correct the erroneous arithmetic of the Bill with regard to the Guarantee, Sinking, and

Consolidated Funds. I go upon the assumption that this very innocent looking Amendment is intended to comply with an undertaking given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the Attorney General for Ireland after my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford had quoted the opinion of Mr. Fletcher Moulton, to the effect that the dividends and Sinking Fund payments provided for in Clause 4 could not be met in case of default, because there is not enough of money in the Guarantee Fund to meet them. On that occasion the Chancellor of the Exchequer stood up and said if it were found that any such difficulty was likely to arise, the Government would take steps to provide a remedy. Later on the same evening the Attorney General for Ireland when pressed on the same point said the Government would carefully go over the matter, and, if necessary, insert suitable words in another place. Now, I have examined the various Amendments which have been introduced in the other House, and I fail to find any except this which is calculated at all even to deal with this difficulty. Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us if this Amendment is intended to correct the arithmetical error to which I have drawn attention? I look upon it as an attempt to correct the arithmetic of the Government, but it is being done in a way which is not so outspoken and fair as one would have expected from the Government. It is an endeavour to give power to the Treasury to make rules to destroy the Sinking Fund which is provided for in Clauses 1 and 4 of the Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer confessed that the amount of Stock outstanding in the 30th year would be £46,000,000, and that the Sinking Fund payments in respect of that Stock would amount to £1,845,000, or deducting the county percentage, £1,725,000 in that year alone. I reminded the right hon. Gentleman on that occasion that the Guarantee Fund would only amount to £1,125,000, and I asked him how the deficit of £600,000 was to be made up. I could get no reply either from him or from the Chief Secretary: in fact, I was held up to obloquy, and the Chief Secretary was in the habit of engaging ostentatiously in a buzz of con-

versation [whenever I raised the point *[Laughter.]*

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

\*MR. KEAY: In fact the right hon. Gentleman accused me of invincible ignorance.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear.

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

\*MR. KEAY: He also accused me of being in a muddle upon this question, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer went so far as to say that I had discovered a mare's nest. Now, I once more ask him how these dividends and Sinking Fund payments of £1,725,000, to be compulsorily met under Clauses 1 and 4 of this Bill, can possibly be met by a Guarantee Fund of £1,125,000 only?

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Gentleman, but I think he has misconceived the purport of the Amendment. I do not think that under it he is entitled to go into the whole financial policy of the Bill. That is quite outside this clause.

\*MR. KEAY: I have no intention of going into the general finance of the Bill. That is the last thing I would do. I take it that this is a provision to enable the Treasury to make rules for the cessation of those very dividends and payments to the Sinking Fund, which Clauses 1 and 4 of the Bill enact shall be paid out of the Land Purchase Account if the tenants pay, and out of the Consolidated Fund if they do not pay. I desire to point out that this is nothing less than a destruction by means of a rule of the Treasury of the Sinking Fund created by the Bill. This is the device now adopted by the Government to enable them to cover their retreat from the impossible arithmetical position which they have hitherto taken up. I am sorry the right hon. Gentleman will give me no indication that this is the object of the Amendment, and I am bound, therefore, to assume that it is. Assuming that it is, the question then arises, Will it effect its object? I take it that in the 30th year the right hon. Gentleman will try to cancel Stock to the amount of £16,000,000.



\*MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I rise to order, Sir. May I ask whether I should be in order in moving that the hon. Member be no longer heard during the remainder of the Session?

\*MR. SPEAKER: No; but the hon. Member is travelling very wide in discussing a question which I told him is out of order.

\*MR. KEAY: I am sorry if I cannot make my point clear. Although the Chancellor of the Exchequer may cancel £16,000,000 of the whole £46,000,000 of Stock issued on the 30th year, he will not be absolved from keeping on the paying into the Sinking Fund the same yearly amounts, not only of Sinking Fund payments, but of dividends on the cancelled Stock according to the very fundamental principle of Sinking Funds, seeing that Clause 4 provides that these payments are to be made yearly on the whole amount of the advances. Moreover, his doing so is absolutely necessary to save the British taxpayer, seeing that in any case the purchase annuities cease on the 49th year. All I have got to tell the Chancellor of the Exchequer is that, if he alters these payments in the way he proposes, by only paying 1 per cent. on outstanding Stock, the capital of every loan will only be paid off in 58 years instead of 49 years.

\*(9.22.) MR. GOSCHEN: I do not know whether to condole with, or congratulate, the hon. Gentleman. I congratulate him on his evident enjoyment of his conundrums, but, on the other hand, I condole with him because it seems that this question of the Sinking Fund weighs on his brain to such an extent that he cannot put his questions within the ordinary compass, and what he calls a simple question degenerates into a series of propositions which no single person in the House can understand. I am bound to say that one or two sentences that fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and from the hon. Member for West Belfast, seem to me to show a much better understanding of the subject than

—I say it without disrespect—the long rigmarole of the hon. Gentleman. Time after time the hon. Gentleman has been answered; but he never seems to be able to take an answer, and although he has given such an extraordinary amount of attention and mental energy to this question, he has failed entirely to see one phrase in the Bill, which is of very considerable importance, namely, that this capital stock is to be redeemable in accordance with Sub-section 2 of Section 2 of the National Debt Conversion Act of 1888. I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman has ever taken the trouble to look at that section. If he had he would have seen that practically it contains an answer to all his questions. Evidently Mr. Fletcher Moulton had not the section I have referred to before him. The right hon. Member for Bradford treated matters as if there would be a contract between the State and the stockholders that the stock should be paid off in 49 years. But there is no such contract. There is no clause in the Bill which gives the stockholder the right to say that he cannot be paid off for 49 years. His stock cannot be paid off for 30 years; but after that time it is redeemable on such notice as Parliament may direct. Hence the necessity for regulations with regard to the dividend on cancelled Stock.

\*MR. KEAY: Does not the right hon. Gentleman admit that a continuation of the annual payments into the Sinking Fund of both the dividends and Sinking Fund payments on account of Stock cancelled, forms the very A B C of the principle of a cumulative Sinking Fund?

MR. GOSCHEN: I would point out to the right hon. Gentleman opposite that it is very possible that after 30 years the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Stock may be made  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Stock, and then the question will arise, What will become of the difference in the dividend? There is no provision as to that; it has been intended to give a certain amount of elasticity in this matter to the Treasury, and they will have power to deal with such a case and also with the case of a universal strike. The real cardinal

point, however, is that the suggestion which has been made rests on the fallacy that the Stock will have to be redeemed on a given day.

\*MR. KEAY: I am sorry to have to trouble the right hon. Gentleman with another question—

\*MR. SPEAKER: A simple question may be allowed, but the hon. Member is not entitled to speak again.

\*MR. KEAY: The right hon. Gentleman has just wound around my point. Will he explain how Clause 4, which provides for the Sinking Fund and payment of dividend to the Land Purchase account, provides for re-payment to the Consolidated Fund of the dividend on cancelled stock?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I do not think that the hon. Member will find any provision enacting that the dividend on cancelled stock shall be re-placed.

Lords' Amendment agreed to.

Other Lords' Amendments agreed to.

Page 17, line 31, leave out from "of" to "and," in line 34, and insert, "The Assistant Commissioners and such of the persons for the time being employed by the Land Commission as the Lord Lieutenant," the next Amendment read a second time.

(9.40.) MR. SEXTON: This is an Amendment to which the Irish Members feel it their duty to offer as strenuous an opposition as their numbers and the form of the House will allow. I recall the important circumstance that the alteration the Lords have made is not an alteration of anything inserted by the Government in the original Bill as to which it might be pleaded the Government had not carefully considered the point in debate. This Amendment proposes to strike out part of a compromise arrived at in this House after debate. An Irish Member moved an Amendment to the effect that the Land Commission should have some share in the choice of officials, and although there was not a long discussion upon that, its importance was fully recognised; the

only reason why there was so little debate on the question being that the Government at once accepted the Amendment and that acceptance largely assisted the passage of the Bill. Had there been any disposition on the part of the Government to resist the Amendment, there would have been considerable and very animated Debate. The acceptance of the Amendment greatly facilitated the passage of the Bill at the moment and on subsequent clauses. I wish to avoid too strong a term, but it provokes a feeling the reverse of satisfactory when we find that a concession which soothed our feelings then is withdrawn by means of this Amendment. Generally, I lay down the principle that a Government should long hesitate before withdrawing in another place an Amendment, to which in this House they asserted as a concession. On more than one occasion I happened to be at the Bar of the House of Lords when the Lord Chancellor of Ireland successfully pleaded against an Amendment on the ground that the matter sought to be amended had been introduced in the House of Commons, as a concession and after Debate. This argument was successful on other occasions, it was not used in relation to this Amendment, which was introduced without speech or argument in its support. It is an extremely unsatisfactory course—the acceptance of an Amendment here after Debate, and its exclusion in another place on Motion formally made, not supported in Debate, not sustained by any kind of argument. I can only say we shall try to do what we can to prevent this alteration. It is not a candid, straightforward way of meeting us to rush through such an Amendment as this, excluding a concession previously made, and doing so at the eleventh hour, at a stage when we are few in numbers, and can address the Chair but once. We have two Amendments made, and the first is significant as showing its animus rather than in its practical importance. We said in the Bill as it left us that the persons appointed to be Civil servants should be persons selected "by the Land Commission, including Assistant Commissioners and Inspectors appointed under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885," and approved by the Lord

Lieutenant and the Treasury, and now the Lords have struck out the reference to the Land Purchase Act, 1885, and have included the Assistant Commissioners, and, with a general reference, such of the persons employed by the Commission as the Lord Lieutenant for the time may determine. When we included the Inspectors by special reference, it indicated an expectation that it was this class which might suffer prejudice in future arrangements. I claim on the part of the officials of a most successful Department that nothing shall be done which by implication may be held to cast a slur upon them, and that the names of those officials inserted by this House shall remain. In the organisation of the staff it was recognised that the Land Commissioners should have a voice. There is no objection at all to the final power resting with the Lord Lieutenant. The right hon. Gentleman has said he will not assent to any tampering with the Amendment of the Lords which would take away from the Lord Lieutenant any power which he now has. I take that to mean the final power of appointment, and to this I do not object. Possibly there is here a way out of the difficulty. It seems to me that by the clause as it left the Commons the Lord Lieutenant would possess that power, and that the duties of the Land Commission would be merely consultative. There would be three co-ordinate powers—the Commission, the Treasury, and the Lord Lieutenant. It cannot be pretended that the Commission would have greater power, and the Treasury and the Lord Lieutenant agreeing against an appointment, the Commission could not enforce a different view. The Lord Lieutenant would be the deciding power. I need not consider the possibility of the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury disagreeing; this is not a matter of money, but of men, the choice of individuals, and the Treasury would accept the use of that local knowledge, which in some matters the Lord Lieutenant has. If our words were left in, the Commission would have a consultative power, not a decisive power of appointment. The final power would be with the Lord Lieutenant. You may say that the consultative power the Commission will still have,

*Mr. Sexton*

and so they will, in a sort of way; there may be an informal talk with Mr. Wrench, but what I want to secure is that the Purchase Commissioners, who are the minority, should have a voice in the matter as well as the majority—the Fair Rent Commissioners. Probably the latter alone would be consulted if it were left to the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant whom he should consult. We want to provide that all the five members of the Commission shall be consulted, and that the minority shall have the opportunity of presenting their recommendations to the Lord Lieutenant in a formal memorandum. A memorandum which has been presented to the House on the subject of appointments discloses a sharp difference of opinion between the majority and the minority of the Land Commission. There is no necessity to provide protection for the Rent Commissioners. Their views, as the views of the majority, will prevail. There seems to be some idea of letting the Inspectors suffer simply because they have been under Mr. MacCarthy. I object to anything being done in this House which would tend to cast an imputation upon the officials of the most successful Department which has ever been instituted in Ireland. The minority of the Land Commission have deserved well of the Government; they have fostered the credit of the State; they have administered your funds wisely and economically, and if you cast a slur upon the officials under them, you discourage good administration. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will assent to some Amendment which will insure that not three of the Land Commissioners only, but all five of them shall have a voice in the selection of the permanent staff. I hope that, while retaining the final power to the Lord Lieutenant, he will agree to keep in the Amendment we arrived at, or that if he thinks it necessary to regard the susceptibilities of the Lords, he will secure the object we have in view by another form.

(9.55.) MR. LEA: There is not, I think, any great difference of opinion. We all agree that the Land Commission ought to be consulted. The hon. Member for West Belfast wants the words "Land Commission" left in, and of

course the Land Commission means the majority of the Commissioners. If the Land Commission were left in, the majority being Fair Rent Commissioners the result would be to place the choice in the hands of the very gentlemen the hon. Member for West Belfast objects to. I believe that the custom has always been for the Lord Lieutenant and the Government to consult the Land Commission, and I understand the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to say that the old practice will be continued in that respect. The hon. Member for West Belfast admits that the final power of selection ought to be in the hands of Lord Lieutenant, but if the Land Commission are given powers equal to those of the Lord Lieutenant in that matter, the Lord Lieutenant will not have the final power of selection. The Lords' Amendment is a practical one, restoring, as it does, a state of things which has always worked satisfactorily.

(9.57.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member for West Belfast has raised two distinct issues on two Amendments, as to one of which I think he admitted it was rather a question of language than anything else, though he said, I think, that the one Amendment betrayed an animus against the Purchase Commissioners. The Bill, as it originally stood, did not mention specially the Inspectors' appointments, but only the Assistant Commissioners. The reason that they alone, out of all the officials connected with the fixing of fair rents, were mentioned was that there appeared to be some legal doubt as to whether they were persons "employed by the Land Commission." They were certainly not appointed by the Land Commission. It was said by lawyers that unless the Inspectors were mentioned by name it would not be competent to appoint them as permanent officials, and they were therefore specified in the Bill in this House. When the Bill came to the House of Lords the Treasury vehemently objected to those words. They said the Inspectors were only one of a number of classes of precisely similar *status*; that they did not require to be mentioned in the Bill on account of any legal difficulty, and that if they were mentioned they would

claim special rights of sole appointment. The Treasury said we shall have a state of affairs in which we shall have placed on our shoulders the pressure of an intolerable burden, and for that reason, and that reason alone, the change was made. The main point of the objection is to the words which practically exclude the Land Commission from any collective or official position in the selection of the permanent staff, and throw the whole burden of patronage on the Lord Lieutenant. The patronage exercised by the Lord Lieutenant is a burden not merely on the Lord Lieutenant but on the Chief Secretary, and, speaking for myself, I should be glad to have nothing whatever to do with it. It is a nuisance, and it is one of the most intolerable burdens that is or can be thrown on any official. But let us consider what the merits of this case are and whether the Lord Lieutenant has any right to dispossess himself of the responsibility. The hon. Member for West Belfast acknowledges that some Amendment is necessary. I think he will agree with me that we must make one authority paramount, and that that authority ought to be the Lord Lieutenant. If it be admitted that the Lord Lieutenant is to be supreme in this matter, how best can the information with regard to the proper men to promote be conveyed to him? The hon. Gentleman appears to think that the Land Commission, in their collective capacity, should be asked to give the names of men most fitted for promotion. It appears to me that if we are to ask the Land Commission collectively to report to the Lord Lieutenant we may do great injustice. I do not believe that the Land Commission are going to be divided into a majority and a minority. I believe they will act together as one Department, and that there will be no cleavage between the Commissioners of 1881 and the Commissioners of 1885, as appears to be assumed in too many of our discussions. [*Cries of "No."*] Yes, I think that has been assumed. But, for the sake of argument, let us assume that cleavage exists. In that case you will have the majority composed of the Commissioners of 1881 and the minority composed of the Commissioners of 1885. The larger number of officials in the Land Depart-

ment are officials who have worked under the Commissioners of 1881. They are the officials of whose merits the 1881 Commissioners have ample knowledge; and if the majority of the collective body are to be supreme, and there be a cleavage, and there are vacancies to be filled up, the Commissioners of 1881, being the majority, will very naturally say, "Well, we know such and such men, and we do not know the others; we will recommend those with whose qualifications we are acquainted." In that case, it is conceivable a list may be sent to the Lord Lieutenant comprising the names of every official who has worked under the Commissioners of 1881. The Lord Lieutenant has thrown upon him the onerous, difficult, and most burdensome responsibility of determining who are to be the permanent officials. Of course, the Lord Lieutenant can ask advice, and, of course, he will ask the advice, not merely of the three Gentlemen appointed under the Act of 1881, but also of the two gentlemen appointed under the Act of 1885. Each of these gentlemen will have the right, and, indeed, the duty, of approaching the Lord Lieutenant and communicating with him on the views he holds with regard to the various officials with whose qualifications he is well acquainted, and the Lord Lieutenant, instead of being bound by Statute to regard the Land Commission as a whole, will have before him the informal, but not the less important, evidence given by each one of the five gentlemen composing the Commission with regard to the various persons to be appointed. I think the arguments I have ventured to lay before the House are enough to show, not merely that some change is necessary, but that the change actually made in another place is more likely to allow fair weight to be given to the opinions of each individual member of the Land Commission than any statutory mention of the Commission in its collective capacity. I therefore hope the House will agree with the Amendment.

(10.12.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I have never been able to understand why the hon. Member for South Derry (Mr. Lea), whose position, at any rate, is that of a representative of tenant farmers, should

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

have made himself in this business the champion of the one Commission whose name, rightly or wrongly, has been most intimately connected with the interests of the landlords of Ireland. The hon. Member was returned by the votes of tenant farmers. Mr. Wrench is the most rampant member of the Land Commission. From the day Mr. Wrench stood on the square at Moneghan at the head of the Orange Party, and objected to the Land Act of 1881, what has he been? The chief partisan of the landlords. This is the man whose interest is championed in this House by the hon. Member for South Derry. I have never objected to the action of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) in this business, because I have always regarded him as a landlord's man; he never pretended to be anything else; he is the Parliamentary emergency man for the Landlord Party. But the case of the hon. Member for South Derry is entirely different, because he has always posed as an independent man—dependent of the landlord or tenant—and, therefore, his action is, to my mind, inexplicable. There has been a long-standing objection by the Landlord Party to the Purchase Commissioners, and from the hour that Mr. Wrench was appointed on the Land Commission, he attempted to obtain dominion over the Purchase Commissioners. For what? Was it in the interest of the tenants who elected the hon. Member for South Derry? It was nothing of the kind. It was in the interest of the Kildare Street Club and the landlord party. The whole object of the action of the Government in this business has been to put at the head of the Land Purchase Commission a man on whom the Irish landlords could rely. I ask the hon. Member for South Derry if he thinks if Mr. Wrench had been in command of the Land Commission at the time, the Drapers' Company would have been induced to consent to an arbitration by which the Company took £30,000 less for their estate than they originally asked? What is now the position of affairs? Every man of the five Commissioners is a nominee of the Tory Party. Every man whom the Liberal Government appointed in 1881—we did not like the appointments—is

dead. The present Commissioners are all new men. When the Chief Secretary speaks of the 1881 and the 1885 men, he seems to convey the idea that the 1881 Commissioners are old and experienced servants of the State, and the others are the reverse. But the 1881 men were not appointed in 1881, but only appointed under the Act of 1881. Judge Bewley was appointed this year, and Mr. Fitzgerald was appointed last year. I make no complaint of these men; indeed, I am surprised how well Judge Bewley has turned out. The Chief Secretary struck the right key when he spoke of the invidious duty connected with the making of these appointments. Is it to be wondered at that a man of judicial mind like Judge Bewley should wish to wash his hands of these personal questions? But if these words are omitted we know that, while Mr. Justice Bewley and Mr. Commissioner Fitzgerald will not bother themselves about these appointments, Mr. Wrench will bother himself and everybody else. We are told that if the Lords' Amendment is accepted the Lord Lieutenant will be the determining authority. Now, the Lord Lieutenant, being merely a ceremonial personage and a figure-head, will not trouble himself about a long list of names, but will go to the most energetic men he can find to give him advice. He will go to his club and chat over this matter with three or four of the most prominent men of the official class, and the most prominent and the most wire-pulling of these men will be Mr. Wrench, who will settle the whole thing. The Lord Lieutenant and Mr. Wrench between them will fix the names. To say that the Lord Lieutenant will do this thing on his own responsibility is all nonsense. I say Wrench, Wrench, Wrench is the only man who will have anything to say to it. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Gentleman opposite laugh: Of course they know that before there is any change of administration the whole Department will be manned with a permanent Tory staff. Certainly, when I get back to Ireland, I shall advise the tenants to have nothing to do with purchase as long as the present Government is in office unless they are offered a very tempting piece of land at a very cheap price. If the tenants

are wise they will have nothing to do with the Purchase Act until they see what the Dissolution of Parliament brings about. For the first time in the history of the Land Department the salaries of the Commissioners are made a charge on the Consolidated Fund. Is that not a most cogent fact in the situation? Does that not affect the hon. Members for South Derry and South Tyrone?

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I voted against it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I do not know whether the hon. Member's colleague will say the same?

MR. LEA: Yes.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I am glad to think they have something to show when they go back to their constituents. We shall have no power over the appointments. Once this Bill passes we shall have no power of criticism. Is that not a terrible state of things? [*Laughter.*] I wish I could send to Ireland a photograph of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) laughing over the consummation he and the Government have achieved. I wish I could present the spectacle of this House and the landlord party chuckling over the admirable manner in which the tenants of Ireland have been dodged out of all power to criticise the appointments of the Land Commissioners. Who are the individuals who have protested against the action of the House of Commons in regard to this Amendment? I have been told that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has done so.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member is referring to the other Amendment.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Who is responsible for the present Amendments?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Lord Londonderry.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Then, that enforces my position. It is not a Government Amendment at all, and it, therefore, cannot be defended on the ground that it had an official parentage, or that it is a drafting Amendment, or one

founded on principle. I would remind the House of what occurred when the Landed Estates Court was constituted. The power of making the permanent appointments was not taken away from the Judges. The Judges were to make the appointments with the approval of the Lord Chancellor. And in 1881 we had a long discussion on this subject, the result being that the Land Commission were given a voice in the selection of the staff; and there was a provision in the Act with regard to the employment of persons formerly in the employment of the Church Temporalities Commissioners. I took exception at the time to that staff being placed under the Land Commission, because I held that, having been under Judge Lawson, they would probably be all Tories by profession. The answer I got was that the appointments would simply be made in order of merit—in order of the official hierarchy, I suppose. But in spite of that pledge given in this House by the then Attorney General, the entire staff of the Church Temporalities Commissioners were placed, so to speak, at the disposal of the Land Commission, which was obliged to employ them. And in the Ashbourne Act of 1885 the Commissioners were given the power of veto in regard to staff appointments. In the same way under the Judicature Act the Judges were given the power of selecting the staff, and, strange to say, under the Land Department Bill of the Government, the same power of revision and supervision was given to the body constituted under the Statute. Now, however, for the first time, in the House of Lords, Lord Londonderry, for no reason that I can understand, has got this provision struck out, and has managed to get a very objectionable Amendment inserted in its place. I say that this Amendment can only be regarded as a Vote of Censure on the Purchase Commissioners. It is a mark and stigma put upon them by Lord Londonderry and the Chief Secretary. No doubt they will appreciate it. They will also appreciate the fact that they are to have no voice in the staffing of their own Department. We are told that they will be consulted. Lord Zetland may consult them, but their opinion will be overruled by Mr. Wrench. I would ask if some pledge cannot be given that

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

in the appointments that are to be made recognition will be given to the length of past services. I have no love for the Sub-Commissioners as such, nineteen-twentieths of them being landlords' agents, but at the same time, the existing Sub-Commissioners are men of experience, and preference should be given to them. They are bound to go more or less into the evidence before them, and therefore must have obtained some knowledge of the condition of the tenants. I would ask, are they to go back again into the melting-pot, and is Mr. Wrench to have the right of selecting whom he pleases—of preferring those who have come in at the eleventh hour to those who have borne the whole heat and burden of the day? I read in the *Northern Whig*—the organ of the landlords in the North of Ireland—some time ago that the Chief Secretary had caused to be assembled in Dublin a number of the *employés* of the Fair Rent Commission for the purpose of putting them through some kind of competitive examination for positions under the Land Purchase Commission. ["No, no!"] I do not say it is correct. I imagined that the information came from the hon. Member for South Tyrone or the hon. Member for South Derry, who ought to know something of what is going on. I would say that the men who received an invitation to Mr. Wrench's "At home" would be about the least desirable men in the country for these appointments. Every one who was supposed to have a sympathetic mind towards the tenants was excluded from the gathering. Well, there is never smoke without fire, and the belief is that the Purchase Department is going to be manned by ex-police officers, Orangemen, and landlords' men. The Government in this matter have got Lord Londonderry to do for them what they had not the courage to do for themselves. In this House they had not the courage to move an Amendment proposing the amalgamation of the two Departments; so the hon. Member for South Derry moved it for them, in that way reversing the policy that began in 1885 when we were supporting the Tory Party—when we were putting them into office, and almost regarding some of them as of our own creation. The whole course of the

Government in this business has not only been malevolent as regards the tenants, but also hypocritical, because, whilst not daring to do this themselves, they have been delighted to accept the work of others not occupying a responsible position. I contend that the whole action of the Government throughout this matter has been neither fair nor favourable to the tenants, but has been in the interests of the landlords; and I protest against it with all the energy in my power.

\*(10.47.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: It is a great pity the hon. and learned Member for North Longford was not in the House when the Bill was going through the House of Lords. The hon. Member has rung the changes on the assertion that the Government got Lord Londonderry to do work which they were ashamed to do themselves. Well, I have the records of the House of Lords in my hand, and I find that the words in question were left out of the Bill not on the Motion of Lord Londonderry at all, but on that of the Lord Privy Seal, who was in charge of the measure in the other House.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It was suggested by Lord Londonderry.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: What right has the hon. and learned Member to say that?

MR. T. M. HEALY: I have the authority of the Chief Secretary.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I have the authority of the Records of the House of Lords, and all this declamation that has been poured out about the Government using others to do what they are afraid to do themselves falls to the ground when it is brought to the simple test of fact. The hon. and learned Member was not even in the House when the Bill was passing through the Report stage, and yet he now comes forward and makes assertions without taking the least trouble to ascertain the facts. He commenced his speech by saying that the hon. Member for South Derry had taken special delight in championing the cause of Mr. Wrench. I did not think that very relevant to the

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argument, and I should just like to say that if the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Longford had watched the progress of the Bill in the House of Lords as I watched it, he would have seen that those who attacked the clause sent up from this House were such Lords as Lord Waterford, Lord Castletown, and the Duke of Abercorn. Those were the noble Lords who sought to pull the clause to pieces, and to establish the power of the friends of the hon. and learned member, who I have as much right to say championed the cause of Mr. John George MacCarthy as he has to say that my hon. Friend championed the cause of Mr. Wrench.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I am not ashamed to avow it, and he is.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I do not think my hon. Friend is championing any man. The hon. Member for Longford gave a graphic sketch of what would take place when this clause was passed. He pictured Lord Zetland dropping into the Kildare Street Club and there practically at the bidding of Mr. Wrench appointing four or five leaders of the landlord party to be Sub-Commissioners. Well, it struck me as singular that the hon. and learned Member should be so glad to take the word of the Chief Secretary to-night as to what was done in the House of Lords. I wonder he did not take the word of the right hon. Gentleman that he, as well as the Lord Lieutenant, would have something to say as to these appointments. As for the Kildare Street Club I could almost say that Lord Zetland has never set his foot inside it. At any rate I say that in suggesting that the appointments would be made by the Lord Lieutenant the hon. and learned Member forgets that the Chief Secretary will have his share of responsibility in the matter. The Amendment, which was inserted in this House without discussion, introduced a new feature into the Land Commission system. Did Lord Spencer or Mr. Forster take the advice of the Land Commission in making these appointments? No; they appointed all the Sub-Commissioners on their own responsibility. Up to two or three years ago that course was followed by every

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Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary. Since then the system has been altered, and the Land Commission has been consulted. The practice has been this. When there have been 12 appointments to be made they (the Land Commissioners) have sent up a list of, say, 20 names, and the Lord Lieutenant has made the final selection on his own responsibility. The Amendment struck out in the House of Lords was to give the Commission not a consultative voice, which they had already, but a co-ordinate power, the exercise of which would almost certainly lead to a collision. The fact that the salaries of the Land Commission have been placed on the Consolidated Fund does make the matter serious. But I spoke and voted against the Amendment, and my speech was as much a dress-parade speech as that of the hon. and learned Member to-night. I do not believe that what the hon. Member for West Belfast indicated will take place under this clause. I am certain that in the making of these appointments the Land Commission in both its Departments will be consulted. I believe that any other course will be a fatal and a wrong course. This is a Land Purchase Bill, and it would be impossible for the Lord Lieutenant to leave out the Land Purchase Commissioners from consultation. I say it is one thing to consult these gentlemen and another to introduce a new principle into our system—that of a co-ordinate power in making these appointments.

(10.56.) MR. SEXTON: We wish that the Land Commission should be consulted, but not as a matter of grace. What we wish to secure and what the right hon. Gentleman himself desires might be effected by adopting in this clause language which has been adopted elsewhere more than once in the Bill when the Lord Lieutenant has to act on the initiative of the Land Commission. I would suggest that the words "such persons as the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury on the Report of the Land Commission shall determine" should be inserted. That would leave the power of appointing in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant or the Treasury, and would

*Mr. T. W. Russell*

only give the Commissioners the power of reporting—but it would give the minority of the Commission the power as well as the majority, in case there was a difference amongst the Commissioners.

(10.58.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think that would be open to the objection which has been made before—that it would require collective action on the part of the Land Commission. I think that each separate member of the Commission should be able to express his opinion, and I desire to see that principle firmly embodied in the Bill. I accept the words "after receiving Reports from the Members of the Land Commission."

MR. SEXTON: The several members?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, I would gladly accept those words.

MR. SEXTON: The reception of Reports would not mean their consideration. I would rather say "on the Report of the several members of the Commission."

Lords' Amendment agreed to.

Amendment agreed to, to the Lords' Amendment, after "Treasury" to add "after receiving and considering Reports from the several Members of the Land Commission."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Page 18, line 22, after "alone" to insert "or of any Commission," the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman stated earlier in the evening that after the Bill left this House he discovered that there was no provision made for appeals from two Commissioners sitting together in the Court of First Instance. There is a difficulty as to the constitution of that Court of Appeal, and it seems to me that it might be got over in one of two ways. It might be provided that where two Land Commissioners sat in the Court of First Instance one of them should be a Purchase Commissioner. That would prevent the possibility of a decision of the two Purchase Commissioners being reviewed on appeal by the three Rent Commissioners. The other method is that which the Attorney

General for Ireland himself suggests, namely, that you shall never have more than one Commissioner sitting in the Court of First Instance.

\***MR. MADDEN**: The last mentioned arrangement is the better of the two ways of settling the difficulty.

Lords' Amendment and subsequent Lords' Amendments disagreed to.

Amendment proposed, to insert, after Sub-section 1—

"Provided also that every order of the Land Commissioners for carrying the Land Acts into effect shall in the first instance be made by a Commissioner sitting alone."—(*The Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Other Lords' Amendments agreed to

After Clause 24 insert (H).

(Powers under 44 & 45 Vict., c. 49, ss. 43, 44.)

"H. The powers of delegation conferred on the land commissioners under the forty-third and forty-fourth sections of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, shall not apply to the discharge of duties arising under the Land Purchase Acts,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

**MR. LEA**: Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us the effect of this?

\***MR. MADDEN**: This section of the Act of 1881 not only enables the Land Commission to appoint and make use of sub-Commissioners, but enables the Land Commission to delegate to them the function of fixing fair rents. Of course, it was never intended that the Land Commissioners should delegate any duty in relation to sanctioning agreements for sale or duties in relation to title arising thereon. This clause prevents the powers of delegation being used for purposes for which they were never intended.

Lords' Amendment agreed to.

Other Lords' Amendments agreed to.

Page 27, lines 7 and 8, leave out ("the interest which the tenant agrees to buy in") the next Amendment, read a second time.

**MR. SEXTON**: Of course, we should not consider ourselves justified in raising a Debate upon this, or in putting the House to the trouble of a Division, after

contesting the point earlier, but it must not be inferred from our silence that we abandon our protest. If you insist on saying the tenant buys something he does not really buy, we cannot prevent your doing so.

Lords' Amendment agreed to.

Page 27, line 11, after ("is ") insert ("to be,") agreed to.

Page 27, lines 11 and 12, leave out "the average amount of abatement allowed by the landlord," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

(11.10.) **MR. KNOX**: I move to disagree with the Lords in this Amendment. It will be remembered that in discussion of the point to which this Amendment is directed it was represented that to take into account all abatements might be putting a premium on non-payment of rent, and although we thought that argument far-fetched, we, as a compromise, agreed to the words which the Lords now propose to strike out. The clause, as we left it, provided that in those cases where the judicial rent fixed in the earlier days of the Land Act now proves to be higher than the tenant can actually pay, the abatement shall be taken into account in fixing the annual value, and for fixing the amount the tenant shall pay in the first five years after purchase. I am sure that to accept the Lords' Amendment will go far to stop land purchase in Connaught. On every well-managed estate there has been considerable abatement on the judicial rent, and if these are not taken into account, the result will be that the purchasing tenant will in the first five years pay more than he has been paying hitherto, and no tenant will be prepared to do this, and so land purchase will be at a standstill until this Act is amended. This is not a consummation desired by the Chief Secretary, who has often expressed a wish that this Act should be extended rather more than the Ashbourne Act to the West of Ireland. I know that in many parts of the West the effects of this Lords' Amendment will be fatal to purchase. So far as I

understand the objection to the Amendment made in this House, it is that the abatements would include those arrears which a landlord may have remitted immediately before the purchase, and that as an inducement to the tenant to agree and purchase, a hanging gale might be included in the abatement. Now, this difficulty might be met by providing that instead of the average amount of allowances, abatements, and remissions in the five years next before the time of purchase, the words should run "the five years preceding the last gale day before the date of purchase." In that way we should exclude a remission which the landlord may have made as an inducement to a tenant to make an agreement and purchase. That, I think, would be a fair compromise.

(11.15.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR was understood to say: I think the hon. Gentleman will, on reflection, think it unnecessary to press his objection. As originally introduced, the insurance amount was based upon the judicial rent, but it was afterwards pointed out that in some cases the judicial rent had not been practically acted upon, and we were asked, "how is it to be expected that a tenant will enter into an agreement for purchase when he will for five years be called upon to pay 10 per cent. more than his present rent?" We accepted an Amendment. But then we were met with the difficulty that the abatement might include an abatement made in respect to the agreement to purchase. The hon. Member proposes to avoid this, but he cannot altogether avoid the difficulty that the abatement might be held to cover a conspiracy to refuse payment, or an amount of arrears so long due that a landlord hopeless of recovering might wipe it off as a bad debt. After much consideration we have adopted the plan embodied in the Lords' Amendment, by which judicial and non-judicial rents are placed upon the same footing, the Commission making a re-valuation.

(11.20.) MR. SEXTON: I admit the force of much the right hon. Gentleman has said, and we are desirous of arriving at an understanding with the Government without a wearisome discussion.

*Mr. Knox*

The clause has been injured in one respect if it has been improved in another. I do not think the proviso at the end is an improvement. The purchaser may apply to the Land Commission to have the annual value fixed, but observe, this is to be after the advance has been sanctioned, so that he will be left in the dark up to the time of purchase and unable to avail himself of any information this proviso gives. I consider the Lords' Amendment an extremely shabby one. It has not even the merit of being selfish, because neither the rent nor the landlord's purchase-money is affected by it. The only effect of striking out the words will be to decrease the apparent number of years' purchase. I trust the Government will agree to the suggestion of my hon. Friend that the basis of calculation shall be the actual, not the nominal, rent, and that on an average over five years.

(11.25.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I join in the appeal of my hon. Friend. We have no desire to occupy time in discussion and Division. The Lords want to make a fictitious rent the basis for purchase instead of the actual rent. The Lords throughout these Amendments have been fighting for their own selfish interests, whereas we are fighting for the cause of half a million of tenants. If you accept this you leave out the real guiding and effective words, which would enable a tenant to know what amount of insurance he would have to pay upon the basis of the actual rent after deducting the abatements made by the landlord.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The question of the amount of the insurance will be determined by re-valuation.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Then the advance must be sanctioned in the dark?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The amount of the advance has nothing to do with the tenants' Insurance Fund.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I imagine the tenant would like to know the basis upon which the bargain is being made, and what he will have to pay as insurance. Is not that the whole point? Yet the Government propose to strike

out what I conceive to be the guiding words. The right hon. Gentleman has shown himself willing to make reasonable concessions on other points. Is this one worth fighting for? I hope he will give way.

\*(11.33.) MR. MADDEN: I hope the hon. and learned Member will re-consider the position he has taken up. The Amendment abolishes the hard and fast rule that the judicial rent is to be the test in all cases where such a rent has been fixed. That rule would undoubtedly have worked unfairly in some cases, such as those brought before the House when the matter was discussed on Report, and the Amendment will allow the tenant to go before the Commissioners and re-open the question. In a case where the judicial rent is £100 a year and the landlord or receiver has accepted £75, it will be open to the tenant to have the annual value fixed on a revised valuation.

MR. SEXTON: What we complain of is that the tenant will not be able to know his true position before he has bound himself to purchase his holding.

\*MR. MADDEN: The question under discussion has nothing to do with the amount of the purchase-money, but merely with fixing what shall be the purchase annuity for the first five years. The tenant knows that the judicial rent will be *prima facie* taken as the rent on which the amount of the first five annual payments will be fixed, but by this clause he has power given him to go before the Commissioners and complain that the judicial rent is too high.

(11.39.) The House divided:—Ayes 114; Noes 67.—(Div. List, No. 372.)

Page 27, line 16, leave out from "purchase money," to "such," in line 19, and insert—

"Provided that after the advance applied for has been sanctioned the purchaser may apply to the Land Commission to determine the annual value to the holding, and thereupon," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Amendment proposed in the words inserted by the Lords, to leave out the

words, "after the advance applied for has been sanctioned."—(Mr Knox.)

MR. KNOX: The object of this Amendment is to have the amount of advance and of the annual value to be settled at one and the same time instead of having two different inspections.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I concur with the object of the hon. Member. I only doubt if it will be effected by his proposal. I will not, however, oppose it.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Amendment," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the Lords' Amendment, to add the words "when sanctioning the advance."—(Mr. Knox.)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and negatived.

The remaining Amendment agreed to.

A Consequential Amendment made to the Bill.

Committee appointed, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to certain of the Amendments made by the Lords to the Bill, to which this House hath disagreed." —Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Mowbray, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Macartney. —To withdraw immediately.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

COINAGE BILL.—(No. 375.)

SECOND READING—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [8th July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

(11.55.) SIR W. HARCOURT (Derby): The Chancellor of the Exchequer is probably aware that several hon. Members have observations to make on this Bill which are well worthy the attention of the House. I hope if this stage is allowed now to be taken he will take care that an opportunity is given on future stages for those remarks to be made.

MR. GOSCHEN: I recognise the spirit of conciliation shown by hon. Members in allowing the Bill to be read

a second time. I quite agree that an opportunity should be afforded hon. Members to speak on this Bill, and will take care that the subsequent stages are taken at a convenient hour.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

TRAINING COLLEGES (IRELAND) BILL,  
(No. 391.)  
COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

MR. LEA: I beg to move to report Progress. My hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone and myself have Instructions down on the Paper, but did not expect the Bill to be proceeded with to-night.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. Lea.)

MR. SEXTON: Surely it is unreasonable to stop the progress of this Bill on such grounds. Why should the whole House be punished for the neglect of the hon. Member?

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I support the Motion to report Progress, and for this reason: I did not take a Division on the Second Reading; but this is a Bill which cannot be allowed to pass without some discussion and a Division. I will not now debate its merits; but I maintain that the Government ought to find an opportunity for an important measure like this to be discussed at an hour when the opinion of the House can be taken upon it. I mean to divide against Clause 1.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I think the Bill will prove to be highly contentious, and I shall spare no effort to defeat it. It contemplates taking money from the Disestablished Protestant Church of Ireland and giving it to the Roman Catholics.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It does nothing of the kind.

MR. KELLY: When the omission of words "Irish Temporalities Fund," in Clause 2, is moved, the matter will be very clear.

*Mr. Goschen*

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. Friend, then, is posing as the champion of the Irish Protestant Church.

MR. KELLY: I do not profess to champion the Irish Church.

It being Midnight, the Motion to report Progress lapsed, and the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

(12.0.) MR. SEXTON: In fixing the time for resuming Committee will the right hon. Gentleman put it down for some day when it can be taken at such an hour that there will be some chance of getting it through? Will he give it the first place on the Orders of the Day?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I will endeavour to arrange that the Bill shall be taken at a time to allow of full discussion. I know that great interest is taken in it, and, though I cannot fix a time just now, the hon. Member may rely that the opportunity shall be given.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

TURBARY (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 378.)  
CONSIDERATION.

As amended, considered.

(12.2.) MR. SEXTON: Clause 2 provides—

"That the Land Commission before purchasing any bog shall be satisfied that they will ultimately realise by means of the bog an amount sufficient to repay the purchase-money with interest at the rate of 3½ per cent. per annum."

In the Land Purchase Bill, to which this is a pendant, the rate of interest is 3 per cent. Will the right hon. Gentleman accept the suggestion that the same rate should be inserted here?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I regret that I cannot meet the hon. Member in this. Three and one-eighth is the lowest rate at which public loans are made, even in cases such as loans under the Housing of Working Classes Act, 1890, where special arrangements are made for security. In this case, as the hon. Member must admit, there is a greater risk to the Exchequer than in the Land Bill, for there is no security but the bog itself. The Treasury have

gone very far in accepting the proposal of the hon. Gentleman at all, and we cannot agree to any lower terms. The matter is a small one I know, and will not affect the purchase, but we must adhere to the principle.

MR. SEXTON: No time is fixed for the payment of the money, and I propose to fix a moderate term—15 years—limiting to that extent the discretion to the Land Commission.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 8, after the word "interest," to insert the words "at three per cent. in not less than fifteen years."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*(12.5.) MR. GOSCHEN: I am sorry again to have to refuse assent to the hon. Member's proposal. It may be that the security may not remain in existence for 15 years. It will be a security which will be diminishing year by year while the loan remains. We have not said that the loan must be paid off in a given number of years, because we think it is better to leave this to the discretion of the Commission, who I do not think will exercise that discretion in a harsh manner.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. SEXTON: It seems of little use moving Amendments. I should have thought the right hon. Gentleman would have consented to insert a minimum number of years within which the loan should not be recovered. I now move the next Amendment. I presume it is not intended that the Treasury should make a profit out of the transaction; and when the Treasury is fully recouped I propose that the proceeds of the sale shall be divided between the tenants or purchasers who have made the payments in respect of such bog.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 12, after the word "same," to insert the words "and the proceeds of such sale shall be divided between the tenants or purchasers who have made payments in respect of such bog under section 2 of this Act in proportion to the total amount of such payments, and shall be paid accordingly."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

COLONEL NOLAN: I would point out that it would be for the advantage of the Treasury that this should be inserted. It will improve the security, because it will be an inducement to tenants to take care of the bog.

\*(12.7.) MR. GOSCHEN: Here again I think if hon. Members will study the contents of the Bill they will see that this would not be an equitable arrangement, having regard to the risk the Exchequer undertakes. It would amount to this: that for any loss that might accrue the Exchequer would be responsible, but in any gain the tenants would share. In five out of six cases there might be a loss, and yet the gain in the other case would be divisible among the purchasers. Those who have paid for the turf or the turbary rights will have got all they are entitled to, and will have no rights in the bog when it is exhausted. Any profit there may happen to be should go to the settlement of the general transaction, and this, I think, is only fair. We had grave doubts whether we ought to allow the Land Commission to enter into these transactions at all.

(12.10.) SIR E. HARLAND (Belfast, N.): I recommend the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to accede to the proposed terms. If he does I am sure he will find a complicated balancing of the accounts after the turf has been sold. Those who have bought the turf will claim to have a right to one-half of the amount of the spent bog.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I think the hon. Gentleman would be much better occupied if he left questions of this kind, which do not affect the constituency he represents, to those concerned. Heaven knows we find it difficult enough to deal with the Government without the hon. Member endeavouring to further stiffen their backs against the miserable and impoverished people in the West of Ireland!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is only due to my right hon. Friend to say that he has met the requests of the Irish Government in this matter with great liberality, seeing that the demands made upon him by that Department from time to time are of a very considerable character. I do not think it is very generous on the part of Irish Members to press my right hon.

Friend to go to a point which none of his predecessors have gone.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I do not see, when the tenant purchasers get what they purchase, why at the end of a certain time they should get any more. This is not a question for the West of Ireland alone: it is a question for the whole of Ireland. Why should the Government make a present of the spent bog to the men who are able to buy their land?

SIR J. LUBBOCK (London University): The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) forgets that this is not a matter which affects the people of Belfast only, but in reality it affects the taxpayers of the whole Kingdom. I cannot help thinking that the Government have acted very generously.

Question put, and negatived.

Amendments made.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [22nd July] reported.

Resolution 1 (see page 2) agreed to.

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £46,283, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries of the Law Officers; the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury, Queen's Proctor, and Director of Public Prosecutions; the costs of Prosecutions, of other Legal Proceedings, and of Parliamentary Agency."

\*(12.17.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I crave the indulgence of the House for one moment while I deal with one observation which fell from the hon. Member for Poplar yesterday in moving the reduction of this Vote, and which certainly ought not to be allowed to pass without some notice. The hon. Member is reported to have said—

"That far too much of the law officers of the Crown was done not by themselves but by others who are commonly called their devils, and so, while the country thought they were getting the opinion of the Attorney General, they were only getting the opinion of a junior member of the Bar."

I am quite sure my hon. Friend spoke from information he believed was true, or perhaps he only intended to make some

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

general criticism on what he believed to be the working of the present system. I desire to say, speaking first for myself, that during the five and a half years I have been in office, I have given over a thousand opinions, and there is not the slightest foundation for the suggestion that any opinion given by me has been otherwise than my own opinion. I have always given my own opinion after full consideration and deliberation, and I may say the same for my hon. and learned colleague the Solicitor General. It is true that we both receive very considerable assistance from junior members of the Bar, the same assistance as is invariably expected and given when private opinions are taken at the expense of the client. It is only right that that assistance should be given, because it is necessary that there should be a thorough examination by juniors as well as by leaders. The only difference between public and private matters is that in the case of the former the assistance of juniors is provided at the expense of the Law Officers instead of the clients.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I do not object to my hon. and learned Friend calling attention to anything which fell from me in the course of the Debate, though I regret he was not here yesterday, so that any error I fell into might have been cleared up at the time. I accept the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman to the fullest extent, and if I have fallen into error I desire to withdraw what I have said. But the report of my speech in the *Times*, although accurate on the whole, omitted the qualification which I attached to the words the hon. and learned Gentleman has quoted. My argument really was that the pressure upon the Law Officers, owing to their private practice, is so great that they cannot give so much time to Government work as they otherwise would.

(12.22.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I hope the Home Secretary has re-considered the words he used yesterday with reference to the duty of the Public Prosecutor in taking proceedings against the promoters of fraudulent companies. I was astonished to hear the right hon. Gentleman make the statement that the persons who entrusted their money to Directors of companies which turned out fraudulent

deserved no pity whatever, and really were almost as bad as the Directors themselves. In regard to the case in which the late Lord Mayor of London has given very remarkable evidence this week, I think the Treasury and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury are really as much to blame as anybody else. They allowed a contract to be boomed in the City as if it was a valuable contract, when, in point of fact, the Hansard Union were doing for nothing what Mr. Hansard got £5,000 for doing. I maintain that the whole fraud in connection with the Hansard Company is largely due to the action of the Treasury. We know very well Conservative Members are connected with this particular company, and I think it is most unfortunate that the Home Secretary should have held the language he did yesterday. I have a letter from a working man in Birmingham, who says he took 20 shares in the company on the strength of the late Lord Mayor of London being a Director. And yet it is said that that poor man is no more to be pitied than those who got up the company.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I have not seen any report in the public Press of what I said yesterday, but my remarks were made in reply to the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell), who took the view that cases of fraudulent company-promoting were peculiarly such as the Treasury ought to prosecute. I, on the other hand, put forward the view that in the great majority of cases the persons who invest their money do so in the hope of great profits and with full knowledge of the risks they run, and that the public generally are not immediately concerned.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The expression to which I referred just now, as used by the right hon. Gentleman, was "One set of rogues and knaves scarcely less honest than the other." The words were omitted in the *Times* report, but appeared in the *Daily News* and *Standard*.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I rise for the purpose of congratulating the Attorney General on the very good

advertisement he has made of his own business.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I think there is a little misconception as to this business. The fact is, the Government did not make the contract with the Hansard Union at all. It would have been just as open for any other person or firm, if their tender had been accepted, to have sold their business to the Hansard Union as was done by Messrs. Macrae, Curtice, & Co. At the time the contract was made the Hansard Union was not in existence, and it was, therefore, impossible for anyone to forecast that the contract made with Messrs. Macrae, Curtice, & Co. would be acquired by the Hansard Union.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I happen to know that a very considerable number of people took shares in the Hansard Union largely on account of the fact that a contract had been concluded with the Government.

MR. JACKSON: That was not the firm with which the contract was made.

MR. FLYNN: The contract was in existence, and was referred to in two prospectuses issued by the company. Perhaps the Treasury could not take away the contract, but I think they might in some way or other have let the public know that a false impression was conveyed in the prospectuses. I know several people in London who looked on the contract between the Treasury and the company—

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not in order: that arises on the Stationery Vote.

MR. FLYNN: Can I move a reduction of the Vote?

\*MR. SPEAKER: The Question is "That the House doth agree with the said Resolution."

MR. T. M. HEALY: Can I make an explanation?

\*MR. SPEAKER: No.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I will make it on the Motion for the Adjournment of the House.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolution 3 (see page 57) agreed to.



## EVIDENCE BILL [LORDS].

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

SCHOOLS FOR SCIENCE AND ART  
BILL [LORDS].—(No. 335.)

Read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY)  
BILL.—(No. 407.)

## SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

(12.32.) MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I desire to point out that in last year's Bill there was a clause providing for the expenditure of money in the purchase of a site for a council chamber and offices. The words "council chamber" were omitted. I believe the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London had an idea that "site for offices" would include "site for council chamber." I did not hold that view, but I now wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman how it is that the words omitted from last year's Bill are inserted in this Bill. In reference to the expenditure on what is called a first class—

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is exceeding all the limits of remarks on Second Reading. I do not say he is exactly out of order, but it is unusual on the Second Reading to go into such very small matters.

MR. KELLY: I may be permitted to point out that this is the only opportunity I have of asking these questions.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman could ask them in Committee.

MR. KELLY: I thought it would save time if I asked them now.

\*SIR J. LUBBOCK (London University): The London County Council have

no desire to spend money in obtaining a chamber for ourselves to meet in, but the business of the Council has increased so much that our clerks are scattered over some half-dozen different buildings. We wish to have all the offices together, and in the long run that would lead to a great deal of economy.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

## LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 55.)

## COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 6.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

(12.37.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Perhaps the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland will say what he thinks of this and the subsequent clauses.

\*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. MADDEN, Dublin University) said that his objection to the principle of the Bill was limited to the clause dealing with the Church surplus.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 7 agreed to.

Clause 8.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. SEXTON: This is a very important clause. The whole structure of the Labourers' Acts since 1883 has been erected on the basis of voluntary action on the part of the Boards of Guardians. I am very far from saying that Boards of Guardians have always justified the confidence placed in them by law; but I do not think clauses of this kind should be allowed to pass in silence under this clause; the Inspectors of the Department will become the controllers of the rates

of the Unions. Of course, if the Attorney General for Ireland says that inquiries which the Irish Government have made have convinced them it is requisite that the powers of the Boards of Guardians should be superseded to this extent, and that the voluntary action on the part of the Board should be supplemented by compulsory action on the part of the Government Department, I am not disposed to offer any opposition, but I think the measure is a strong one.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): This clause is taken from the Public Health (Ireland) Act. The power will be exercised by the Central Authority when the Local Authority do not use the power vested in them. I may say that there is now in the North of Ireland considerable irritation caused by the refusal of the Guardians to act. There is every safeguard. The Inspectors are first to be satisfied, and it is not likely they will take a very violent view in opposition to the Guardians, and the Local Government Board are to be satisfied that there is reasonable ground for overriding the action of the Board of Guardians. I do not suppose that the compulsory powers will be frequently used; but the Guardians, feeling there is this power behind them, will be more inclined to consider representations favourably. The effect will be that of which there has been experience in the working of the Allotments Act in England, where compulsory power has not been used, but the fact of its existence has induced voluntary action. I admit the clause is drastic, but I think it is justified by the precedent in the Public Health Act.

\*MR. MADDEN: No doubt it is a somewhat drastic clause, and I think there is one respect in which it requires alteration. I was about to propose an Amendment—

THE CHAIRMAN: The question has been put "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

\*MR. MADDEN: On the Report stage I will propose to change the word

"shall" for "may." That, I think, will remove the objection. The Local Government Board will not be bound by the mere fact of the Inspector having reported to take action, but may do so where they really think there is default.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. SEXTON: I had intended to propose a clause providing a method for applying the money, but as we are not to have the money this is useless.

Clause 9 omitted.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered on Monday.

CONVEYANCING AND LAW OF PROPERTY ACT (1881) AMENDMENT BILL.  
(No. 5.)

COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 3.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the Clause, to add the words—

"(2.) Provided that, in any case coming within the operation of this section, the lessor may require the assignee or under lessee, or other person to whom possession is given, at his own cost of produce to the lessor or his agent, and allow him to inspect and make a note of the deed of assignment or under lease, or other document transferring possession, and to pay a reasonable fee to the agent of the lessor for making the inspection and note, and also to execute and deliver to the lessor a deed of covenant on the part of such assignee, under lessee, or other person to pay the rent reserved by and to observe and perform the covenants and conditions of the lease, and any licence or consent given by the lessor shall in such case become void if such deed of assignment, under lease, or other document be not produced, or if a reasonable fee be not paid or tendered as aforesaid within six months from the date of such assignment, under lease, or other document, or if such deed of covenant be not executed and delivered to the lessor or his agent within the same time.

(3.) This section, and sub-section three of section two, are not to apply to any lease of,—

- (a.) Agricultural land;
- (b.) Mines or minerals;
- (c.) A house used or intended to be used as a public house or beer shop;

- (d.) A house let as a dwelling house, with the use of any furniture, library, works of art, or other chattels not being in the nature of fixtures;
- (e.) Any property with respect to which the personal qualifications of the tenant are of importance for the preservation of the value or character of the property."—(*Mr. Rentoul.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment agreed to.

Clauses 4 and 5 amended and agreed to.

New Clause.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, after Clause 1, insert the following Clause:—

• (Conditions of actions for recovery.)

"(1.) It shall not be necessary for a lessor before commencing an action for the recovery of land leased, on the ground of any breach of any covenant or condition against assigning, under-letting, or parting with the possession, or disposing of the land leased, or on the ground of forfeiture on the bankruptcy of the lessee, or of the taking in execution of the lessee's interest, to serve on the lessee the notice required by sub-section one, of section fourteen, of 'The Conveyancing and Law of Property Act, 1881.'

(2.) The lessor shall be entitled to recover as a debt due to him from the lessee, and in addition to damages (if any), all reasonable costs and expenses properly incurred by the lessor in the employment of a solicitor and surveyor or valuer, or otherwise, in reference to any breach giving rise to a right of re-entry or forfeiture which, at the request of the lessee, is waived by the lessor by writing under his hand, or from which a lessee is relieved, under the provisions of 'The Conveyancing and Law of Property Act, 1881,' or of this Act.

(3.) Sub-section six of the before-mentioned section fourteen is to apply to a condition for forfeiture on bankruptcy of the lessee, or on taking in execution of the lessee's interest only after the expiration of one year from the date of the bankruptcy or taking in execution, and provided the lessee's interest be not sold within such one year, but in case the lessee's interest be sold within such one year, sub-section six shall cease to be applicable thereto,"—(*Mr. Kelly.*)

—brought up, and the first and second time, and added.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 427.]

#### MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES ACT AMENDMENT BILL [LORDS].

(No. 414.)

Read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

#### DRAINAGE SEPARATION BILL.—(No. 79.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### PRIVATE BANKS BILL.—(No 84.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 410.)

Reasons for disagreeing to Lords Amendments reported, and agreed to.

To be communicated to the Lords.

#### PRIVATE BANKS (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Ernest Spencer, Bill to amend the Law relating to Private Banking firms, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ernest Spencer, Mr. Warrington, Mr. Maclure, and Mr. Bartley.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 429.]

#### LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS) BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 428.]

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): May I remind the right hon. Gentleman that he promised to give us his view as to a Saturday Sitting?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I find, on inquiry, that, on the whole, a Saturday Sitting this week would not be likely to advance the Business of the House.

Question put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at one minute before One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 24th July, 1891.

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR  
IRELAND.

VISCOUNT TEMPLETOWN: Petition of Henry Edward Montague Dorington Clotworthy Upton Viscount Templetown in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED  
DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 208.)

Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendments agreed to; several others agreed to, with Amendments, and Consequential Amendments to the Bill; and several others disagreed to, for which they assign Reasons; The said Amendments and Reasons to be printed, and to be considered on Tuesday next. (No. 260.)

## SALE OF GOODS BILL [H.L.]—(No. 48.)

Reported from the Standing Committee with Amendments; The Report thereof to be received on Monday next: and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 262.)

HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES BILL.  
(No. 234.)

Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment; and to be read 3<sup>a</sup> on Tuesday next.

PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACTS  
AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 259.)

Reported from the Standing Committee with further Amendments: The Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House and by the Standing Committee to be received on Monday next; and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 263.)

## ADMINISTRATION OF ESTATES BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill to consolidate enactments relating to the administration of the estates of deceased persons—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1<sup>a</sup>; and to be printed. (No. 264.)

VOL. CCCLVI. [THIRD SERIES.]

## TURBARY (IRELAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on Monday next: (The Lord Privy Seal [*E. Cadogan*].) (No. 265.)

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND  
COLONIAL DEFENCE.

## OBSERVATIONS.

\***LORD BRASSEY**, in rising to call attention to the increased military contribution demanded by the Imperial Government from the Colony of the Straits Settlements for the maintenance of the garrison, said: My Lords, in calling the attention of your Lordships very briefly to the increased military contribution which has recently been demanded from the Colony of Singapore, my chief desire is to give to the Straits Settlements Association, on whose behalf I speak, the satisfaction of being heard by your Lordships, and of receiving from the Secretary of State an explanation of the reasons which have guided the action of the Government. As an impartial Court of Appeal for every dependency of the Crown which considers that it has a grievance, Parliament is a powerful link to bind the Empire together. I will begin with the admission that the Straits Settlements owe the prosperity which they enjoy to the protection afforded by England, the Mother Country, and may rightly, in point of principle, be called upon to contribute to the cost of Imperial defence. The grievance alleged is that the amount asked is excessive, and that the demand has been made suddenly, without previous warning or consultation. It is not necessary to dwell on the importance of Singapore as a coaling station and as a link in the chain of fortified stations which give protection to our great trade with the East. The importance of the position has been greatly enhanced by the opening of the Suez Canal and the increase in the number of steamers engaged in the trade with the East. The defences of Singapore were carefully considered by the Royal Commission on the defence of the coaling stations. The additional works recommended have been constructed by the colony at a cost of £81,000. The Imperial Government has provided the armaments. In addition to the cost of the defensive works, the Straits Settlements have paid a large military

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by Contract with H.M.'s Government.

contribution for the maintenance of the garrison amounting for the year 1868-9 to £59,000, and for the subsequent years to £50,445 per annum. In addition to the military contribution, the Colony of the Straits Settlements maintains a large armed police force partly for purposes of public order and partly for purposes of local defence. Up to this point the colony has cheerfully given its co-operation whenever called upon by the Home Government in matters of defence. The complaint which I have very briefly to submit arose out of the Despatch received by the colony from the Secretary of State in 1889. In that Despatch the colony was suddenly called upon to contribute £100,000 per annum out of a total military expenditure estimated at £136,000. In addition, they were to pay £60,000 for the construction of barracks; and they maintain a fine body of armed Sikh police for local defence and the maintenance of public order. The colony object to the demand which has been made on the ground that the garrison and the defences are mainly needed for the protection of stores of coal kept at Singapore for the general purposes of Imperial defence. The Straits Settlements Association complain that the charge which has been laid upon them is heavier than any which has been demanded from any other Crown Colony, and they point to the fact that while it is true their revenue is considerable, it is precarious, depending, among other sources, upon the opium farms, which are becoming less and less productive. The Governor of the Straits Settlements, under orders from home, was compelled to use official pressure to obtain the consent of the Governing Council to the payment required from the colony, but he did so under protest. In his Despatch of February, 1890, to the Secretary of State, he stated that he was wholly unable conscientiously to support the claims which Her Majesty's Government had made, and that every member of the Executive Council, in voting for the payment demanded, voted against his conscience and contrary to the views which he entertained. I hope that the Secretary of State, in his reply, may be able to announce some modification of the present demands, or at least to give explanations which will satisfy the colony

*Lord Brassey*

more fully than they are at present satisfied, and remove the sense of injustice which at present exists in regard to the demands which they are compelled to obey. In conclusion, I would say that it is scarcely possible to deal with a particular case apart from the general question of the distribution of charges for Imperial defence as between the Mother Country and the several colonies and dependencies of the Crown. It seems to me this subject calls for a full inquiry by a Committee or by a Royal Commission. Such an inquiry is desirable to establish a standard of strength at which the Navy and the naval stations should be maintained for Imperial purposes, and especially for the purpose of affording reference to our trade; and it is also desirable to determine the share of the burden which the Mother Country ought to bear in the charge for Imperial defence; to ascertain the mode in which the self-governing colonies may best co-operate, and to fix the basis on which the contributions of the Crown Colonies should be assessed. I must acknowledge that such a subject as this is too grave to be taken up at the fag-end of a fatiguing Session, but I hope it may be entertained at a later and more favourable opportunity.

\***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY:** MY Lords, there is one point which appears to have been lost sight of by the Straits Settlements Association, and which has not been referred to by the noble Lord in his speech, and I think it ought to be put before your Lordships; it is that since the arrangement which was come to between the Government and the Straits Settlements in 1866 for the payment of £50,000 a year, in the time of the late Earl of Carnarvon, an arrangement was made for appointing Residents in the Malay States adjoining the Settlement, thus increasing the naval and military expenses for the protection of the Straits Settlements. Troops have been required for garrisons, and, on one occasion, when the war in Perak took place, the State of Perak had to pay for it. It has been necessary to have troops in Penang, as well as at Singapore, on account of British interests and the number of British subjects in the adjoining Malay States which have been virtually annexed. The trade with Penang and Malacca has very much increased, owing to the

arrangements made with the Malay States. The Singapore people were the people who asked to have those arrangements made in order that they might push their commerce and trade; and thus, I think, it is only fair that a larger amount should be asked from them towards the military expenditure now necessary.

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord KNUTSFORD): My Lords, the noble Lord who introduced this Motion has travelled, as he himself admits, somewhat beyond the terms which are on the Paper, and which are submitted for your Lordships' consideration, and he has raised questions of great importance, but also of great difficulty and complexity. I am not prepared at the present moment to deal with these questions; nor could Her Majesty's Government arrive at any decision upon them until they are submitted in a more definite manner for their consideration. The questions, as the noble Lord has said, are too large and important to be dealt with upon a Motion of this kind, and, I may add, that to find a reasonable solution of them will tax the resources of statesmanship. The noble Lord has suggested that the whole subject of Imperial defence might be referred to a Royal Commission or to a Committee. There is no doubt that such a Commission or Committee might be of great advantage in reporting upon the whole question of Imperial defence, and in laying down principles which might guide Her Majesty's Government in deciding what contribution might be fairly looked for from any particular colony. It might, for example, report whether, and how far, the British taxpayer should be relieved from the payment of the whole naval defence of the Empire, or how far the fact of the naval expenditure being undertaken by the Mother Country should be considered in deciding what military contribution a colony should be fairly called upon to pay for the defence of that colony. But it is manifest that such a Report, unless supported by the evidence of colonial statesmen qualified and authorised to give evidence upon the question, and to explain fully the views of Colonial Governments and Legislatures, would, I fear, carry but little weight, if any, with the colonies. Nor, again, could such a

Report, even if supported by such evidence, be held binding on our great responsibly-governed colonies. It might be of some assistance to Her Majesty's Government as laying down general principles, and it would tend to strengthen their hands both in this country and, perhaps, in the colonies when they were seeking assistance or a larger military contribution from them, but it would not relieve the Government of the day from an inquiry into each particular case, as the amount of contribution which can fairly be demanded must depend upon the special circumstances of each case—as, for example, upon the financial position of the colony, its revenue and expenditure, its trade, the sources of taxation upon which it can rely, and other local considerations. Having made these general observations upon the point to which the noble Lord has referred, I will now turn to the Motion before the House. I listened with attention to the interesting speech of the noble Lord, but I was unable to discover in it any new argument or any new ground advanced against the decision of the Government in addition to those which have already been urged by the Governor and Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements and by the Straits Settlements Association, and which will be found in the Parliamentary Paper published last March. These arguments have been dealt with in my Despatches of December 13, 1889, and January 1, 1891, and I have, therefore, but little to add to those Despatches. At the same time, as the decision of Her Majesty's Government has been questioned, I should desire, as shortly as possible, to state to the House the general bearings of the case, the principle which has guided Her Majesty's Government in the decision at which they have arrived, the main objections, which have been urged against that decision, and our replies. Before doing so, I wish to express my regret that there has been a feeling in the colony that they have been treated somewhat harshly and discourteously in that the decision of the Government was placed before them in my first Despatch in 1889, before they had had sufficient opportunity of discussing the subject in its details. Nothing could be further from my wish than to show discourtesy to the colony, and, indeed,

nothing could be more impolitic, inasmuch as we heartily desire the assent and co-operation of the colony in the decision at which we have arrived; but the following is an explanation of the course which was taken: The principles of the case had been fully discussed in the years preceding the transfer of the colony in 1867 from the Government of India to the Imperial Government. The main arguments now adduced were not only discussed in those years, but also at subsequent periods, notably in 1871 and 1873, when my noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) was Secretary of State for the Colonies. Moreover the Government, before coming to a decision, had the advantage of the Reports of the Committee of 1871, and of the very strong Departmental Committee of 1888, before whom all the Papers and documents were laid and carefully considered, and also of the elaborate and carefully expressed opinion of Sir Frederick Dickson, Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements in 1888. There had been necessarily some delay in deciding this question of the increase of the military contribution, and as the year was almost at an end in which the re-settlement was to commence, and as the first considerable increase was to be made for the year 1890, it was thought desirable in the interests of the colony itself that there should be no further delay, and that the decision of the Government should be at once announced. But the announcement of the decision was not intended to lessen the colony's opportunities of arguing against it, and, as a matter of fact, they have very properly and fully availed themselves of their opportunities, as I am sure my noble Friend will admit, and they have been supported by the Straits Settlements Association. If the arguments that were adduced had prevailed with the Government there would have been no difficulty about altering the contribution for future years and repaying any overpayment in the years 1889 and 1890. I trust that this explanation will dispel the feeling in the colony to which I have referred, the existence of which, I have before said, I much regret. As regards the question before your Lordships, I think the noble Lord agrees with me that the question is what is the fair share

*Lord Knutsford*

to be borne by the colony and the mother country respectively, having regard to all the circumstances of the case and the respective interests at stake. In considering that question I would observe that, in the first place, it is not denied that the colony should pay more than it has done of late years. That obligation was recognised by the Legislative Council by a Resolution which was passed in February, 1890, and which will be found at page 20 of the Parliamentary Blue Book to which I have referred. It may also be taken as admitted that the colony should pay half of the actual cost of military defence in addition to the entire cost of barracks. That is recognised by the third Resolution of the Legislative Council of the same date. Now, in dealing with this question of what is a fair contribution to be paid by the colony, it is necessary to go back to the time when the colony was transferred in 1867 and to the understanding then arrived at. What was the chief object of the colony in asking to be transferred? It was this: The colonists wished to escape from the very heavy defence charges to which the colony was subject as part of the Indian Empire, and in all the negotiations which extended from 1858 to 1866 the Home Government steadily refused to take over the colony until they were assured that no charge would fall upon the Imperial Exchequer for either the military or civil establishments of the colony. The transfer was not desired by the Government, and was only made in the interests of the colony itself. The colony accepted the conditions, and the transfer was made. The correspondence in the Parliamentary Papers of 1862 and 1866 makes this quite clear. It is now objected—and the noble Lord has pointed out that objection—that it is unfair on the part of the Government to attempt to apply to the existing state of things the principles laid down in 1866, when Singapore was but a small colony, a mere trade depôt, whereas now it has become a port of great Imperial importance and of paramount necessity to the maintenance of the Empire. It is objected that, by the opening of the Suez Canal, Singapore, which was in 1866 a remote and unimportant colony and entirely disregarded as an Imperial military station, has now become an Imperial

coaling station, of primary importance to the naval, military, and commercial interests of the Empire. I have dealt with this argument in my Despatch of January 10, 1891, which is found at page 64 of the Parliamentary Paper of March, 1891, and I would venture very shortly to read to your Lordships one or two passages which afford the answer to this objection. I there pointed out that these views as to the position and unimportance of Singapore in 1866 are not in accord with the opinions expressed by the Local Authorities when discussing the proposed transfer from Indian to Imperial rule. At that time the colony, when seeking relief from the heavy naval and military charges imposed upon it by its connection with India, did not admit, what it now asserts, that Singapore was merely the chief town of a remote and unimportant colony, entirely disregarded as an Imperial military station. On the contrary, it represented that the importance of Singapore as an Imperial station was such that a large portion of the defence expenditure ought to come out of Imperial funds. The same arguments and representations were made in urging upon the Government of that day the importance of the transfer as an Imperial station by the Singapore Chamber of Commerce; and in a resolution passed at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Singapore in 1861, it was, among other things, resolved—

"That the greatly increased expenditure incurred for military purposes entailed by the expensive system of fortification now in progress, should not be borne by these Settlements, as it is undertaken for Imperial, and not local interests."

And the same view was urged in a Memorial from the principal merchants in London connected with the Singapore trade in the same year. It will be observed that the arguments now urged against charging Singapore with the cost of its garrison are identical with those used for the same purpose at the time of its transfer in 1866; and subsequently, in 1871 to 1873, the period to which I have before referred when the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) was in office, those arguments were again brought forward, and again disposed of. Looking to this fact, then, that the arguments urged in 1861 and 1866 were

held insufficient, I see no reason, I confess, why similar arguments repeated now for entailing a larger charge upon this country should be held as valid. Then it is further objected that the contribution of 1866 was stated by the War Office to be fixed

"With regard to the wants and means of the inhabitants of the colony,"

and should not be increased. It is quite true that it was so fixed in 1866, and it is also true that it was fixed upon the same principle and upon the very same lines in 1889. Those who raise this objection have omitted to mention that, in addition to the words quoted, the following words were made use of in 1866 by the War Office:—

"It being a *sine quâ non* condition of the consent of the Imperial Government to the transfer that it is to cast no additional burden on the Imperial Exchequer."

Nor again has reference been made to the further stipulation that the Government could enter into no agreement, that it would not increase or decrease the garrison, if circumstances should require it. In support of the objectors' case, a Despatch of Lord Kimberley's to the War Office in 1871 has been quoted and relied upon. In it the noble Earl stated that he

"Would not feel justified in imposing upon the Settlements any arrangement by which they will be rendered liable to an uncertain charge over which they have no control."

But that Despatch referred to a very different question. When it is looked at it will be seen that it had no reference whatever to the cost of the garrison; it dealt only with the question whether the colony should be charged each year with the actual ascertained cost of the troops for the year, or whether it should be charged with the estimated cost, taking it for a fixed period. The former plan was the plan adopted by the Indian Government, but the noble Earl (Lord Kimberley) thought—and, if I may be allowed to say, thought correctly—that it would be better that the colony should know exactly what it would have to pay for a given number of years; and the principle of payment by estimate, and not by actual ascertained cost, was adopted, as I think, very much to the advantage of the colony. The colony made a very good bargain in 1867 by the transfer. The main object was, as I



have said, to get rid of the heavy charge not only for the military garrison, but also for the Navy, which it sustained as long as it was connected with the Government of India. Those charges, for some years prior to the transfer, fluctuated between 1858 and 1863 from 67 to 33 per cent. of the Revenue. In 1866, the year prior to the transfer, the charges amounted to 27 per cent. of the Revenue; while in 1868, the year after the transfer, they fell to 22 per cent. of the Revenue. They were further reduced, in 1871 and 1873, to about 16 or 17 per cent. of the Revenue, and they are now still further reduced by this last re-arrangement to about 15 per cent. of the Revenue. If the colony had not been transferred from the Indian Government to Imperial rule, its present defence charges would have amounted under the Indian scale to £236,800 per year, or 32 per cent. of its Revenue; whereas the £100,000 we now ask for is only about 15 per cent. of its Revenue. Perhaps I may be allowed to direct your Lordships' attention to page 12 of the Parliamentary Paper, 1891, and to a Table there set out, from which it will be seen that in 1872 the contribution of the colony in respect of military expenditure was reduced from £59,300, at which figure it stood from 1868, to £51,595, or 17·1 per cent. of the total Revenues of the colony, and that since 1873 the contribution has been £50,145. From 1871 to 1876 the percentage of military Expenditure to Revenue, as I have said, averaged 16 or 17 per cent., and then, owing to the fall in the value of the dollar in which these contributions were unfortunately received by the War Office, and owing to the very great increase of Revenue, your Lordships will see, if you look at page 12, that the percentage dropped gradually to 6·6 per cent. in 1887. No doubt the new charge will amount to about 15 per cent.; but that, as I have before pointed out, is a less percentage than during the years from 1871 to 1876; and the question we have now to consider is whether this is an unreasonable increase considering that it is a less percentage of the Revenue than from 1871 to 1873, and an extraordinarily less percentage than when the transfer was made. In fact, looking to the increase of Revenue, every re-settlement has been

*Lord Knutsford*

in favour of the colony. I have pointed out that before the transfer of the colony in 1867 the percentage was 27 per cent. of the Revenue; immediately after it fell to 22 per cent. After 1871 it was 17 per cent., and now by the new arrangement it is about 15 per cent. Her Majesty's Government adhere, and have always adhered, to the principle of 1867, upon which the transfer was made, and it is not correct to state, as I think I have seen it urged by the Association and others, that the Imperial interest in the land defence of Singapore was recognised in 1866 by the assumption of the cost of the wing of the Hong Kong regiment there. This argument is founded on a complete misapprehension. The Government never consented to assume any part of the cost of the garrison of Singapore; on the contrary, between 1861 and 1866, it distinctly and repeatedly refused to take over the colony until it could be assured that no such charge would fall upon it. In order, however, to reduce the charge to the colony, without throwing any extra burden on Imperial revenues, it determined to keep one wing of a Hong Kong regiment at Singapore on the distinct understanding that it formed no part of the garrison paid for by the colony, and that it was liable to be removed whenever required elsewhere. This arrangement, which was continued under the agreement of 1871, is no longer practicable. In these days of quick attack, the garrison of Hong Kong must be at that post and not in Singapore. It has been found necessary to keep the wing at Hong Kong, and Singapore must, therefore, now rely entirely upon its own garrison. This arrangement, however, saved the colony about £40,000 a year for over 20 years; and it is now rather hard to urge upon us that because they have been saved that sum all those years. The action of the Government should be considered as a recognition of Imperial interest, in the land defence of the colony, and as setting aside the agreement of 1866. Nor, again, is it just to urge, as has been urged, that the principle of the original agreement was abandoned by the arrangement made in 1884, under which the Imperial Government assumed the cost of the armaments, while the colony provided the

works. The transaction of 1884 had no reference whatever to the cost of the colonial garrison, but related solely to the cost of special works of defence then contemplated. The Parliamentary Papers of 1884 show that the question related not to Singapore alone, but to 10 or 12 colonies. It was then felt by the Government of the day that in spite of the agreement of 1866, to which they still adhered, it would be hard, in that special matter, to treat Singapore less favourably than, or on a different footing to, other possessions. To that extent the agreement of 1866 was departed from, and the military establishments of Singapore did cast an extra burden on Imperial revenues of about £194,000. That departure from the terms on which the transfer of the colony was agreed to in 1866 is no reason, however, for still further departing from those terms, and for permanently charging Imperial revenues with an expenditure for the garrison, which the colony, on its transfer, undertook to bear. The Home Government, I may observe, undertook to bear half the cost of Aden defences at the same time that it agreed to bear the cost of Singapore armaments, but the Government of India has never argued, as Singapore does, that the Imperial Government is in consequence bound to go further and permanently assume part of the cost of the garrison. But, my Lords, putting aside, for the sake of argument, the agreement of 1867 and other past arrangements, and assuming a large Imperial interest in the defence of Singapore, the contribution now called for is not too large in proportion to the respective interests—Imperial and colonial. It is worth considering, when we are charged with "harshness and extortion," what the British taxpayer pays in respect of the defence of this colony and of the Imperial interests therein. The cost of the military garrison and works is not nearly, as your Lordships know, the total cost of the defence. The naval defence forms a most important item in this consideration, and the whole cost of that falls on this country. In many cases it is extremely difficult to make even an approximate calculation of this cost, because, as a rule, ships are not told off for the defence of a particular colony, the policy of the Admiralty

being against assigning any fraction of the Fleet to particular areas. It so happens, however, as is pointed out in page 65 of the Parliamentary Paper of 1891, that out of the total force on the China Station it has been found desirable, for special reasons, to assign about 1,000 tons to what is called the Straits division, of which Singapore is the headquarters, and this force is rarely absent from Malayan waters. On the basis of a division of the aggregate naval expenditure by the total effective seagoing tonnage of the Navy, the cost has been calculated at (£40 a ton for effective charge yearly, £10 a ton for non-effective charge yearly),  $4,000 \times £50 = £200,000$  per annum; and this, therefore, is the sum which the mother country may be said to spend in the naval defence of the Straits Settlements, and which it may be assumed that the colony would have to spend were it an independent State. This calculation takes no account of the cost of defending the commerce of the Straits outside Malayan waters. It will, of course, be understood that I only refer to the amount thus paid for naval defence, for the purpose of showing that the British taxpayer pays a large share of the defence, larger even than the colony would bear if it bore the whole military defence; but I would observe that the cost of the Navy is not included in the calculation of the contribution to be paid by the colony. This, however, is not all. As regards the land defences, it must be remembered that since 1877 the mother country has laid out £194,000 in armaments and works, and that as the annual military expenditure is £136,000, and the colony, under existing arrangements, only pays £100,000, the mother country pays £36,000 a year still in respect of military defence. The reasons for our making this payment for the four years ending December, 1893, are stated in my Despatch to be—

"Out of consideration for the colonial finances and in order to lighten the immediate pressure of an application, to the circumstances of the present time, of the original agreement upon which the colony was transferred."

As Mr. Stanhope showed in the House of Commons some time ago, the charge now made for defence amounts only to 3s. 6d. per head of the population of the colony, while in the United Kingdom the corresponding charge

amounts to 16s. or more per head. The noble Lord referred to the works of defence, and he stated one objection that has been raised, namely, that the garrison and defences are mainly for the protection of the stores of coal at Singapore, which are kept chiefly for Imperial purposes. But in 1885, when there were rumours of war, the colony took a very different view of the situation. It was then represented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that—

“The increase of trade and agriculture in the States Settlements, and the large stocks of home and foreign products, including coals, which are stored there, must be subjects of the greatest anxiety, while the colony is at present practically undefended.”

It will be observed that not only “the home and foreign produce, including coals,” but the valuable colonial docks on which the prosperity of the colony so largely depends, are now included in the defence which is now stated to secure Imperial interests alone. Then, again, it has been argued that it is not pretended that the defences, such as they are, cover the trade and town of Singapore. I might, perhaps, leave that to my noble Friend behind me to argue, but I may state shortly that the military opinion is that the new harbour defences taken in conjunction with the battery at Tanjong Katong, which was built at the request of the colony in 1868, and which has been re-armed with breech-loading guns in order to protect the town and roadstead, afford a degree of protection which would make an attack from the sea in the last degree improbable. I will only point out one other objection which has been made. I am unwilling to take up your Lordships’ time, but it is important to satisfy the colony that we have a good case. The last objection I will refer to is that which regards Penang and Malacca. It is represented that no defences are provided for these places, while their revenues have to provide the cost of defending them. But this question of defending Penang and Malacca has been inquired into several times, and the Committee of 1871 reported that Penang and Malacca are, from their position and comparatively inferior importance, scarcely liable to external attack, and they did not recommend that any special protection

*Lord Knutsford*

should be provided for them beyond the general protection which would be afforded by the Navy. That recommendation has been acted upon for some 20 years without ever having been called in question, and I must say it is rather late in the day to receive this objection as a reason why the colony should not bear the cost of its Singapore garrison. I trust I have established that the contribution now called for is—first, much less, in fact, less by one-half, than the colony would have had to pay if the transfer had not been made, and if it had remained under the Indian Government; second, that it is much less than the colony could be called upon to pay if the agreement of 1867 were strictly and rigidly enforced; third, that it is a very reasonable contribution if taken in consideration with the amount paid by the mother country for the Imperial interest in the defence of the colony; fourth, that it is a reasonable contribution when compared with the revenue of the colony, as it is based on a lower percentage than upon any former re-settlement or re-arrangement of this question, and is more in favour of the colony compared with the increase of their revenue; fifth, I would add that, comparing it with the other colonies whose contributions have been revised, the Straits Settlement has not been dealt with unfairly. In conclusion, I would observe that, looking to the greatly increased and increasing cost and requirements of the military and naval services, and the consequent heavy and increasing burden upon the British taxpayer, Her Majesty’s Government have had to consider, and in this they are only following the example of former Governments, whether some increase of colonial contributions should not be called for. In dealing with these questions, we have, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in his Budget speech in another place, “examined the matter in no narrow and exacting spirit.” We have closely examined into the revenue, expenditure, trade, and sources of taxation in each colony from which a larger contribution is looked for. We have had no desire, and I think no Government would desire, to press for an extreme contribution or to bear hardly upon the colonies; and as to the par-

ticular case now before us, I trust that, after what I have said, your Lordships will be of opinion that the decision of Her Majesty's Government is reasonable, and that this colony, considering all the circumstances of the case, has not been called upon to bear more than a just contribution towards its defence.

**\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** My Lords, I think my noble Friend behind me was quite justified in bringing this matter before this House and those who have listened to the speech of my noble Friend opposite will, I am sure, be glad that there has been an opportunity of thoroughly explaining the course the Government have taken in this matter. I was myself so constantly engaged during the time I was in office in a controversy of a similar kind, that I entirely sympathise with my noble Friend opposite in the difficulty which I have no doubt he has had in dealing with this question. I would make only one remark upon the statement with which the noble Lord commenced, in which I do not entirely agree with him, that is in regard to Her Majesty's Government having announced their decision in, I think, 1889, without having previously consulted the colony on the subject. The noble Lord said that that was entirely justifiable, because the principles upon which that decision was based had been laid down long before. That, no doubt, is perfectly true, but, at the same time, I cannot help thinking when there was to be an application of the principles in a new state of things it would have tended to smooth matters with the colony and would have been, I think, more judicious if the colony had been communicated with beforehand. Still, that is not really a very important point, because, as the noble Lord has said, there has been ample opportunity afforded for discussion, and I have no doubt that if the colony had been able to show that demand for increased military contribution was based on a misapprehension or that a change was advisable, Her Majesty's Government would have given their consideration to the argument; and if the decision had been found one which could not be supported, notwithstanding that it had been announced beforehand, they would have reconsidered the matter, and made any modification which might have been

necessary. My noble Friend has gone so thoroughly into the whole question, and dealt with it so fully and clearly, that it is only necessary for me to say very little. I can remember when this subject of the arrangements to be made upon the transfer of the Straits Settlements to the control of the Imperial Government from the Indian Government was under discussion, during the short time when I was Secretary to the India Office in 1864; and I well remember how strongly the Indian Department was at that time pressed by the Straits Settlements to make the change because they thought they were unduly taxed by the arrangements they were subjected to under the Indian Government, and certainly at that time, and I have no doubt afterwards there was no desire on the part of the Government to accept the change; on the contrary they disliked it very much. My chief then was the late Sir Charles Wood (Lord Halifax). He by no means desired that this change should be made, and he would have preferred that the original arrangements should have maintained. However, the conditions then agreed upon between the colony and Her Majesty's Government have been clearly stated by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Knutsford), and they were distinctly and plainly that the colony was to bear the cost of its military defence, and the arrangements that have been mentioned by the noble Lord that Singapore was not to be dealt with as an Imperial station were exactly then as they have been since. Since that agreement was come to, in what way has the situation changed? I think it has to some extent. The noble Lord read extracts from some of these Despatches, and I cannot help reading your Lordships one passage for the purpose of showing you how the matter was represented in 1861 by the Singapore Chamber of Commerce. They say that "Singapore is from its position the key of the China-Indo and Java seas, and is the coaling depôt" for mail and other steamers. There is the whole of their contention stated in plain language. That contention was taken into consideration when the conditions were agreed to in 1866. Now, in what respect has the situation changed? As I have said, I think to some extent it has, but then that change has been recognised by the

action of the Government at home. What has happened is that it has been found necessary to erect expensive fortifications at Singapore in order to meet the requirements of the present day. Her Majesty's Government did not expect the colony to be charged in 1886 with an extraordinary expenditure of that kind, and they very properly made themselves responsible for a considerable portion of the former armament, which may be called the extraordinary expense so incurred. That is by no means an argument why the original agreement must be set aside, but rather an argument, it seems to me, on the other side, and it shows that Her Majesty's Government have dealt generously with the colony in respect of an expense which could not have been foreseen, and which are no doubt heavy in amount. With regard to the figures which have been arrived at by Her Majesty's Government, I am not called upon to take any responsibility. It would require a most careful examination of the whole arrangement in order to deal with them, and to enable me to say that the sum arrived at is the exact sum which I should have arrived at myself if I had been responsible; but I see no reason to question that the Government have given full and fair consideration to the arguments adduced by the colony, and have arrived at what they conceive to be a reasonable and just settlement. Therefore, I do not desire to discuss the details of the arrangement, but would rather discuss the general principles of this matter, on which I entirely agree with the noble Lord opposite. In the first place, your Lordships must remember that this country has to undertake the whole naval defence of these colonies; that is the most important part of the whole matter, because there cannot be the least doubt that the safety of Singapore depends really upon our having the command of the seas. The safety of Singapore may for a time be guaranteed by fortifications, and it is very necessary there should be some fortifications to prevent any casual attack upon the colony by which it might be seriously damaged, or perhaps ruined; but in the last resort, if we were driven off the seas, there is no doubt that, fortifications or no fortifications, Singapore would fall. It is im-

*The Earl of Kimberley*

possible to put out of consideration the great expense which this country has to go to for naval defence, and the enormous advantage which the colony derives from this naval defence, to which it contributes nothing; and I make that remark not only in regard to the Colony of Singapore, but other colonies. In all these discussions it is most unjust and unfair to this country that you should look only to the military and not take into consideration our naval expenditure. With regard to the military expenditure, that has been divided by Her Majesty's Government in a way which, looking to the whole circumstances and revenue of the colony, they think just; and I think the simple fact which the noble Lord has stated, that the cost to every person in this country amounts, I think he said, to about 16s. a year, whereas in Singapore it only amounts to 3s. 6d., must carry conviction at once to everyone's mind that we are not treating the colony with any harshness which, of course, I should be sorry that we should do. The possession of this colony is, no doubt, of immense importance from an Imperial point of view, and, so far, I think it is quite right we should have contributed towards the works which have been recently erected, and in providing their armament; but the colony, although it may be of great importance in an Imperial point of view, must also be regarded as a great emporium of trade, and the maintenance of its position of great benefit to those who live in the colony; the merchants who have business in this great emporium, and the population inhabiting it live by that trade, and it is only reasonable that they should contribute to its protection in proportion to their means. No one can suppose that if Singapore was not rendered safe by the power of this country it would be in the same position it is in now, and in addition to that, as my noble Friend Lord Stanley of Alderley remarked, the advantages of the position have been greatly increased now that we have taken the protectorate of the various Malay States extending to the Siamese frontier. That has been a matter of great interest to Singapore, and it has been done in the first instance at the cost of the Imperial Government. Unfortunately there arose war in Perak, and

a great part of the expense in that war was paid by Her Majesty's Government, although I rather think the colony contributed something. The whole result of the matter is this: that I think in a question of this kind you must trust very much to the Government of the day to see that justice is done. It is a matter which can only be determined by the Colonial Office in discussion with the colony, and I can see no reason to suppose that on either side of the House, or in either House of Parliament, there is any disposition to treat the colony with severity or harshness in the matter. Certainly I should entirely deprecate such a course. I think we should err, if we err at all, on the side of not exacting the uttermost farthing, and I believe we have erred on that side, because if you look at what was paid by Singapore when under the Indian Government before the transfer took place, and if you look now to the sum which is demanded from the colony with reference to the improved defence which you have given to it, I think it will be seen that the colony has not substantial reason to complain. With regard to the very important and broad question which was raised by the noble Lord behind me (Lord Brassey) and which was touched upon by the noble Lord as to whether it would be desirable to have a general inquiry upon this subject. I should not like to commit myself upon that point. I should much doubt, looking to the various and different positions which our colonies occupy all over the Globe, some under responsible Governments and some Crown Colonies, whether any general inquiry would lead to any desirable result. For instance, I do not think it is at all desirable to raise this question with regard to the Australian Colonies or Canada. The Australian Colonies have been spending large sums in defending their ports, and Canada has also a considerable military expenditure. I doubt very much whether it would be advisable to re-open this question with them at the present time. Then, as to Crown Colonies. I think some light might be thrown on the subject by an inquiry, but I would make this remark, that whatever principles you lay down, the contributions must vary from time to time, according to the necessities of the case, and the changing aspect of affairs. I

exceedingly doubt whether you would find it possible to lay down any hard and fast rule. My own impression is that if you laid down such a rule on the Report of a Royal Commission or Committee five or six years hence you would have to modify that rule very considerably, and you would be considered to have bound yourselves by a set of regulations which, in point of fact, were not applicable to the new circumstances in which you were placed. However, I do not wish to express any strong opinion against such an inquiry if there are questions to be decided. All I desire to say, in conclusion, is this: that I have never myself had the slightest desire that we should press unduly upon this or any other colony; but, on the other hand, I think it only just and fair to the British taxpayer that we should receive a reasonable contribution from these colonies for their defence, which if of importance to us is of far greater and primary importance to them.

#### INDIAN ARMY.

##### THE CASE OF COLONEL GEORGE JACKSON, 5TH BENGAL CAVALRY.

\*THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, in rising to call attention to the case of Colonel George Jackson, commanding the 5th Bengal Cavalry, and to move for an Address for a copy of the Regulations under which officers of the old Local Indian Service may be compulsorily retired, said: My Lords, this is the first time since I have had anything to do with politics that I have felt it my duty to bring to the notice of Parliament the personal case of an officer, and in this particular case I am sure your Lordships will excuse me for so doing, because the officer was for four years on my personal staff; and, being under considerable obligations to him for his services, I feel it my duty to do my best to prevent him being treated with what I conceive to be injustice. I have had an opportunity of reading the whole of the Papers connected with this officer's case, with which Papers he was, of course, furnished by the Government, and I have reluctantly come to the opinion, in the first place, that Colonel Jackson has been treated with carelessness and harshness, almost amounting to injustice, by the authorities in India; secondly, that his appeal has not received that consideration

which it ought to have received from the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India in Council; and, lastly, he has been told he will be placed compulsorily in retirement, and I am of opinion that the intention to treat him in that manner is contrary to the Parliamentary guarantee which was given to officers of the Local Indian Service, of which Service he is a member. Now, my Lords, I will deal very shortly with the military part of the case. Colonel Jackson is an officer who has seen 32 years' service. He served in the Umbeyla Campaign, and in Abyssinia. He did excellent service on the Staff of three succeeding Viceroy's of India. He commanded for three years the Governor General's Body Guard. He was then appointed second in command of the 12th Bengal Cavalry, where the Reports of him were so good that he was specially selected to take the command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, a regiment which, at that time, was in very bad order. The regiment was stationed at Mean Meer, one of the most unhealthy stations in India, and the regiment was, moreover, in a state of sickness, and inefficient on that account. Yet, notwithstanding that he had been in command of the regiment for only six months, a favourable report of the regiment was made in March, 1888, by Sir Hugh Gough, the officer commanding at Mean Meer; and afterwards, in October, 1888, when the regiment left Sir Hugh Gough's command, he publicly addressed it in terms which were positively enthusiastic, as regarded its condition, as compared with what it was when Colonel Jackson took command. The regiment then went to Delhi, and afterwards to Lucknow, and it was inspected by Sir Charles Gough in March, 1889. The inspection of the regiment by Sir Charles Gough was distinctly satisfactory. Colonel Jackson, unfortunately however, was not able to obtain the approval of Brigadier-General Luck, the Inspector General of Cavalry. The Report of Brigadier-General Luck upon the regiment was inconsistent with the Reports of Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Charles Gough. He reported unfavourably upon the regiment, and upon Colonel Jackson himself. I may mention that Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Charles Gough had been for the whole of their lives in the Indian Cavalry Service; whereas

*The Earl of Northbrook*

Brigadier-General Luck—I do not mean to express any doubt as to his ability—was a British Cavalry officer, and could not be expected to know so much of the interior economy of an Indian regiment as officers who had been so long in the Service. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, I do not know for what reason, but I presume because of the inconsistency between those Reports, determined that Colonel Jackson should have another trial, that another Report should be made upon him and his regiment, after which it should be considered whether he should remain in command of it. But at that time Colonel Jackson had the misfortune to lose his father; and a short time after the inspection of his regiment by Sir Charles Gough he applied for leave to go home upon his private affairs. He left India without any distinct intimation having been given him that he would prejudice his position in any way by going home on leave. And, therefore, he was, as your Lordships may well understand, somewhat surprised a few months afterwards to receive a private suggestion from the Adjutant General's Department in India that it would be convenient he should retire from the Service at the expiration of his leave. Of course, Colonel Jackson, having the proper pride of an officer, declined to accede to the suggestion. The next thing that happened was that he received an official intimation from the Government of India, through the India Office, containing, I think, the most extraordinary request that was ever made, or that I ever heard of as having been made, to an officer. That was that he

“should be called upon to show cause why he should not be retired from the Service at the expiration of his leave.”

I have always thought if any officer was to be compulsorily retired on account of certain charges brought against him, he should have an opportunity of meeting those charges, and that it should not be put upon him “to show cause why he should not be called upon to retire.” Against that decision Colonel Jackson appealed to the Secretary of State for India in Council. The Commander-in-Chief had intended to give Colonel Jackson an opportunity of further trial before he went home on leave; and I should have thought the

Secretary of State for India in Council would have said that as Colonel Jackson had not had any intimation that he was to be compulsorily retired, he should go back to India; and if, after further trial, it appeared that he should not retain the command of his regiment, it should be given to somebody else. But, no; the whole of the papers were sent back to India, and after the expiration of a considerable time Colonel Jackson received another letter from the Secretary of State for India in Council containing no discussion, no explanation of any of the points he had raised in his appeal, but simply an intimation that it was desirable he should send in his application to retire. With considerable experience of such matters I do not recollect any case in which an officer was ever treated in that way before; but, still, I am not a military man; and your Lordships have in this House my noble and gallant Friend Lord Chelmsford, who was Adjutant General of the Army in India, under my late noble and gallant Friend Lord Napier of Magdala, who will be able to give your Lordships a much better opinion upon the military part of the case than I can pretend to do. But I say, supposing Colonel Jackson had not been quite up to the mark in bringing this regiment into good order, he should not have been called upon to retire from the Service. Why should not he have been put back to his old regiment, of which he would have obtained command in due course, or have been given some other employment in India? There was no reason, because I can assure noble Lords that there has not been a single word said against Colonel Jackson through his whole career with regard to his conduct as an officer, or as to his mental or physical capacity. Yet he is to be compulsorily retired. So far upon the military aspects of the case. I should like to say, with regard to the statement with which I opened, that I am afraid I must state my opinion that proper consideration has not been given by the Secretary of State for India in Council to this appeal. I hold that an officer has a right to appeal to the Secretary of State for India in Council if he thinks he has been ill-treated by the authorities in India; and if he does appeal, I think the Secretary of State for India in

Council is bound to make proper inquiry into the circumstances of his appeal. I think it would be only right in the case of an officer of upwards of 30 years' service he should be told that what he has put into his appeal is not correct if that be the case. Colonel Jackson, in his appeal, raised several points of most serious consequence in respect of the manner in which his case had been treated in India. I will not dwell upon them in detail, but there were most extraordinary inconsistencies and misstatements of matters of fact on the part of the superior officers on whose recommendations Colonel Jackson has been so treated. I would ask the noble Viscount the Secretary of State for India whether he thinks an officer should be allowed to go home on leave without any notice from the Adjutant General's Department that he would be retired compulsorily, and that, when he gets home, advantage should be taken of his absence to force him out of the Service? The straightforward way of dealing with him would have been that he should have been told plainly that if he took leave it must be on the condition that he would retire from the Service at its expiration. But this is a military question, and I will not deal further with it. Now, I come to a part of Colonel Jackson's case which, to my mind, is more even important than the military question. In Colonel Jackson's appeal he said this, as he had a right to do:—

"I desire to state that I am an officer of the local Service, and within the provision of the Henley Clause, under which, I apprehend, misconduct has hitherto been held to be a necessary precedent to compulsory retirement."

I must here point out to your Lordships, and I should have done so before, that it is, of course, a very grave and serious matter for an officer to be removed from the command of his regiment, but the course taken with regard to Colonel Jackson by compulsorily retiring him from the service, adds to that the additional and most serious punishment of preventing him going on to serve for his Colonel's allowances—that is, the pension which Indian officers receive after a certain number of years' service. I may venture upon this matter to say that I have some knowledge of the ground upon which



Colonel Jackson makes this statement, because I happened to be Under Secretary of State for India under my late noble Friend Lord Halifax, then Sir Charles Wood, at the time when the question of maintaining a separate European Force for India was considered, when Parliament decided, after considerable controversy and difference of opinion, that that force should no longer be continued, and when there were apprehensions entertained that officers would not be treated, after the local European Force had ceased to exist, in the same way as they had been treated by the East India Company. A distinguished politician, whose name probably some, at any rate, of your Lordships will recollect, Mr. Henley, took this matter up, and in the House of Commons he introduced a clause into the European Forces (India) Act of 1860, by which all the advantages of their former position were guaranteed by Parliament to those officers in any alterations in organisation which might take place. That clause the foundation of Colonel Jackson's appeal, and I will venture to read it. It says—

"Provided that the advantages as to pay, pensions, allowances, privileges, promotion, and otherwise, secured to the Military Forces of the East India Company by the 21st and 22nd Vict., Section 56"—

that was the Act which transferred the Government of India to the Crown—

"shall be maintained in any plan for the re-organisation of the Indian Army."

The conditions of the East India Company's service were well known at that time. There had been a Royal Commission, of which my noble Friend the Earl of Derby was a Member and General Peel was Chairman, and the conditions under which officers served the East India Company will be found appended to the Report of that Commission. It was there distinctly stated that officers should remain on certain specified lists until they received their Colonel's allowances—of course, unless removed for misconduct or mental or physical incapacity. I may observe that this guarantee granted to these officers was heartily accepted by Sir Charles Wood at the time. He supported the clause. It was done with the full cognisance of Parliament; it was

*This Earl of Northbrook*

alluded to on one or two occasions in General Orders, which were published in India, and the officers of the local forces were told over and over again that those privileges and advantages would be maintained to them. As regards this particular case and the manner in which this guarantee applies to Colonel Jackson, your Lordships will see it applies in this way: Colonel Jackson says that compulsory retirement from the Service—that is what the Secretary of State wishes to apply to him—unless for misconduct or physical or mental incapacity is contrary to the guarantee given by the Henley Clause. I suppose, my Lords, there is no man who could be relied upon to give a fair and authoritative opinion as to what the practice was in such matters better than the late Lord Napier of Magdala. Here is his opinion as to what the rights of the local officers are under this clause. He says in a Minute dated October 26th, 1871—

"The Parliamentary guarantee secures to the officers of the local service all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed under the East India Company. There is no doubt that the East India Company possessed the power of removing officers from the service, with or without pension, but that power was never exercised except in cases of grave or scandalous misconduct of a nature requiring no judicial trial to verify it. Except in such cases no officer was ever removed from the Service"

here is the point—

"unless sentenced to such punishment by court martial. I think it cannot be disputed that this was a virtual contract between the company and those who entered its military service, and it appears to me that it would be a breach of the spirit of the guarantee if the Government were now to substitute a mode of terminating the service of officers which was never recognised or practised by the company."

It might be supposed that this opinion expressed by Lord Napier of Magdala did not apply to such a case as that which I have brought before your Lordships, but I beg to assure your Lordships that that is not so, for this opinion was given in reference to a class of cases which were precisely similar. It so happened, just before I went myself to India in 1872, that the Government of India and the Government at home were in considerable difficulty in consequence of the great number of unemployed officers in India who were employed on "general service," as it was

called, which really meant doing nothing, drawing half-pay, and completing their time for their Colonel's allowances. Naturally, it was considered whether some of them should not be retired upon the pensions to which they were entitled. There was a good deal of correspondence between the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India on the subject, and this Minute which I have read by Lord Napier of Magdala was written in reference to that particular class of cases. I read it for the purpose of showing that it would have been a breach of the guarantee then, in 1872, to force officers into retirement compulsorily who belonged to the local Service unless for misconduct or for physical or mental incapacity. The words used by the Secretary of State for India, and by the Government of India, were very much the same. It was laid down in Despatches of the Secretary of State that officers should not be retired unless for such causes

"As would under the system in force before the amalgamation have led to their removal from the effective list, such as moral delinquency or intellectual capacity."

And, again, in another Despatch the words are—

"Clear misconduct or proved physical or mental inefficiency."

I have shown your Lordships there is no pretence for alleging misconduct or physical or mental inefficiency in Colonel Jackson's case, and, therefore, I put it to your Lordships that he is protected by the terms of the Parliamentary guarantee, and the Secretary of State for India in Council, if he proposes to act upon the intimation which Colonel Jackson has received, would, in my opinion, be committing a breach of faith towards Colonel Jackson as an officer who has received this Parliamentary guarantee. That is my view of that part of the case. My Lords, I am sure my noble Friend will not, in reply to this argument, take any legal view. I am sure he will not say there is no legal claim; he will not say there is a legal right on the part of the Secretary of State for India in Council or the Crown to act in this way. That is not the question. The question is, whether the Secretary of State for India in Council is acting now in the manner in which

the Court of Directors would have acted if the case had occurred in their time; and if my noble Friend has the slightest doubt in that matter, perhaps he will allow me to remind him that this is not the first time when claims of this sort have been brought forward. When the Staff Corps was first formed in India in 1861 a great many complaints were made by local officers in India that they were treated contrary to the Parliamentary guarantee. My late Chief Sir Charles Wood was then Secretary of State for India. He did not treat these complaints as a matter of law. He appointed a Royal Commission, of which Lord Cranworth was Chairman, to examine into the claims of these officers. The members of that Commission made their Report, and he acted in accordance with their Report. In their Report they laid down most precisely that it was not a question of law at all. It is necessary, in order to support the claims of this officer, that I should read that authoritative interpretation in order to satisfy my noble Friend that this is not a legal case. They reported that the word "entitled," which was in the clause,

"cannot be understood as referring to rights capable of being enforced in a Court of Justice,"

but they proceeded to explain the way in which, in their opinion, the guarantee should be carried out. They said—

"In any change of organisation the Crown should, as no doubt the Company would have done, preserve all the rules as to pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise which existed at the time the Act was passed."

Now, my Lords, I think I may fairly, having shown the condition of the matter, and the rights, as I conceive them to be, of this officer under the Parliamentary guarantee, ask the noble Viscount the Secretary of State to produce in this House, if he can, any case of an officer who, in the time of the East India Company, was treated in this way, or any case of a local officer who has been treated in this manner since the Government of India has been transferred from the company to the Crown. I can answer for it that when I was in India, when I had to deal, in communication with Lord Napier of Magdala, with the compulsory retirement of a certain number of officers under the

General Order of 1872, in no case of this sort was an officer compulsorily retired. I am quite satisfied that my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India has not any desire to do injustice in this matter; but, as time goes on, these Parliamentary guarantees become liable to be forgotten; I doubt whether in India at the present time there is any single statesman or officer who has any recollection of the circumstances in which the guarantee was given, and I do not think there is any Member of the Indian Council except my old friend Sir Henry Rawlinson, who can have that knowledge which I myself happen to possess. I happened at the time to be connected with the India Office, and therefore I have some knowledge of this rather intricate matter, and if my noble Friend is doubtful upon the case, if he thinks that at any rate I have brought forward a *prima facie* case to show that this officer has not been treated in accordance with the Parliamentary guarantee, I would venture to suggest to him that he should take the same course as was taken by Sir Charles Wood in a similar case. I do not think it matters a straw as regards the duty of Parliament whether the case is that of one officer or of 100 officers. If the Parliamentary guarantee has been given, it is as good to one man as it is to an entire army. And I would venture to suggest, in justice to this officer, that my noble Friend should refer this case to such men as I could name who are thoroughly conversant with these matters. For instance, my noble Friend the Earl of Derby, who was himself a member of one of these Commissions—a gallant officer, a friend of mine, Sir Thomas Pears, who was Military Secretary to the Council of India for many years, and I will name also Sir Martin Dillon, who was Military Secretary to Lord Napier of Magdala during the whole time he was in India. I think it would be only just and right if my noble Friend on reconsideration of this case, would refer this matter, which I take to be one of great public importance, namely, the maintenance of a Parliamentary guarantee, to a Commission composed of such members as I have named. If he would make such a reference as that, Colonel Jackson would be quite

*The Earl of Northbrook*

satisfied, and I can assure the noble Lord that I should myself be quite content.

Moved, "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty for Copy of the Regulations under which officers of the old Local Indian Service may be compulsorily retired."—  
(*The Earl of Northbrook.*)

\*LORD CHELMSFORD: My Lords, I have gone carefully over the Papers connected with the case of Colonel Jackson, and I have come to the conclusion that that officer has been treated with very scant justice indeed, and that his military reputation is really at stake. I would venture to say I have myself only a slight personal acquaintance with Colonel Jackson, and during the time that I was Adjutant General in India, Colonel Jackson was not named in any Reports which came before me. Therefore, I come perfectly unprejudiced to the consideration of this question. I would ask your Lordships' attention to two or three features connected with this unfortunate case. I would point out to your Lordships that Colonel Jackson was appointed specially by the Commander-in-Chief in India to a regiment which was acknowledged to be in a bad state. This was the state that the regiment was described as being in in a letter of Sir Hugh Gough's—the very officer under whom Colonel Jackson first served directly after Colonel Jackson was appointed to the command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry. It says that he is much disappointed with the appearance and turn-out of the regiment; that there was a want of smartness, that they were dirty and slovenly, and that he was particularly dissatisfied with the troop horses; that he wished the Commander to select a picked officer, suggesting that Colonel Jackson should be appointed, and that he was very pleased Colonel Jackson had had the command given to him. My Lords, I am not going into the history of the case, I merely wish to say that Colonel Jackson was not treated with that fairness which one ought to expect from the Authorities in India, and I believe myself they have been entirely misled by the Report of the Inspector General of Cavalry. On the arrival of the regiment under Sir Hugh Gough's command it was inspected almost immediately, and Sir Hugh Gough reported that the condition of the regiment was very good, and that they

were steady on parade. Eleven days afterwards the Brigadier General of Cavalry, General Luck, came to the Station to inspect the cavalry there. I am well acquainted with General Luck, and I suppose there is not a smarter or more efficient cavalry officer to be found. He belonged to the Inniskillen Dragoons, and has always borne a high reputation as a British cavalry officer, but he had no experience whatever of native cavalry regiments. Sir Hugh Gough, who had inspected that regiment, and had himself made a Report upon it, had commanded a Bengal cavalry regiment, and he knew exactly what to make allowances for, and how to report upon it; but I suppose General Luck looked upon it from the standpoint of a British cavalry officer, and judged it by the standard of a British cavalry regiment; and Colonel Jackson having had really only two or three months' time to try and improve this regiment, naturally it did not turn out exactly in the way that General Luck would have wished. The Report of General Luck says: "The riding of the regiment is decidedly bad." Now, Sir Hugh Gough had given an opinion directly opposite to that. He goes on—

"Then, as to the turn-out, there is a general want of smartness about the regiment."

Sir Hugh Gough said the regiment turned out well. However, Colonel Jackson, after that Report, went on in command of the regiment, under Sir Hugh Gough, for about a year. On leaving the command there Sir Hugh Gough spoke to the regiment publicly on parade, and, after referring to their condition previously, expressed himself pleased to see the regiment in a condition so very different to that in which he saw it on joining it at Mean Meer. Surely the report of an officer of the standing of Sir Hugh Gough should be allowed to stand against that of an officer who, although a very smart and efficient officer of British Cavalry, knew nothing whatever of a native regiment. Then the regiment passed under the command of Sir Charles Gough; but, unfortunately, this regiment, the 5th Bengal Cavalry, was the very regiment which he had himself commanded, and very naturally he would look with disgust at the change which had come over it. But he reports of it in this way. He says—

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"That the 5th Bengal Cavalry is generally in a good state of drill and efficiency, the regiment drills steadily, and, when well commanded, will do well."

Then he reports—I am bound to read this—

"Colonel Jackson does not possess any real ability, but is a very average officer. He appears to be deficient in tact, temper, and judgment, and he does not appear to gain the confidence and esteem of the men."

Then, after that inspection took place in March, 1889, Colonel Jackson left the command, and he never came back to the regiment. Sir Charles Gough never saw him again. About a year afterwards Sir Charles Gough was called upon to report regarding the regiment, and took the opportunity of reporting upon it in these terms—

"Colonel Jackson is absent, and has been absent during the greater part of last year."

He had been absent, in fact, during the whole of it—

"I attribute the vast improvement which has taken place in the 5th Bengal Cavalry greatly to the fact of his absence. I was asked to report upon it almost immediately after he had come under my command, and before I had had time to get an intimate knowledge of Colonel Jackson, from what I have seen of him since,"

Now, I beg your Lordships to observe that Sir Charles Gough had never seen him during that time. He had never been under Sir Charles Gough's command since the year before this Report:—

"I feel sure his return to the regiment would be disastrous to it; he is utterly deficient in tact, temper, and judgment."

That is what is stated a year after he had seen him, for Sir Charles Gough had never seen him since the first Report; and yet he says that he is somewhat deficient in tact, and in his manner of dealing with the men. Surely your Lordships must see that a Report of that sort going up to the Commander-in-Chief in India was likely to do Colonel Jackson the most terrible injury and to damage his reputation, and I venture to say that if that Report had been brought to the knowledge of the Governor General in Council in India, I am sure he would not have paid any attention to such a Report as that. General Luck appears to have exercised a malign influence upon these Generals, and to have twisted and dis-

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torted their views regarding Colonel Jackson into something totally distinct from what that officer really was. Then the Report comes up to the Commander-in-Chief, and the Commander-in-Chief, having taken General Luck's Report, and ignored altogether Sir Hugh Gough's favourable Report, reports in 1888 that he considers the Reports received were sufficient to require Colonel Jackson to retire, and that unless the regiment improved he would have to be removed from the command. A year after, the Commander-in-Chief again reports upon the regiment, and says that the Reports of the present year are again of an unfavourable nature. Now, that was not exactly the case; Sir Charles Gough's Report was not unfavourable. He distinctly stated to Colonel Jackson—"The confidential Report upon you is not altogether unfavourable;" and yet this Report says—"They are again of an unfavourable nature." It shows that the inquiry into the condition of this officer's qualities as a commanding officer have not really had fair play at all. Colonel Jackson had been reported upon as wanting in tact, judgment, and temper. That was principally based upon Sir Charles Gough's Report, and upon General Luck's Report, but there is a very curious correspondence which took place upon the matter. Colonel Jackson had an interview with General Luck in the presence of Sir George Greaves, the present Commander-in-Chief in Bombay, who was called upon to report as to that interview, which occurred during the camp exercises in 1888. General Greaves, being requested to report upon what occurred, stated that owing to the nature of the ground the lines of the 5th Bengal Cavalry had necessarily been thrown back from the general line of the camp—

"General Luck found fault with Colonel Jackson for this, and his manner and voice were more harsh than is usual in the Service, especially as there were several junior officers present. Colonel Jackson's demeanour was calm and respectful, but it was evident to me there was ill-feeling between these two officers, irrespective of the particular circumstances of the moment. On thinking the matter over since, I have come to the conclusion that Colonel Jackson had more reason to complain of the ground assigned to him for his camp than General Luck had to complain of his use of it."

I will not detain your Lordships further  
*Lord Chelmsford*

upon this unfortunate case, but I would beg your Lordships to remember that Colonel Jackson's reputation as a cavalry officer, which never had any slur passed upon it before, is at stake. Colonel Jackson has on all sides received commendations and good reports from the different officers, different Viceroy's, and general officers under whom he has served, and it seems to me this is a case in which a single officer has been able, by twisting and distorting reports with regard to Colonel Jackson, to do him a very serious injury in the estimation of the Governor General in Council and in that of the Commander-in-Chief in India. I trust the Secretary of State for India will see his way to rectify that injustice, and if it should be thought that for any reason Colonel Jackson should not be returned to the command of his regiment, at all events, that he may be allowed to succeed to that to which he has every right in my opinion, namely, his Colonel's allowances.

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): My Lords, I am afraid that injustice has been done to one officer by the noble and gallant Lord who has just spoken, and that is General Luck. Why there is any slur to be cast on General Luck's character I do not know. The noble Lord said at the outset of his remarks that nothing was to be said against General Luck, that he was an able and excellent officer, and immediately following upon that he insinuated that General Luck had a personal spite against Colonel Jackson.

\*LORD CHELMSFORD: I beg the noble Viscount's pardon; I read from Sir George Greaves's Report which stated that.

\*VISCOUNT CROSS: Sir George Greaves's Report stated that. I am quite sure Colonel Jackson would never say anything of the kind himself. Turning to the question itself, I am 'sured your Lordships will believe it is a matter of very great pain to me to be compelled to say anything against the conduct of an officer in the Indian Service. But first I would say one or two words about the Parliamentary guarantee. The noble Earl who brought this matter forward stated that in no one case—and he quoted Lord Napier of Magdala as his authority—had any person been dismissed by the old East India Company unless after a trial

by Court Martial. I have not had time to have the whole of the records searched, but I can assure the noble Earl that upon that point he is entirely mistaken. There was a case which happened not long before the East India Company was dissolved, of an officer who had the command of a regiment which before that had been in very good order, but under his hands had got into disorder. There was no Court Martial held in that case at all, but he was dismissed by the East India Company.

\*THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: Dismissed the Service, or removed from the command of his regiment?

\*VISCOUNT CROSS: He was removed from the command of his regiment and retired from the Service on pension. There was another case where an officer was tried by Court Martial for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman; the Court Martial acquitted him, but the Court of Directors having inquired into the whole case thought that although he had been acquitted of the charges brought against him he was not a person who should be allowed to remain in the Service, and he was treated in a similar way. I have shown your Lordships two instances, and I am assured there are many more, but I have not had time to look into the records of what was done by the East India Company. What was then done was that an officer was put upon an extraordinary or invalid list which practically was the same thing as putting him on pension. Now let me come to the Parliamentary Guarantee which rests, as the noble Earl says, entirely upon Mr. Henley's clause, that clause being put into the Act which made over the Government of India to the Crown. The noble Earl says I am not to look upon it in a legal point of view, but at all events I am entitled to look upon it in a legal point of view to see what the meaning of the Act of Parliament was. It so happens that this very question has been tried in a Court of Law, and I do not quite see why the noble Earl does not wish me to refer to it. There was one officer of the local force who was dismissed. He was an officer in the East India Company's Military service, and subsequently continued in the Indian Army when the Indian Military and Naval Services were transferred to the

Crown. He brought an action against the Secretary of State for India, as representing the Crown, for damages for having been placed on the Pension List, and so compelled to retire from the Army. That action was tried before Mr. Justice Grove, and I think it is right we should see what was decided in that case so that we can see what is the legal meaning of this Parliamentary Guarantee. It was contended by the plaintiff that the East India Company had by contract, expressed or implied, with its military officers, including the plaintiff, waived its right to dismiss them, and that the plaintiff retained his rights under such contract against the Secretary of State for India representing the Crown. That was argued at very great length, and the learned Judge says that this power of removal exists in the Crown for the benefit of the Empire, and for the benefit of Her Majesty's subjects, and could not be contracted away; otherwise any officer whom a jury might have considered physically and mentally deficient might retain his place in the Army, notwithstanding he was found unsuitable for the performance of his duties. Then the learned Judge proceeds to discuss this Henley Clause on which the noble Earl relied, and he says the contract must be taken to refer to the existing laws and customs and regulations subject to the military regulations, and not overriding the power of dismissal or removal. Then, with regard to Section 56, the enactment on which the noble Earl relies, he says that does not seem to alter this view, but strengthens it, by saying that all the forces should be subject to all regulations relating to the East India Company's forces as if they had throughout been acts relating to the forces of the Crown instead of the forces of the company. So far as the legal right goes, that case makes it absolutely clear that the power does exist in the Crown, and that, under the advice of the Secretary of State, the Crown can remove any officer, notwithstanding the Henley Clause, which was introduced no doubt for the purpose which the noble Earl stated. This question was discussed, as the noble Earl has said, in 1869, 1870, and 1871; and in 1872, when the noble Earl himself was Governor General of India, an Order was issued, stating that

unemployed officers who are ineligible for public employment by reason of clear misconduct or proved inefficiency, or have been removed for that reason, or who, by misconduct, have rendered themselves ineligible for regimental employment, "will be called upon to send in their resignation," that they will be called upon to retire, and if they fail to do so, they will be removed or put upon the Pension list. That was the noble Earl's own Order when in office in India. Now, other Secretaries of State have had this matter before them. The Duke of Argyll, in the year 1872, is discussing this question, and he writes in this way to the Governor General—

"You are authorised therefore at once to call upon all officers who are pronounced by your Government ineligible for public employment by reason either of clear misconduct, or proved physical or mental inefficiency, or who, in the words of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, 'have been removed from their appointments for inefficiency.' . . . to send in their application to retire upon such pension as they may be entitled to under the regulations; intimating to them, that should they fail to do so within a definite and short time they will be removed to the pension list."

That was the case in 1872 in a Despatch written to the Governor General of India. It goes on to say, that to prevent the growth in future of a military burden rendered possible by the peculiar organisation of the Indian Service, an officer may, generally speaking, become unemployed in one of four ways. He may be removed for unfitness or inefficiency in his particular office or department—

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I think the noble Earl is not quite correct. I read that Despatch, and there is no intimation in it, that any officer, removed from an appointment because he was not fit for that appointment, should be compulsorily retired; it was evidently contemplated he should be employed in some other appointment.

\*VISCOUNT CROSS: The way in which he speaks of it in this Despatch is very remarkable. He says—

"They are to send in their application to retire upon such pension as they may be entitled to under the regulations, intimating to them, that should they fail to do so, they will be removed."

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I am sorry to interrupt the noble Viscount, but as this happened when I was in  
*Viscount Cross*

India, I may be allowed to explain that that general order was only temporary, and applied to a certain number of officers. This officer has not been removed from the command of his regiment; he has not been given his three months, and that general order has thereby lapsed.

\*VISCOUNT CROSS: The reason I quote this general order is this: officers were all under the same Parliamentary Guarantee as Colonel Jackson claims to be under; and those particular officers who were placed on the pension list were under that guarantee.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I can only say that if my noble Friend can produce to me one single case of an officer who was retired under that order I will admit his argument, not otherwise.

VISCOUNT CROSS: That is the order. What may have been done under it I cannot tell.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: The records must be in the office.

VISCOUNT CROSS: The noble Lord has read this Despatch, and he has quoted the opinion of Lord Napier, but there is one sentence in it which I would like to call your Lordships' attention to—

"His Excellency then refers to the practice of the Court of Directors of the late East India Company, and expresses doubts as to the policy of placing officers on the retired list who may be unemployed through no fault of their own."

Then he observes that—

"Those officers who have been removed from their appointment from inefficiency or who distinct or undeniable misconduct have rendered themselves ineligible for regimental commands, cannot be considered unjustly treated if they are not permitted to succeed to colonels' allowances."

That is clearly the case with Colonel Jackson; if he was removed from inefficiency, in spite of the so-called Parliamentary guarantee, in the opinion of Lord Napier he could not complain that he is deprived of colonels' allowances. That is only one Despatch of a number which I have here. There was a Despatch written by the noble Marquess opposite, the Marquess of Ripon, in 1884, when he was Governor General, addressed to the noble Lord (the Earl of Kimberley), stating that—

"General Hardinge recommends that when cases of disabilities of an insurmountable

nature, such as those originating from want of nerve or judgment necessitate the exclusion of an officer from the position of commandant or second in command of a regiment, a special report should be made to Government, setting forth the Commander-in-Chief's reasons for withholding promotion from such officer."

But goes on to say—

"The State has a right to expect from officers a high standard of efficiency, considering the liberal terms under which they are serving."

In that I entirely agree, that you have a right to expect from officers not a moderate but a high standard of efficiency. I have here several cases of officers who were removed for inefficiency when not in command, but when second in command, and who were removed for this reason, that if anything happened they would be called upon to assume the command of their regiments, for which they were not fitted. Therefore, it has been applied to officers second in command. I have also a Despatch from Lord Randolph Churchill when Secretary of State, to the same effect, and concluding with the remark to the Governor General of India that if he finds any officer inefficient, and not able to perform his duty to the satisfaction of his superiors, he may rely upon his support in the removal of that officer. I think I have shown, at all events as far as the Parliamentary guarantee goes, there is no case for Colonel Jackson. Great caution, I quite admit, is necessary, and I quite admit that officers should not be dismissed rashly because the power exists; but all I have been urging is that the power does exist, and that the Government had a right to remove Colonel Jackson if he was proved to be inefficient. Leaving that part of the case, I will come to the question whether he was efficient or not. I am bound to say that if ever my character has to be defended, I hope it will not be defended by my noble and gallant Friend who sits behind me (Lord Chelmsford), for I certainly thought that he made a very weak defence. No doubt Colonel Jackson had not been in command of the regiment for some long time. He had been on the staff. There is no doubt he was a good officer, or was believed to be so, and was appointed to this regiment to bring it into order. The noble Earl and my noble and gallant Friend behind me have both quoted extensively from a Report of Sir

Hugh Gough. There are sentences in that Report which undoubtedly say Colonel Jackson was a moderate officer, but if my noble Friends had only taken the trouble to read that Report through, they would have seen an enormous number of faults that Sir Hugh Gough finds in that Report. But I do not think that Report ought to have been quoted, if I may say so with all humility to your Lordships, without going on to state what happened in reference to it afterwards. There was a letter, which was sent to Colonel Jackson; it is not a Report on the regiment made to the military authority in India. It was sent after the Inspector General of Cavalry had come, and then the real Report was made by Sir Hugh Gough. Now, I will read what Sir Hugh Gough said when he made his Report, not to Colonel Jackson, but to the military authorities—

"Colonel Jackson is reported by the Inspector-General of Cavalry as a failure. He failed to bring his regiment into a state of efficiency; an opinion in which I concur. He is considered to have neither tact, judgment, nor qualifications, and I regret not being able to make a satisfactory Report on his regiment."

That is some time after he had written the Report to Colonel Jackson, and all I can say is that I think both those Reports should have been placed before your Lordships at the same time. The Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were very much struck with the difference between those Reports, and they called for an explanation of how it came to pass that he should have told Colonel Jackson one thing, and should have formally reported to his superior something else; and then Sir Hugh Gough says—I am bound to say I think it is rather a lame explanation—that he thought the regiment wanted encouraging, that there were some good points about it, and he thought when he wrote to Colonel Jackson he would say all he possibly could in its favour, although he had not practically come to that conclusion himself. But now I come to the Reports of the Inspector-General of Cavalry, General Luck, because they really do bear upon this case very much. In March, 1888, the Inspector-General of Cavalry goes to inspect this particular regiment, and what did he say? He says—



"As a leader Colonel Jackson is wanting in dash, and unable to apply quickly his knowledge of drill, which is limited, to the circumstances of the moment. I recommend his removal from the command at the end of the year unless a very marked improvement takes place in the meantime."

You cannot, I think, have a stronger Report against a man than that, saying he is unfit for his command and recommending his removal the next year unless a different state of things should take place in the interval. Then, what happens in March, 1889? Sir Charles Gough goes to inspect the regiment, for it had then changed its position and was under Sir Charles Gough. He says—

"Colonel Jackson does not possess any real ability as a commanding officer, but is about a fairly average officer; is zealous and means well and is anxious to do so, but is wanting in manner and tact in dealing with men, and does not appear to gain their confidence and esteem."

Now comes the Inspector-General of Cavalry again; and in March, 1889, the same month of the same year, what he says is—

"In my opinion Colonel Jackson is not fit to command a regiment. I have no reason to alter the opinion I formed of him last year. His ignorance of drill on many occasions was most marked. I fear the regiment will never improve while under his command. They work well enough under their squadron commanders."

Can you have a worse report than that of any officer? He says this officer is unfit for the command; that the men work well enough while under their squadron commanders, who do know their work, but that they do not work well when he comes to the front. Surely you could not have a worse report than that. Then the Commander-in-Chief is consulted, and he quotes this report and says—

"I have no option but to report my opinion that Colonel Jackson should not be permitted to remain in command,"

and he goes on to give further reasons. He says—

"I saw the regiment twice last winter, first at the Delhi camp of exercise and afterwards at Lucknow,"

and then he goes on to tell you his opinion of what the condition of the regiment is, and to say that he was not favourably impressed by it. First, then, you have the Report of the Inspector-General of Cavalry, and you have not one

*Viscount Cross*

single word in Colonel Jackson's favour to balance the arguments used against him in the Reports of the Inspector-General of Cavalry and the Commander-in-Chief. But in 1890 Sir Charles Gough goes to this regiment again, and although the words used by him were read by my noble and gallant Friend (Lord Chelmsford) I do not think he read them quite to the point. Colonel Jackson had gone away. What had become of the regiment in the meantime? Was it in the same state as when he left it? How was it found by Sir Charles Gough in 1890? What he says is—

"Colonel Jackson is absent and has been absent during the greatest part of the past year. I attribute the vast improvement that has taken place in the 5th Bengal Cavalry greatly to the fact of his absence. I was asked to report upon him almost immediately after he had come under my command and before I had had time to get an intimate knowledge of him. From what I have seen of him since, and the improved state of the regiment since he left, I feel certain his return to the command would be disastrous to the regiment. He is utterly deficient in tact, temper, and judgment."

And yet the noble Earl wishes me to say, in the face of the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, not only from these Reports, but from his own knowledge of the regiment, and when I am told that Colonel Jackson's return to the regiment will be disastrous to it, that I am prepared to step in at this stage and put down the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor General in Council, and say that this man ought to be reinstated. I think that would be a very strong measure for me to take. I doubt whether my noble Friend opposite, when Secretary of State, or any other Secretary of State, would take the responsibility of sending a man back to the command of his regiment after receiving these reports. Then, my noble Friend says no care has been taken to sift Colonel Jackson's case since he came home. I venture to say that no case has ever received more consideration. The noble Earl says it might be referred to three persons whom he named; but this matter has already been most seriously considered.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I referred to the question of his rights under the Parliamentary guarantee.

\*VISCOUNT CROSS: I thought the noble Earl meant as to Colonel Jackson's conduct. I am speaking now of his conduct.

This matter has been referred to three of, probably, the very best men you could put your fingers upon for the purpose, members of my Council, Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Peter Lumsden, and Sir Donald Stewart. I think you could not find an officer in the whole Indian Army who knows more about such matters than Sir Donald Stewart. Those officers all came to the absolute conclusion that it was utterly impossible that this officer should be allowed to remain in command of his regiment. In the face of that does my noble Friend really think that a Secretary of State would step in and say this officer should be returned to his command? My Lords, that is the case I have to lay before you. My noble Friend said when Colonel Jackson got home he was astonished to find he was to retire. Well, he must be a most extraordinary man if he was astonished when he got home, because he did not leave India until towards the end of 1889, and when he was in India he had received a letter from the Adjutant General, dated the 10th of May, 1889, and marked "Urgent," in which he was told that, owing to the unfavourable reports made upon him at the inspection of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, it would not be possible for the Commander-in-Chief to allow him to continue in command of the regiment. He knew that; he had it from the Adjutant General himself in May, 1889, and he could not, therefore, have been astonished at it when he got to England in 1890.

**THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK:** The noble Viscount must have misunderstood me in a very odd way. What I said was when he came back without having received any intimation from the Adjutant General, he was exceedingly surprised at receiving this intimation that he would be expected to retire.

**\*VISCOUNT CROSS:** I will come to that part of the case presently. Clearly he had had warning enough. He was told in May, 1889, he could not remain in command of the regiment. My noble Friend says now that he went away under the impression that General Roberts would give him another examination. I will read the words of the letter—

"Sir Frederick had hoped that you might have remained in India till the end of this

cold weather and have stood the test of another inspection."

Not that he was not in his own right, but that General Roberts was willing to do it out of kindness to Colonel Jackson. When Colonel Jackson called upon the Commander-in-Chief at Simla, he was told that every consideration had been given to his case; but he was told, that although the Commander-in-Chief's opinion of his unfitness for the command remained unchanged, it would be better for him to defer leaving the country until his case was settled. He was told that it would be better in his own interest that he should postpone his departure for England until he should have undergone another inspection which the Commander-in-Chief was willing to grant him out of kindness. That is precisely what the Commander-in-Chief told him; but in spite of that advice he left the country, and I do not know how he could have been astonished afterwards when he came to England to find that he was asked to take this course. There is a considerable gap in the correspondence, but before I finish I may say a letter was written to him privately. It was thought better that a private letter should be sent so as not to hurt his feelings, telling him that he might retire. The reason there has been delay was this: In consequence of the interest which I knew the noble Earl took in this matter, I was quite determined that Colonel Jackson's case should be re-considered in India if possible, and, therefore, I went out of my way to communicate with the Viceroy, begging him to look into the case and see if he could find any loophole in Colonel Jackson's favour. The answer I received was there was not another word to be said, and that there could not be; that the Viceroy had looked into the whole case himself and was satisfied that justice had been done. What more can be done in the face of these Reports? If the Commander-in-Chief and military advisers, after the satisfactory consideration which they had given to the case at my instance, said, and when the Viceroy also says that there is nothing for it but that the man must be dismissed, what could the Secretary of State do but this? There is one point more to which I will refer, and I cannot help thinking that this is at the bottom

of Colonel Jackson's feeling in the matter—and I feel it, too—that is, that he should be deprived of his Colonel's allowances. That is the point which Lord Napier alluded to when he said that if a man is removed for inefficiency—these are Lord Napier's own words—

“They cannot be considered unjustly treated if they are not permitted to succeed to Colonel's allowances.”

Just let me point out, in order that Colonel Jackson should gain his Colonel's allowances, the alternative I should be put to. This officer cannot go back to his regiment. He would receive full pay for six years from the Revenues of India in order that at the end of that time he should receive his Colonel's allowances. Do your Lordships think I could stand up in this House, or that anyone representing the Government of India could stand up in the other House of Parliament, and defend such a course? I could not do so. My Lords, I have to apologise for having taken up some time in explaining this matter fully to the House, but I hope your Lordships will be content with my explanation.

\*THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I beg to move for the Regulations mentioned in my notice.

\*VISCOUNT CROSS: I quite forgot to say there are no Regulations, and, therefore, I cannot give them. The only Regulations are the Statutes which refer to the East India Company. Those are Statutes which transfer these powers to the Crown; but there are no Regulations; had there been, they should at once be placed on the Table.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: Am I to understand from the noble Viscount that there are no Regulations stating on what grounds an officer may be removed from his command to the Pension List? If so, it is a state of things which leaves the reputation of almost any officer in the power of the Commander-in-Chief in India, because the noble Viscount's explanation is simply repeating what the Commander-in-Chief in India has said, and there can be no remedy for any injustice which may be done by the Commander-in-Chief in India. I will not trouble your Lordships with an elaborate answer in regard to the course which has been taken in this case of

*Viscount Cross*

Colonel Jackson. I will simply say that every single point which has been made by the noble Viscount has been most carefully considered by me, and I can say that the noble Viscount has omitted to state whatever was in favour of Colonel Jackson, and has stated with great ability, and with all the authority which his position enables him to exercise, everything which can possibly be said against that officer. But I will prove to your Lordships in one moment how very cursorily and carelessly the attention of the noble Viscount must have been called to this case. The noble Viscount gave several Reports which were damaging to Colonel Jackson. He seemed to think it was a right thing for an officer commanding a division to state that subsequent experience had led him to a conclusion when he had no subsequent experience at all; he thought it was right that a Commander-in-Chief should make a statement of that kind, without examination, to the Governor General in India, in order that he might deal with an officer upon such a Report as that; and the noble Viscount laid great stress upon a Minute of the Commander-in-Chief himself, in which he said he could personally testify to the condition of the regiment, for he had seen it twice, once at Delhi, and once at Lucknow. Will your Lordships believe me when I say that that statement was entirely inaccurate—that the Commander-in-Chief had not seen the regiment twice, and that if the Governor General of India relied upon that statement he relied upon a statement which was contrary to the fact? Colonel Jackson, in his Memorial, put that before the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State considered it such a trifle for the Commander-in-Chief in India to send an inaccurate Report to the Governor General that he has not even taken the trouble to find out that it was inaccurate. I can assure your Lordships I have taken great pains in going into this case, and it is only one of the many extraordinary circumstances which show the manner in which officers are treated in India at the present time if Colonel Jackson's case is at all a specimen of the way in which business is done in the Adjutant General's office in India. I would take the sense of the House upon the matter;

but, as there are no Papers, it is impossible for me to divide.

Motion (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

KYANG KHENG.

QUESTION—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD LAMINGTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian Government have yet decided upon recognising the State of Kyang Kheng as tributary to the Burmese Shan State of Kyang Tung?

\*VISCOUNT CROSS: My Lords, there is no doubt this is a very important question, and I am very glad the noble Lord has brought the matter forward. The Government of India are at present considering the matter; they have agents there looking into it, but they have not yet had an opportunity of considering their Report. I hope to be able next Session to give a better answer upon the subject.

\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I would ask the noble Viscount whether the Commissioners are making progress in settling the boundaries with the Siamese Government?

\*VISCOUNT CROSS: Yes; I believe they are making rapid progress.

#### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL. (No. 256.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order) with Amendments.

Verbal Amendments made.

LORD BARRINGTON: My Lords, I have an Amendment to move upon Clause 18. It is scarcely worth while to recapitulate what took place yesterday. The sense of the House was very well proved by the Division which took place. Notwithstanding the able manner in which the noble Earl appealed to your Lordships in endeavouring to have the clause struck out of the Bill, it remains, having been carried by a large majority. I say nothing more, but that my sympathies are very much with the noble Earl, and I think that the sting of the clause might well be removed by an Amendment. Therefore, I would now move to add at the end of the clause,

"Unless she produces a medical certificate that the employment will not be injurious to her health."

Clause 18 is to prevent an employer during the space of four weeks knowingly employing a woman after her confinement. There is no doubt that many women are able to follow their ordinary occupation in less time than four weeks. It was shown, upon very good evidence produced by the noble Earl, that many do so in 10 days or a fortnight, and I think that if a woman obtains a medical certificate that she is in a fit state there can be no possible objection to her being employed earlier than a month if she desires. I beg to move this Amendment.

Amendment moved, in page 8, line 39, at the end of Clause 18, to insert the words—

("Unless she produces a medical certificate that the employment will not be injurious to her health.")—(*The Lord Barrington.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Before the noble Lord answers, I must call attention to the fact that no notice has been given of the noble Lord's Amendment; and without expressing any opinion upon it, I would point out that after the decision given in a much fuller House by a decided majority, it is very inconvenient that the subject should be brought forward in a very small House upon an Amendment of which no notice has been given.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK): I think what the noble Earl has said is conclusive; we were told the other evening that it could not be done without notice.

\*EARL WEMYSS: This is a very important proposal of my noble Friend's, and I think the Amendment ought to be considered.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: But there is no notice.

\*EARL WEMYSS: I know—it is a matter of form. Why not postpone the Third Reading? There is no hurry. Instead of taking it now, postpone it; that will give time for notice.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: The Third Reading has been passed.

\*EARL WEMYSS: Then I can move a postponement before the Bill is passed.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: That is a very inconvenient course. The House has decided this question by a large majority after a full discussion, and we

have now passed the Third Reading. It is really very inconvenient to put in Amendments without notice after that.

LORD BARRINGTON: I press my Amendment.

\*EARL WEMYSS: I do not know what is the form; but I must say I think it is extremely desirable that this proviso should be appended to the clause. Surely the noble Lords on my right, if it is unnecessary that some women should be kept out of their proper employment for four weeks—that is, if their health as shown by a medical certificate admits of their resuming their work—do not wish that they should be deprived of their employment needlessly? My own impression is that the whole of this legislation is wrong so far as it is carried out in this particular clause. I divided upon it because Lord Hannen came to me and said—

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: May I interrupt the noble Lord? As I understand the Order of the House, it is irregular to move an Amendment at this stage without notice. I quite admit that from time to time by consent of the House formal Amendments have been made; but this is a matter of substance, and I believe, as a question of Order of the House, it is out of order to move such an Amendment at such a time.

Amendment (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

Amendments moved, in Clause 26, page 10, line 29, after ("therein") to insert—

("And every contractor employed by any such occupier"); lines 39 and 40, to leave out ("in a factory or workshop.") The occupier of the factory or workshop," and insert ("by the occupier of a factory or workshop, or by a contractor, the occupier, or contractor.")—(*The Lord de Ramsey.*)

LORD SANDHURST: I agree to that Amendment. Those words were originally inserted in the clause which I proposed.

Amendment agreed to.

Moved, "That the Bill do now pass."

\*EARL WEMYSS: Now, my Lords, I move at this stage that the Bill be postponed, and I do so simply on this ground. As a matter of fact, I believe this proviso is one which we had every reason to believe would be accepted. It modifies the evil of the clause itself, and may

*The Earl of Kimberley*

be of great advantage to those poor women who by the clause are to be struck out of employment for four weeks when they are perfectly able at the end of two or three to return to their work. I do hope the noble Lord in charge of the Bill, and those on the Government side of the House, will allow the Bill to be postponed, in order that notice of this Amendment may be given in due form. I do trust that will be consented to by the leaders of this House.

LORD HERSCHELL: I feel sure that is impossible. The Motion has been put, "That the Bill do pass," and if you adjourn that Motion no Amendments can be put in after the Third Reading. An adjournment of the Motion "That the Bill do pass" will not enable Amendments to be put in.

\*EARL WEMYSS: We were told that would be the proper course, and that it has been done.

LORD HERSCHELL: What was done in the case of the Gates and Toll-bars Bill was that the adjournment took place upon the Motion for the Third Reading of the Bill.

\*EARL WEMYSS: I can only regret, my Lords, that the Forms of this House should prevent a necessary modification of a very foolish and very harsh clause. The responsibility rests with others, and not with us.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I am not quite certain that my noble and learned Friend is accurate. I have a very distinct recollection of the Land Transfer Bill when the Motion was put that the Bill should pass; a Motion was then made upon that, and upon that Motion it was defeated.

\*EARL WEMYSS: On the strength of that, I will move that this stage of the Bill be adjourned, and I will divide upon it.

Amendment moved, "That the Debate on the said Motion be adjourned to Monday next."—(*The Lord Wemyss* [*E. Wemyss*].)

\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My impression is that the Amendment cannot be proposed after the Motion that the Bill do pass.

\*THE EARL OF SELBORNE: In the case mentioned by my noble and learned Friend there can be no doubt that the Motion "That the Bill do pass" had not

been put; the Third Reading had been passed; and it was agreed that the Debate should be adjourned at that stage.

On Question, resolved in the negative.

\*EARL WEMYSS: My Lords, I wish to give notice, in reference to the Motion for postponement of this Bill, that if the Bill receives Her Majesty's assent I shall next Session bring in a Bill to repeal the 16th clause.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

(No. 257.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### TRUSTS AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND)

BILL.—(No. 245.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) ACT (1860)

AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 162.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and passed.

#### COUNTY COUNCILS (ELECTIONS)

BILL.—(No. 248.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the Amendments.

\*LORD HENNIKER: On Clause 4 I have an Amendment. It is with regard to questions which were put in Standing Committee the other day by the noble Lord opposite, Lord Lingen. The Amendment, I think, meets the wishes of the noble Lord as far as possible and clears up the difficulty. As the words stood, it might have been impossible for any Alderman or County Councillor to resign, but as they will stand by my Amendment, it is possible that there should be such resignation. That is my intention in moving this Amendment; in fact, that the law remains as it is at present.

Amendment moved, in Clause 4, page 2, lines 34 and 35, to leave out ("shall continue in office until that day") and insert ("their term of office shall be extended accordingly.")—(The Lord Hartismere [*L. Henniker*].)

\*LORD LINGEN: I am much obliged to the noble Lord for having introduced the words he proposes into the Bill, and I am quite willing to take his opinion, given no doubt under legal advice, that the words are sufficient for the purpose. The words provide that the chairmen and members mentioned in the beginning of the clause, whose term of office would have expired but for this Act on the ordinary day in November, "shall continue in office" until the new date; and this, it appears to me, somewhat infringed upon the privilege which is given by Section 36 of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, and which is embodied in the Local Government Act, 1888, to the effect that the office-bearers of the Councils may resign their offices upon terms to be settled by the bye-laws of their respective Councils. The bye-laws of the County Council of London state that those officers may retire upon payment of a fine of £1. The words which the noble Lord has consented to introduce will, I believe, be sufficient for the purpose. I have conferred with my noble Friend Lord Hobhouse upon the matter, and he is, as well as myself, satisfied with the words. I therefore beg leave to accept them. Perhaps your Lordships will grant me your patience if on the Third Reading of this Bill I make one or two further observations upon it.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved, in line 42, to leave out ("shall continue in office till that day") and insert ("their term of office shall be extended accordingly.")—(The Lord Hartismere [*L. Henniker*].)

Amendment agreed to.

\*LORD THRING: My Lords, I have to introduce an Amendment by permission of the Local Government Board. It is for the purpose of removing a doubt, which was considered to be serious, with regard to the qualification of a County Councillor. A Councillor would be disqualified under the Municipal Corporations Act if he holds any office of profit relating to the County Councils. There is a Return of County Council officers specially required. The Chairmen have been made Returning Officers, and they are entitled to fees and expenses. Those fees have not been received by the

Chairmen. They have appointed deputies who have received them, and they have not been disqualified. Of course the consequences of such disqualification would be most serious, and this clause has been introduced to prevent that. It can do no harm, and will remove the possibility of most serious consequences if it is retained.

Amendment moved, after Clause 5, to insert the following new Clause:—

("It is hereby declared that a person shall not be disqualified, nor be deemed ever to have been disqualified, under section twelve of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, for being a member of a county council by reason only of his being appointed returning officer by that council, except where he has directly or indirectly by himself or his partner received any profit or remuneration in respect of such appointment.")—(*The Lord Thring.*)

Amendment agreed to.

\***LORD LINGEN:** I have already stated to your Lordships such reasons as occur to me why I think that this Bill is an inexpedient one in regard to the County Council of London, and in answer to those reasons the noble Lord who has charge of the Bill has brought forward his own arguments, and I have no doubt he has brought forward those which he considers the strongest; but I really think that, if it were worth while at this stage to do more than notice them, there are some which call somewhat for the consideration of this House. It has been made a great argument against the London County Council that upon this question they changed their minds. Well, I will not say that their change of mind is supported by a proverb of some weight, that second thoughts are best; but whether it was consistent or inconsistent to change their mind, I think the real question before this House is whether their second resolution was an expedient one or not. I do not think the mere fact of changing ought to be quoted against them. Then another argument which my noble Friend brought forward was this: that although there was a majority of two to one in the County Council for retaining the old date of election, yet the County Council was not the only representative of the ratepayers who were also represented by the Members of Parliament who sat for constituencies within the County of

*Lord Thring*

London. I do think, my Lords, that is rather an extraordinary argument for a Government which has brought in a Local Government Bill to put forward. The constituencies which they speak of were constituted in the year 1885, and the date of the Local Government Bill is 1888. If there was no occasion for a further and separate representation of the ratepayers, I really fail to see why the Local Government Bill was brought in at all. But, as I understand the Local Government Bill, it does give to counties representation, a representative and an executive function, over certain matters which Parliament is content to delegate to them. Another argument which was urged by the noble Lord was, that be the inconvenience what it might, it would only occur once in three years. If it occurs at all, that I think is very scant comfort indeed to the Council. I do not wish to bring these points before your Lordships, except in the way of protest against this Bill. I think it is a Bill which does not rest upon sound arguments drawn from the municipal government and condition of London. Regulations which may be desirable for small County Councils representing small areas plainly, as a matter of common-sense, do not apply to such a county as London. I venture to say that the attempt to apply such regulations to such a county cannot be lasting, and I believe that at no very distant day your Lordships will have this question before you again.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### MARKETS AND FAIRS (WEIGHING OF CATTLE) BILL.—(No. 243.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order) with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.

First Report from the Committee made, and to be printed. (No. 266.): To be considered on Tuesday next.

House adjourned at a quarter past  
Seven o'clock, to Monday  
next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 24th July, 1891.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

LONDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY (RATES AND CHARGES) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL—(by Order).

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now considered."

\*(3.15.) MR. P. STANHOPE: I rise to move—

"That this House, in view of the dissatisfaction expressed by the trading community throughout the Country, while unwilling to decline to adopt the Report of the Select Committee, is of opinion that its conclusions do not afford a final or equitable settlement of Railway Rates and Charges, and that further Amendments in relief trade are urgently required."

I am sorry that this important matter should have been postponed until so late a period of the Session. It has become, in consequence, a serious question with the traders what course they ought to take to obtain an amendment of some of the provisions contained in these orders. If there had been sufficient time, instead of the Motion which stands in my name, there would have been a Motion to negative the Provisional Orders altogether, and to refuse to adopt the Report of the Joint Committee. But having regard to the fact that these Bills have been the subject of consideration for so long a period, that they do contain valuable provisions, that for the first time they codify the different laws which deal with railway rates and charges, and bring into one measure what at present is only to be found in something like 1,200 Acts of Parliament—having regard to those facts, and that advantages will undoubtedly be derived by certain classes of traders, instead of meeting the Bills with a direct negative, we propose to allow the Report to be adopted, but to record our condemnation of many of its provisions, and our intention to raise the question again at

the earliest opportunity. The first point on which I propose to make a remark has reference to the Department presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. I think that the attitude taken up from the beginning of this controversy by the Board of Trade has been the cause of much of the dissatisfaction which exists in regard to the settlement of these rates and charges. The House will remember that the agitation which gave rise to these Bills extended over a long series of years, and it was not until 1888 that the Railway Traffic Act was referred to a Grand Committee, of which I had the honour to be a Member. The question then arose as to what tribunal was to be erected to draw up a scheme of charges and rates between the Railway Companies and the traders. Many of the members of the Grand Committee thought that an independent tribunal ought to be established to draw up a scheme which should be submitted to that House, and that the Board of Trade should be left outside, and able therefore to espouse and support the general cause of the traders. But instead of taking this course Her Majesty's Government and the Board of Trade took the responsibility upon themselves, and the Board of Trade kept the power of drawing up the schedules for the classification of rates and charges. From that moment the Board of Trade became so hampered in their action that, instead of being the official representatives of the traders throughout the country, fighting their battle and doing their best to secure their interests, they found themselves with their hands tied and unable to do anything more than support the general conclusions which were arrived at by the special tribunal, over which Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Mr. Courtenay Boyle presided with much ability and industry. We thought, however, that the tribunal was wrong in many essential particulars, and when the Report came before the House on the Second Reading of the Provisional Orders Bills, I took the liberty of discussing it, and raised a question of principle in regard to terminals. The President of the Board of Trade then urged that it was an inconvenient time to discuss this matter of detail, and that it would be better to refer it without further debate to the Joint Committee



a subsequent opportunity being afforded for discussion. The consequence has been that all these most important Bills, affecting the trade of the country from one end to the other, have really not been examined at all by this House. In fact, there are only five Members of this House who have any special cognisance of the subject or who have taken any special interest in drawing up these very important Provisional Orders. Having regard to the great dissatisfaction which undoubtedly exists in the country, I think the right hon. Gentleman would be well advised if even now he were to retard the passing of these Bills into law until next Session. The Provisional Orders themselves contain in Clause 2 of the Schedule a stipulation that they should not come into force until August 1, 1892. Therefore, 13 months would elapse from the present time and the date when the new rates and charges would come into actual operation, so that the Railway Companies would suffer no inconvenience if the Provisional Orders were held over until next year, when the House and the country would have had a better opportunity of fully discussing them. These are the remarks which I desire to make as to the general conduct of the Board of Trade. I come now to other matters, to which I wish to invite the attention of the House. The Provisional Orders were referred to a Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons. The Railway Companies appeared before that Committee with a vast array of legal talent, which their great resources enabled them to obtain, and with a remarkable degree of cohesion and unanimity of opinion. In fact, it cannot be denied that the Railway Companies have already a right of entry into the Board of Trade, which the traders have, of course, not established. They go in and come out as a matter of course. It was, perhaps, not unnatural for the Committee, on finding that there were differences of opinion among those who represented the traders, to fall back upon the suggestions of the Board of Trade as a reasonable compromise. There was not that kind of concert and arrangement between the traders which would have added to their strength, and the Railway Companies took advantage of the divided state of feeling, and squared

*Mr. P. Stanhope*

certain most important interests which enabled them to obtain from the Joint Committee larger concessions. The first thing the Joint Committee did was to confirm absolutely and entirely the terminal station charges. When the question was last before the House, there was a case before the Law Courts which has since been decided. That decision does not absolutely determine the Company's claim, but it establishes their right to claim terminal station charges over certain portions of their system. For instance, the London and North-Western have a claim over 800 miles, and the Great Western over 900 out of the 1,200 which constitutes the length of their railways. The decision, therefore, only confirms the right of the companies to impose terminal charges over the smaller part of their system. Yet, acting upon the advice of the Board of Trade, the Joint Committee have now imposed general station terminal charges upon the trading community for all time to come. I am willing to admit that in order to obtain uniformity the step taken by the Joint Committee may, under the circumstances, have been wise; but, inasmuch as the Committee have now accorded to the companies what was a very problematical right before, I think the traders have a right to ask that there should be a correspondingly large diminution of maximum rates and charges over the whole railway system. I now come to the second point, namely, the way in which the maximum rates and charges have been dealt with. The railway company's contention from the beginning has been that whatever is done ought not to interfere with their dividends, but my own view is that the basis of charge should be the actual rates now imposed. I admit that the agriculturists have, by the action of the Joint Committee, obtained valuable concessions, especially in regard to the carriage of milk, and considerable advantage has also been gained by the action of the Committee in regard to smalls. The latter concession is of great interest to small traders throughout the country, but it is more than counterbalanced by the general imposition of terminal charges. I come now to the traders represented by the Lancashire and Cheshire Conference, and certainly the attitude of the Chairman of the Joint Committee to-

wards that interest had the effect of obliging the Conference to withdraw from the Committee altogether. The result is that in these Bills a number of curious clauses have been introduced which have had the effect of squaring—for I can use no other expression—certain large manufacturing interests while the small traders receive a very scanty measure of justice indeed. My contention is that if any advantage was to be given it should have been given to all and not to one large group of traders. The iron interest was represented before the Committee by the South Staffordshire Association, and the only result of their action has been the introduction of a provision which gives the traders a right in the case of undamageable iron to go back to the London and North-Western Act of 1846, which contains special low rates for unmanufactured iron. Having given this special concession to two or three large ironmasters in the district, the Committee then proceeded to raise the general charges upon manufactured iron. (Mr. Hanbury: No.) The consequence of the action of the Committee has been to transfer a large number of articles from class B to class C, thereby increasing the charge by from 30 to 40 per cent. The hon. Gentleman may shake his head, but I maintain that it is so. And I would ask why the Northamptonshire, the North Staffordshire, and other iron works are to suffer simply because certain gentlemen, by a job, have been able to obtain special advantages for themselves. I come now to one other class of articles, the Representatives of which in this House will, I have no doubt, raise their voices in opposition to the way in which it has been dealt with. I refer to the timber trade. Heretofore, timber has always, from time immemorial, been charged according to measurement, but now the Committee have introduced a system of charging by weight that will disturb the whole timber trade of the country. I think it will be found that there is no place in the country where the timber trade exists, which has not sent either telegrams or deputations to its representatives, calling upon them to take steps to oppose the decision of the Committee. From the constituency which I represent every kind of complaint has

come; and so also from Walsall, represented by the hon. Baronet (Sir C. Forster) who will, I believe, second this Resolution. I can only say that it is by no means satisfactory that now, in 1891, after the agitation which preceded the Act of 1888, and after legislation which was not then promoted by the Railway Companies, but by the traders of the country, who thought there ought to be a large reduction of rates, we are called upon practically by the course proposed to bring back the rates to those of 1846. In such circumstances, let me ask where the progress is which, it is alleged, has been made in railway legislation during the last 40 years. We find ourselves precisely in the same position—plus a station terminal charge. The Railway Companies and their shareholders used to talk a great deal at their meetings about confiscation; but there is an ominous silence on that point now, and I venture to say that if these Bills pass there will be a loud chorus of jubilation heard among them. Every trade and interest, with one notable exception—that of a class of agriculturists who are satisfied with certain of the provisions—protests against the Bills, and I ask the House to seriously pause before it makes permanent a state of things in regard to rates and charges which will act as a heavy burden on the trade of the country. While not wishing to reject the Report of the Committee, or to retard the progress of the Bills, I ask the House, in accepting the Report, to affirm, at the same time, its dissatisfaction with many of the provisions, and to express an intention to take an early opportunity next year to introduce into the Provisional Order Bills such changes or modifications in the interests of the traders of the country as I think they have a right to demand from a democratic House of Commons.

SIR C. FORSTER (Walsall): I beg to second the Amendment. I quite agree with the view of my hon. Friend, that the best course will be to pass the Report, and to hold over the consideration of the question until next Session, when it can be more fully and conveniently discussed.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, in view of the dissatisfaction ex-

pressed by the trading community throughout the country, while unwilling to decline to adopt the Report of the Select Committee, is of opinion that its conclusions do not afford a final or equitable settlement of Railway Rates and Charges, and that further Amendments in relief of trade are urgently required."—*(Mr. Philip Stanhope.)*

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

\*(340.) THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): The hon. Member for Wednesbury (Mr. P. Stanhope) has stated that he does not wish to retard the progress of the Bills, and the hon. Member who has just sat down, who has a wide knowledge of traders as well as of the Railway Companies, and whose opinion on this and other matters I greatly respect, has remarked that it is desired that the Bills should be passed this Session. But the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wednesbury, if adopted, would infallibly kill the Bills for the present Session. What does the Amendment of the hon. Member say? It says—

"That this House, in view of the dissatisfaction expressed by the trading community throughout the country, while unwilling to decline to adopt the Report of the Select Committee, is of opinion that its conclusions do not afford a final or equitable settlement of Railway Rates and Charges, and that further Amendments in relief of trade are urgently required."

The premiss is that the Bills do not afford a final or equitable settlement, and the obvious conclusion is that they should not be proceeded with at all; but I will give the House briefly some reasons why it should not take the course the hon. Member proposes. I must recall to the House the origin of the question. As the hon. Member has himself stated, in 1883 and subsequently, there was a unanimous feeling in Parliament, and I think in the country also, that the maximum rates and charges of the various Companies were in such a chaotic condition that it was absolutely necessary there should be some revision and codification of the powers which Parliament had conferred upon the Railway Companies. In 1888 Parliament accordingly, with practical unanimity, passed a section in the Railway and Canal Traffic Act of that Session, empowering such codification and re-

vision to be made. The first step was that the Railway Companies should be called on to submit a classification of goods and schedules of their proposed maximum rates to the Board of Trade, and when that was done objections were to be invited from the traders. Those objections were subsequently to be heard by the Board of Trade, and, finally, a Provisional Order was to be framed, based upon the opinions of the Board of Trade, submitted to Parliament, and then the matter was to be considered by a Joint Committee of the two Houses. It has taken all the time since August, 1888, to go through these various matters. The House will admit that the subject is one of enormous complication. It is also of enormous importance to the trade of the country that there should be a revision of the law on the matter. The proposals of the Railway Companies, with the objections of the traders, were inquired into by Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Mr. Courtenay Boyle in a sitting of 85 days, during which both sides were heard through some of the ablest Counsel in the Kingdom, and it will be admitted, doubtless, that that inquiry was conducted with great pains, patience, and ability. Further statements were made on both sides to the Board of Trade, and were considered by myself in conjunction with Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Mr. Courtenay Boyle, and the result of our labours was submitted to Parliament early this Session in the shape of the nine Provisional Orders now on the Paper relating to the nine great Companies having termini in the Metropolis. A Debate, originated by the hon. Member, took place on the Second Reading of the Bills, but the House unanimously resolved that it was desirable that the Bills should be submitted to a Joint Committee. That Committee was appointed, and I venture to say that a more impartial or more competent tribunal was never appointed by Parliament to consider a question of this kind. The hon. Member has referred to what he termed the arbitrary conduct of the Chairman of the Committee, but a more able or impartial man, as everybody who knows the Duke of Richmond will readily believe, could not have been obtained for the position. His experience and his disposition, if I may say so,

specially fitted him for such a work, and he performed it admirably in the interests of the country. The other Members of the House of Lords on the Committee were also well qualified for the position, and as to the Members of this House upon it, they were not appointed at the instance of the Government, but by the Committee of Selection. The hon. Member for Aberdeen was one of the Members; he is a great authority upon such questions, and he was certainly not biassed in favour of the Railway Companies. The hon. Members for Preston and Hereford, who have great experience on Private Bill Committees, were Members; and they had able Colleagues in the hon. Member for Bath and the hon. Member who represents one of the Divisions of Dublin (Mr. T. A. Dickson). And now, after that Committee has sat for 48 days, after they have heard the whole case on both sides, and have adopted the conclusions set forth in the Provisional Orders, the hon. Member practically asks that the whole of this labour should be rendered useless, and the question restored to the position in which it was in 1880. I venture to ask the House, if it cannot, in a technical and complicated matter of this kind, practically accept the conclusions of such a Committee, how is it possible that any legislation can ever take place on the subject? If Bills of this kind are to be discussed and considered in the House itself, it would not only be an innovation on all previous practice—for these questions of rates and charges have always been settled by Select Committees, and never considered in the House—but it would impose on the House a task which would alone occupy the whole of a Session, and render it impossible to transact any other business. Therefore, if the House cannot practically accept the decisions of such a Committee on such a question, I believe legislation on the subject will be absolutely impossible, and the persons who would suffer by that would not be the Railway Companies, but the traders of the country. The only real objection, so far as I know, to the further progress of the Bills has come from a meeting of Lancashire and Cheshire traders, who have desired the hon. Member to bring forward his Amendment. But those

traders do not object to any of the clauses of the Bills; they simply object to some of the conveyance rates. The Committee, however, lowered those rates to the advantage of the traders, though, perhaps, not to the extent desired, and if the decision of the Committee is not accepted they will not be altered at all. It certainly was the intention of Parliament in dealing with the question that not only the actual rates charged should be considered in fixing the new maximum rates, but also the powers which Parliament has given to the companies in return for the construction of the lines. The Committee have justly and reasonably taken those matters into consideration in fixing the rates of conveyance. There are some points in these Bills on which I may say, after conference with the Members of the Committee who are in the House, I think the House may, without doing injustice on either side, make some alterations. I refer specially to the question of the timber trade, and to the exceptional rates proposed to be given on certain lines in Wales. On both of those points I shall not be prepared to resist Amendments which I think may meet the views of the parties concerned, but on the main provisions of the Bills as to station and service terminals, short distance clauses, classification, and rates, I must again urge the House to accept the decision of the Committee. I will only say, in conclusion, that I do not think any useful object can be served by the postponement of these Bills. The only result would be that the Board of Trade would again, next Session, have to propose them to the House; and they would again be submitted to a Joint Committee under the provisions of the Statute. But how could that Joint Committee be expected to devote much time or trouble to the work after this House had paid so poor a compliment to the Members who have this year spent 48 long sittings on it as absolutely to decline to proceed with their proposals. Is it fair for this House—I do not speak as a Member of the Government, but of the House—to treat hon. Members who have given their time and ability to such an extent to the service of the country, as if they were incompetent to conduct the inquiry with which they have been in-

trusted, and as if their conclusions were to be of no effect? I hope the House will not continue the Debate, and will not assent to the proposal of the hon. Member for Wednesbury, but will proceed at once to the consideration of the Bills, and I will undertake on the points to which I have alluded to do my best to satisfy the reasonable wishes of the House.

(3.55.) Mr. ATKINSON (Boston): I was glad to hear the last remark of the right hon. Gentleman, namely, that he was not speaking on behalf of the Government. That will, I hope, set at liberty the 30 Gentlemen who sit on those Benches. In my opinion there are provisions in these Bills which will kill the timber trade of the United Kingdom, and therefore all the right hon. Gentleman's talk about compliment or no compliment to the gentlemen who have sat for 48 days on the Committee must go by the board. They know nothing about the timber trade. I have known the timber trade for 45 years, and I agree with a correspondent of mine who says that rather than the Bills before the House should pass as they stood, it would be better to kick them out altogether.

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I have already stated that I am perfectly ready to accept the Amendments on the Paper which affect the timber trade.

Mr. ATKINSON: I am afraid that that is not sufficient to meet all the requirements of the case, but I am glad to accept the Amendments indicated by the President of the Board of Trade on account, and as an instalment. Still, I heartily support the Resolution of the hon. Member opposite, because I am determined to prevent the Bills passing by every power I possess. If the timber trade is to be knocked on the head, I think the working men of this country will want to know the reason why. I believe the difficulty could easily be got over. If the President of the Board of Trade would refer the Bills to a Select Committee on Tuesday, I am satisfied that by Wednesday such Committee would arrive at a decision which the House would be prepared to accept. I make this proposition to the right hon. Gentleman. I do not know who the Parliamentary Leader is; we do not appear to have one just now. If the

*Sir M. Hicks Beach*

right hon. Gentleman will consent to refer the Bills to a Select Committee, I will resume my seat at once; but if not, I am prepared to substantiate my case. I may say that I have as much right to be heard on this question as any Railway Director, or as the hon. Member for Barnard Castle (Sir J. Pease) who acts as the fugleman of the trades union of Railway Directors, for out of the nine Companies whose Bills are before the House to-day, I am personally interested in six. I warn the House not to pass these Bills in their present shape, and I will certainly use every means in my power to prevent them from passing.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.): I feel bound to say that unless concessions which will meet the views of the slate trade in Wales are obtained from the President of the Board of Trade, it will be my duty to propose certain Amendments which stand in my name. We strongly object to the present principle of classification, and also to the high terminal charges.

(4.5.) Mr. T. ROBINSON (Gloucester): There can be no doubt that this is a very important matter, to which the traders of the country are looking forward with hope. I regret to say that in different parts of the country great dissatisfaction exists in nearly all the important branches of industry. One thing that they very much object to is the terminal charges. With regard to the timber trade, I think something should be done to conciliate that trade. If serious injury is inflicted on the timber trade it will be a very serious thing. For many years the railways have carried timber by measure. They are now to be compelled to carry by weight. ["No!"] Seven million tons of timber are imported into this country every year, and we have the English timber in addition. The timber merchants buy by measure, and I never understood that the Railway Companies have complained that they were required to carry by measure. I think that some concession should be made in this particular case. I would suggest that the Bill should be limited to two or three years. If it is not a success, then there would be an opportunity to make fresh alterations. No advantage is at present taken of the Railway Companies, and the belief of the timber merchants is that if you

get rid of the practice of carrying by measurement, you will virtually destroy the trade. I hope it is not too late to make an appeal to the Government to give some special concession to the trading interests of the country. The President of the Board of Trade says he is prepared to make concessions, but I am afraid they will not go far enough. The timber merchants will certainly not cease their agitation in the hope of getting further concessions another year. I would suggest in the meantime that the timber trade should be altogether excluded from the Bills this year, and as they are not to come into operation for more than twelve months, there would be an ample opportunity for full consideration. I intend to support the Resolution of the hon. Member for Wednesbury, and if the President of the Board of Trade is not satisfied with its terms, I have no doubt my hon. Friend would consent to alter them. We are all interested in the trade of the country, and we feel that it would be better to increase its advantages rather than to curtail them.

\*(4.10) MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town): The President of the Board of Trade has reminded the House that the legislation with reference to rates and charges did not arise from any action on the part of the Railway Companies. There was a general complaint that the rates were unequal and harsh. The Railway Companies, I believe, were willing and anxious to do what was right, and to bow to the decision of the Board of Trade. The Provisional Order Bills were referred to a Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, which is admitted on all hands to be an exceptionally good one, and the result has been that we have now a number of Bills under discussion. As a Railway Director I would say we are willing to act loyally by what has been done. I believe that great benefits will result to the traders, and in some respects to the Railway Companies; and it should be remembered that the President of the Board of Trade has expressed his readiness to re-consider the questions of rates on timber and the objections of Welsh traders. It is far better, I think, to settle this long-vexed question at once than to carry it over from year to year. A postponement would only increase the difficulty, and

we should be in no better a position next Session to arrive at a settlement. Having referred the matter to a Select Committee, I think we should loyally abide by the decision of that Committee.

\*(4.15.) MR. LAFONE (Southwark, Bermondsey): I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman who has brought this Motion forward is representing any section of the traders of this country, but it is a fact that at a representative meeting of traders, which was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, it was decided that, although these Bills might be improved in many respects, yet no steps should be taken that would endanger their passing, seeing that they contain many provisions which would prove beneficial to the trade. No doubt there are certain instances in which the rates and charges have been increased, and it will probably be desirable that they should undergo further consideration; but so far as the question of terminals is concerned, it has been settled, both by the Board of Trade and the joint Committee, and I am afraid that it cannot be re-opened. I think the Committee did not fully appreciate the importance of the question. Speaking generally, I believe that considerable benefits have been gained by the traders, and particularly by those interested in agricultural pursuits. If the Bills are found to work badly hereafter, an amending Bill can be introduced. Perhaps I ought to point out that although there is a large increase in some of the rates, yet in all cases they are maximum rates, and not the actual rates which the Railway Companies may charge. I believe that the Railway Directors and Managers have no intention of putting the traders of the country in a worse position than they occupied before. It will be of enormous advantage for the trader to be able to turn to a complete classification and ascertain at once what the rates are and what the carriage of his goods will cost from one station to another. He is unable to do that at present. The only existing classification is the clearing house classification, and no one unacquainted with the details of that classification would be able to find out what he ought to be charged. In future the trader will know precisely what the charges are, and I am satisfied that the

Railway Companies in their own interests will deal fairly by the traders. I am quite certain that, so far as the Railway Companies are concerned, they would only be too glad to see the Resolution of the right hon. Member for Wednesbury passed and these Bills be hung up. I certainly will not be a party to the bringing about of any such result.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I hope the hon. Member for Wednesbury will not press his Motion, because, although it does not profess to be hostile to the Bill, yet the House could not logically pass the measure if it accepted the Motion. I wish to give one reason which is conclusive to my mind why the House should pass these Bills. Prior to the year 1885 I should probably have been of a different opinion. When in 1884 the Railway Companies introduced Bills with powers to impose terminal charges, such Bills, owing to the opposition of the traders, were thrown out; but the decision in Hall's case in 1885 altered that state of things. By that decision it was held that the railways are entitled to charge terminals in addition to the maximum charge, and the result is that the Railway Companies are allowed to charge any sum they please. I, therefore, gladly accept such limitations upon the power of the Railway Companies to make charges as are contained in the Bill. I hope, therefore, that the hon. Member will withdraw his Motion.

(4.26.) The House divided:—Ayes 130; Noes 64.—(Div. List, No. 373.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill considered.

(4.38.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I beg to move the first Amendment standing in my name, and I think it will save the time of the House if I mention the Amendments which my Colleagues and I especially desire the right hon. Gentleman to accept. The first is the exclusion of the Welsh Railways from Scale 1, Class A; the second is their exclusion from Scale 1, Class B; and the third is that which relates to terminals. If the right hon. Gentleman accepts these, we are prepared to withdraw the rest of our Amendments. This is a Bill of very great importance. It will injuriously

*Mr. Lafone*

affect the slate industries of North Wales, and in the course of the next two months it will be impossible for the traders to state the case before the Railway Commission, or to get the reductions to which they think they are entitled.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 23, to leave out the words "passing of this Act," in order to insert the words "first day of January, 1893."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'passing of this Act' stand part of the Bill."

\*(4.40.) SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I do not think I need say very much about this Amendment. The hon. Member proposes to extend the time before the Bill comes into operation. Such a proposal is certainly not to the interest of the traders, and I do not think it is to the interest of the Railway Companies. I cannot undertake to accept any proposal for special terminals for particular lines, the terminals having been fixed by the Committee for application uniformly throughout the country. With regard to excepting certain Welsh lines from the high conveyance rates, I think that some concession may be made on that point.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Will the right hon. Gentleman extend that to Class A?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I am not prepared to say that.

MR. ATKINSON: I beg to support this Amendment, on the principle of voting against these Bills from beginning to end.

(4.44.) MR. T. ELLIS (Merionethshire): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in order to facilitate the speedy passage of this measure, he will make a concession with regard to the exceptions from Class A. I think one of the main objects of the Bill is to protect traders in districts where there is little competition. In places where there is severe competition the rates have been beaten down, but in the outlying districts, and more especially in North and South Wales, where the competition is comparatively small, these high rates will be stereotyped by Parliament. It seems to me that this will defeat one of the main purposes of all

the agitation of the last four or five years.

\*MR. SPEAKER: These remarks are not in order on the present Amendment, but at the same time, of course, such observations can be made with the indulgence of the House.

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I am bound by the decisions of the Select Committee. If the Members of the Committee will consent to the omission of the special rates in Class A, in the case of the lines to which the hon. Member refers, I will raise no objection.

MR. ATKINSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman also assent to the elimination of the timber trade?

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: In reference to the next Amendment that stands in my name, I will appeal to the Members of the Committee to state their views respecting the schedule of Class A. I am prepared to withdraw my Amendments as to terminals if the right hon. Gentleman consents to accept those on Class A.

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I have said to the hon. Member all I can say.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 31 (Schedule of maximum rates and charges), to leave out sub-head 3.—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, "That sub-head 3 stand part of the Bill."

(450.) MR. HANBURY: As I understand it, the main objection of the hon. Member is not so much to the terminals as to the special rates on Welsh lines. Surely that would be more properly discussed on a subsequent clause.

MR. T. ELLIS: We object to the rates in Class A, and we also object to the terminal station charges. If we do not get a concession as to the rates, we hope we shall be able to do so as to the terminal charges.

MR. HANBURY: As far as I can see, the Amendment of the hon. Member could very well come in on page 11.

Question put, and agreed to.

(455.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I understand from the President of the Board of Trade, that he is prepared to except the North Wales lines from Scale 2, Class A.

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: That is so.

\*SIR A. ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I must disclaim the slightest desire to obstruct the Bill, but I move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 20, after the words "other light timber," to insert the words "and 60 ft. of deals, battens, and boards."—(*Sir A. Rollit.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I approve of this Amendment, but I cannot regard it as a concession of any importance, unless a later Amendment which stands in my name is also accepted. The Amendment embodies what is known in the trade as the St. Petersburg standard, which is, no doubt, a fair standard. The proposal will only operate if timber is carried by measurement weight, and it becomes absolutely useless if by other clauses of the Bill you compel traders to consign timber by machine weight.

(459.) MR. ATKINSON: I quite agree with the hon. Member that the concession is acceptable but not sufficient. This I can prove by means of a letter from the witness of whom I spoke, and who is quite willing to give evidence before a Committee. I should like to ask the President of the Board of Trade what authority he has for making a change which will prove ruinous to the great timber trade of this country? If the right hon. Gentleman, as President of the Board of Trade, has a conscience, which I do not believe [*cries of "Oh!"*]—as Member for Bristol he has a very good conscience, no doubt—if, as President, he has a conscience, it ought to have troubled him on this point. As far as I am concerned I will obstruct and divide whenever there is a chance on these Bills [*cries of "Oh!"*] Well, I will say I feel it my duty to divide on these Bills without using the other word. It comes very badly from Gentlemen opposite—

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must confine his remarks to the Amendment.

MR. ATKINSON: Yes, I will.

\*MR. SPEAKER: I have warned the hon. Gentleman that he must conduct himself according to the usages of this House.



MR. ATKINSON: Some time ago, when I had a Bill which I wanted to carry with reference to seamen's votes, I was made to walk 16 times round the Lobbies—20 minutes each time. [*Cries of "Order!"*]

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not keeping to the question.

MR. ATKINSON: Well, then, I will make those remarks in the next speech I deliver. I intend to divide the House upon this Motion and upon every other Motion which goes in the same direction.

(5.4.) MR. CRAIG (*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*): I would suggest that "cubic" should be inserted before "feet."

MR. HANBURY: What the Committee did was to provide that so many feet should go to a ton. I think we must add after "light timber" in line 20, "other than deals, battens, and boards."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 20, after "timber," to insert, "other than deals, battens, and boards."—(*Sir A. Rollit.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and agreed to.

\*SIR A. ROLLIT: I beg now to move the words that originally stood in my name, with the addition of the word "cubic."

Amendment proposed, after the words last inserted, to insert the words "and 66 cubic feet of deals, battens, and boards."—(*Sir A. Rollit.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON: There seems to be nothing for me but to divide the House against this Amendment, which I will do.

MR. T. ROBINSON: I would point out to the hon. Member that the Amendment is really in favour of the argument he has been using.

(5.8.) Question put. The House proceeded to a Division.

MR. ATKINSON was appointed a Teller for the Noes, but no Member being willing to act as second Teller, MR. SPEAKER declared that the Ayes had it.

(5.10.) MR. PICKERSGILL: I think a serious injustice will be caused by the

Bill if the provisions regarding the carrying of timber are insisted on. My Amendment will meet the difficulty in the case of all timber the carriage of which requires more than one wagon. If the Bill is left as it is, the timber trade will be absolutely at the mercy of the Railway Companies. My Amendment is as follows:—

"All timber requiring two or more wagons for conveyance must in all cases be charged at measurement weight with a minimum charge as for one ton per wagon, whether carrying part of the load, or used as a safety wagon only."

I understand that the word "minimum" in the Amendment has caused some misgiving in the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite, but I think it arises solely from ignorance as to the operation of the Amendment. The operation would be this: Supposing that timber is carried upon two trucks, the weight of the timber must be ascertained by measurement; and if it should only be 1½ tons, then the Railway Company would be enabled to charge as for 2 tons. I understand that the right hon. Gentleman, the President of the Board of Trade, is prepared to accept what he calls the spirit of this Amendment. But the Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to substitute for it would have this effect: Whereas my Amendment establishes uniformity and requires the trader to consign his timber by weight ascertained by measurement, the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman will give an option to the trader either to assign it by actual machine weight, or by weight computed in the ordinary way by measurement. I confess I do not like the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment so well as my own, but I am not disposed to divide the House on the matter, and though I cannot accept the words suggested by the right hon. Gentleman, I shall content myself with simply moving my Amendment in the words on the Paper without taking a Division.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 24, after the word "being," to insert the words "All timber requiring two or more wagons for conveyance must in all cases be charged at measurement weight, with a minimum charge as for one ton per wagon, whether carrying part of the load, or used as a safety wagon only."—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and negatived.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I presume the right hon. Gentleman will propose his Amendment.

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Yes, at the proper time.

Other Amendments made.

\*MR. W. PRITCHARD MORGAN (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to move the Amendment in my name.

Amendment proposed, in page 18, column 2, line 19, after the words "limestone in bulk," to insert the words "lime in bulk and loam."—(Mr. Pritchard Morgan.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I am afraid that I cannot accept the Amendment. The alteration of one article in classification will lead to the alteration of others; indeed, if the House once undertakes to interfere with the classification it would be an endless task. Many hon. Members can hardly be aware of the extraordinary and intricate way in which these matters are mixed up with one another, and hon. Members who move the alterations in classification can hardly be aware themselves of the results to which their action may lead.

Question put, and negatived.

\*MR. W. PRITCHARD MORGAN: I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name. As far as I can understand the system of classification, everything that comes from the earth in a natural condition, which is not in any way manufactured, or which has not been made of great value or damageable by expenditure, is to be placed in the other class with coal and iron ore. Now, we have large zinc and copper mines in Wales, and zinc and copper are sent away to great distances, and if one class of mineral ore is to be in a different classification from another, it will unjustly handicap the industry of mining for that ore. I hope the President of the Board of Trade will see his way be accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 18, column 2, line 24, after the words "night soil," to insert the words "peat,

and ores of gold, silver, copper, tin, sulphur, and zinc, dressed or undressed."—(Mr. Pritchard Morgan.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: It is impossible to compare iron ore with gold. In dealing with the several ores the Committee have classified them differently.

Question put, and negatived.

(5.32.) MR. W. PRITCHARD MORGAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the next Amendment, with regard to slates, &c.?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: We have practically largely reduced the charges for slates by the alterations we have made.

MR. P. STANHOPE: I have an Amendment to move which is not on the Paper, namely, in page 19, line 41, after "bar iron or steel," to leave out the words "exceeding 1 cwt. per bar." The restriction if it be maintained will affect a large proportion of the iron trade.

Amendment proposed, in page 19, line 41, to leave out the words "exceeding 1 cwt. per bar."—(Mr. Philip Stanhope.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed be left out stand part of the Bill."

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I will consider that in consultation with the Members of the Committee, and if I have their approval, I shall not object to the omission of the words.

MR. HANBURY: As far as I am concerned, I have no objection whatever, and I do not think any real damage will accrue to the Railway Companies.

SIR J. BAILEY (Hereford): I think the proposal ought to be considered as suggested by the right hon. Gentleman.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

(5.36.) MR. P. STANHOPE: The next Amendment is in connection with the transfer of a large number of articles connected with the iron industry from Class B to Class C by the decision of the Committee. This transfer was apparently made because the Committee thought they had made a considerable number of concessions by introducing

provisions giving certain districts the right to revert back to old Railway Acts. The effect of the transfer is to increase the charge, and it is very much resented by the people in the iron trade, who are desirous that the House should restore these articles to the same class as they were in on the Second Reading of the Bill.

**Amendment proposed,**

In page 19, column 2, line 14, to insert the words:—"Angle bars or plates; bar, e.o.h.p.; beams; bolts and nuts. Bridgework—cantilevers; cross and longitudinal girders: floor-plates; girders, whole or in part; joists; lattice bars; screw and other piles, both hollow and solid; struts and ties; bundles of bars; caissons; columns; engine bed plates; girders; girder bars. Hoop-iron; hoop-steel; hoops, iron; hoops, weldless, in the rough; nail-rods and sheets; nails and spikes. Plates—Annealing; armour; black, in boxes or packed; boiler; furnace; hoe-head, in the rough; plough, in the rough; railway fish; rough flooring; ships; shovel; tank. Railway carriage and wagon work; railway chairs; railway points, crossings, or joints; railway rails; rivets; rods, common; rods, wire, rolled, not drawn; scrap, minimum load three tons per truck; sheet-iron, not packed; sleepers; tyres and tyre-bars, in the rough; wire (iron) not packed or wrapped; wire-iron, rolled in rods or coils, not packed; wire (steel) not packed or wrapped; pitwood for mining purposes."—(*Mr. Philip Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

(5.38.) **MR. HANBURY:** This clause constitutes one of the most important Amendments which the Select Committee made on the original proposals of the Board of Trade. Two things weighed with the Committee in taking the articles in question out of one class and putting them in another. In the first place, the articles in Class B are, for the most part, not manufactured articles at all. Class B has such things in it as gypsum, granite, lime in bulk, and so on. It would be ridiculous to put in the same class articles of a manufactured character. But we had a much stronger reason for striking out these articles. All of them stood in the original Schedule of the Board of Trade, both in Class B and in Class C, the difference between the two being that when a trader declared the articles to be undamageable they would go into the cheaper class. There was a serious objection made to that. It was a totally new principle, and one that was applied to no other

*Mr. P. Stanhope*

articles whatever throughout the whole Schedule. I am not quite sure how far the Amendment of the hon. Member goes. Does he propose to put these articles back again in Class B as undamageable articles or as damageable articles?

**MR. P. STANHOPE:** It would be of advantage to these industries if they were put in Class B as damageable articles, but I am quite willing to divide them into two classes, and treat some as damageable and the rest as undamageable.

**MR. HANBURY:** The language of the Board of Trade was very ambiguous. It was "if and when declared by the trader to be undamageable." All the old difficulties between the Railway Company and the South Staffordshire traders arose on what constituted "damageable" and what "undamageable." If there is one thing more than another which Parliament should try to avoid it is ambiguity and litigation as to the meaning of the language used. Apart from that, the proviso is absolutely nugatory, because it was contended by the counsel for the Railway Company, and I do not think it was denied on the other side, that under the Act of 1854, although a trader declared that certain goods were undamageable, and so got them carried at the cheaper rate, still, if damage actually occurred in transit, the Railway Company might not be held free from liability. That was grossly unfair to the Railway Company. What the Committee, therefore, really did was to take away from the trader the right of declaring the articles in question at "owners' risk" or "undamageable," and so of having them carried at the lower rate, but if carried on the old conditions, as damageable, the Committee left them precisely as they were left by the Board of Trade. What will be the effect of the proposal of the Board of Trade even upon the iron rates of the Railway Companies? The losses of the companies will be considerable. Mr. Findlay, the traffic manager of the London and North-Western, gave the Committee most excellent evidence on this particular point, evidence which, I think, will be absolutely conclusive to the House that the Committee could not have acted otherwise than they have acted. Mr. Findlay showed that the

company would lose on iron and steel £37,000, or 1 per cent. of their nett dividend. With this fact before us we cannot reduce the rates lower than we have done. Mr. Findlay said also that the Provisional Order would cut down the low, exceptional rates which had been adopted to foster the trade of the country in certain cases. That was admitted by the Board of Trade themselves. But it is not only the London and North-Western line that will be affected. The other great mineral lines will also suffer. The Great Western will lose £10,000, and the loss on the Midland will actually amount to £47,000. That is a very heavy fine indeed when it is put on top of losses on the coal traffic. The evidence we had before us was that the most important thing we had to keep in Class 3 was bar-iron. We have kept it in Class 3, and we have treated it much more favourably to the traders than the Board of Trade had done. I do not quite know where the opposition brought forward by the hon. Member comes from, because practically all we did was almost agreed to before the Committee. The iron interest was represented by the Lancashire and Cheshire Conference, which stood aloof in this matter, by the Mansion House Committee, who said they would offer no opposition, and by Swansea and South Wales Traders, who said practically that if bar and steel and iron rails were left in Class B, they would have no objection. We did not meet the whole of their demands, but we did as far as iron was concerned. Sir A. Hickman, who with great ability argued the case of the South Staffordshire traders, was satisfied with our proposals. I think the Hon. Member (Mr. P. Stanhope) is acting in opposition to the wishes of the great body of iron traders themselves, and I hope that he will support the Committee on this point.

Question put, and negatived.

(5.52.) MR. PICKERSGILL: The proposal I have now to make is intended to give substantial effect to the proposal made by the hon. Member for South Lalington (Sir A. Rollit) a little while ago. This Bill contains two classes of rates for timber, one class applicable to timber, the weight of which is ascer-

tained by placing it on the machine, and another applicable to timber, of which the weight is computed from the measurement. The rates for timber carried by computed weight are 25 per cent. in excess of that of which the weight is ascertained by machining. The system of computation, by which so many cubic feet of timber are supposed to go to the ton, is a rough-and-ready mode of ascertaining the weight; but, as between the two parties to the transaction, it is perfectly fair. It is true that sometimes the computed weight will tell against the company, and at other times against the trader, but, like all general averages, it is as fair to one party as to the other. The object of the provision by which a much higher rate is charged for timber of which the weight has been computed than for timber which has been weighed by machinery is to force traders in all cases to consign timber by actual machine weight. That will, however, upset all existing arrangements in the timber trade. At present timber is bought and sold by measurement and shipped by measurement, and, with a few trifling exceptions, it is carried on always by measurement. This proposal will therefore have the effect of revolutionising the timber trade. In order to some extent to meet the views which I understand were pressed by the officials of the Board of Trade in the inquiry which took place on this matter, I am disposed to limit my Amendment to deals, battens, and boards. It is perhaps hardly necessary for me to set forth in detail the fact that there are greater objections to the computed measurement system in the case of rough timber than in the case of deals, battens, and boards. I am told that deals, battens, and boards amount to 75 per cent. of the timber trade, and I propose to insert "deals, battens, and boards, whether by machine or measurement weight."

Amendment proposed, in page 20, Class C, after the word "Cutch," in column 2, line 44, to insert the words "deals, battens, and boards, whether by machine or measurement weight."—*(Mr. Pickersgill.)*

Question proposed, "That these words be there inserted."

\***(5.58.)** **SIR A. ROLLIT:** I shall be very glad if the right hon. Gentleman can see his way to accept the Amendment. At the same time, as the right hon. Gentleman has dealt so reasonably with the point raised by my Amendment, I could not see my way to vote against him if he opposed the present Amendment. The timber trade is one of the most important in the country, and there is a very strong feeling on this question. There are two reasons why this revised classification is desired. In the first place, it is the principle of the Board of Trade that there should be an option on the part of consignors between machine weight and measurement weight. But I would suggest to the President of the Board of Trade that the option ostensibly given by the Bill is not a real option, because timber carried by machine weight is placed in a better scale of classification, and hence it must be sent by machine weight. In dealing with deals, battens, and boards, as compared with other timber, a saving is effected because of the facility with which they can be handled. I believe deals and the like are carried for 1s. less a load as compared with other classes of timber. That concession is made by shipowners in various branches of trade, and that is bound to be taken into account. The importation of deals is very great, and the principle of measurement is that which is adopted abroad. To make this change would lead to great disorganisation of trade. The consignment is made by measurement, and altogether the trade would be placed on a materially different footing to what it has been in the past if the change be made as proposed by the Bill.

\***SIR M. HICKS BEACH:** I would remind the House that I have already made two very considerable concessions to the timber trade—one with reference to the charge for a second truck for large timber, and the other that deals, battens, and boards shall be carried at 66 cubic feet to the ton, measurement weight. That is a very considerable concession to foreign timber. I could not lower the classification of this foreign timber alone without acting unfairly to the grower of English timber. After the consideration of the subject by the Board of Trade and by a Select Com-

mittee, I do not think I shall be justified in accepting the Amendment.

**MR. HANBURY:** The Board of Trade are perfectly justified in standing out against this particular Amendment. As far as I recollect the evidence before the Committee, it was that although the weight of deals, battens, and boards is conventionally treated as 2 tons 10 cwt., it is, as a matter of fact, considerably over 3 tons. In dealing with the Railway Companies, I think it is not fair to assume that this 2 tons 10 cwt. is the real weight, while it is really 3 tons 10 cwt., which the companies are compelled to carry at the lower rate.

\***SIR A. ROLLIT:** I cannot, of course, refer to the evidence, not having been a member of the Joint Committee, and the hon. Member, having been one of the Committee, knows better than I do; but the Railway Companies have always dealt with deals, battens, and boards under the classification to which I have referred.

**MR. ATKINSON:** The hon. Member and the Vice President seem to be under the impression that we have to consider the Railway Companies. One says it will be interfering with the Railway Companies to do this, and the other says it will be detrimental to the Railway Companies to do that. That is not an argument at all. The Bill as it stands is largely detrimental to one of the chief trades of the United Kingdom, and consequently I will do my utmost to prevent it passing.

**MR. HUNTER:** I would like to point out, with regard to the timber trade, that the rates which are given in this Bill are lower than the maximum rates which the companies are at present entitled to charge. That is a circumstance which, I think, ought not to be forgotten.

**MR. T. ROBINSON:** I am aware that the right hon. Gentleman has granted concessions; but, still, the whole difficulty with regard to deals, battens, and boards will have to be dealt with. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will appreciate the point, for I can assure him that there is a very strong feeling on the part of the trade.

\***COLONEL HILL (Bristol, S.):** I feel very much in the position of my hon. Friend the Member for South Islington. I do not like to vote against the Government,

after the manner in which the President of the Board of Trade has met us; but I would point out to the right hon. Gentleman that in my constituency the timber trade is of very great importance, and those engaged in it assure me it will be placed at a very great disadvantage if the Bill be passed without the additional words proposed be added.

(6.10.) The House divided:—Ayes 79; Noes 125.—(Div. List, No. 374.)

(6.20.) MR. P. STANHOPE: On behalf of my hon. Friend Sir Charles Forster, I beg formally to move this Amendment, with the view of affording the President of the Board of Trade an opportunity of making some reply.

#### Amendment proposed,

In page 33, column 2, after line 22, to insert the words "saddlery-hardware in water-proof lined wooden cases or casks. Packages consigned as saddlery-hardware may include any leather or metal articles set out in classes hereinbefore mentioned or in this class, and the following articles in Class 3:—American or leather cloth (for harness fronts); awl blades; bells (small for harness); bits; blankets (for horses); buckets and pails; buckles; buttons; carpet bag frames; chains, curb; clasps (for belts); clothing, water-proof; collars, dog; collars, rush; combs (for manes); curry combs; cotton and linen thread; cotton wool (for padding); outlery (horse scissors and leather cutting knives); elastic webbing (for braces); eyelets (for straps); ferules (for whips); flax (for stitching); gloves (for labourers); grinders; hair (for stuffing saddles); Indian rubber goods (for horses and vehicles); laces, leather (for harness); lanterns (stable); leather, e.o.h.p.; locks and keys (for leather bags); military ornaments; mops (for stables); nails, rivets (brass or copper); netting cotton and twine (for horses); oils (for harness); ornaments for saddlery; pliers; powder flasks; saddle trees; screws (brass); shears (sheep); sheepskins, e.o.h.p.; shot belts; spanners; sours; stable fittings and mangers (enamelled iron); stirrups; tacks; terrets; turnery ware (manger logs, whip reels, and tool handles); varnish; washers; washleather; wire (brass or copper); wool (dyed or carded); woollen cloth. And the following in Class 4:—Harness; leggings; plated goods appertaining to harness or saddlery; saddlery."—(Mr. Philip Stanhope.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Such a provision would involve the alteration of the whole Bill, and for reasons I have already given I cannot consent to the Amendment.

MR. P. STANHOPE: I beg to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I beg now to move, Sir, that the Bill be read a third time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(Sir M. Hicks Beach.)

(6.30.) MR. ATKINSON: I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name, namely, that the Third Reading of the Bill be postponed until three months to-day, and I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will accept it, or that, at all events, he will shorten the case by accepting my statement with regard to the timber trade. If a Select Committee were appointed it would ascertain the truth of my statement in an hour. I ask the right hon. Gentleman, who is a Member of one of the most talented Governments we have had for many years, not to go on in this task of destroying, wittingly or unwittingly, the timber trade of this country. I have been in that trade for 45 years, and I can myself, of my own personal knowledge, prove that what I say is correct, and I know more about it than all the permanent officials of the Board of Trade put together.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(Mr. Atkinson.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: In answer to my hon. Friend, I venture to point out to him and to the House that in the first place I do not really believe that the timber trade will suffer anything under this Bill. As the hon. Member for Aberdeen has already stated, the rates for timber will be lower in future than the present maximum rate. These rates will not come into operation before August, 1892. If, during next Session, those who represent the timber trade feel alarmed, they can easily bring forward a Motion on the subject.

The House proceeded to a Division.

Mr. ATKINSON was appointed a Teller for the Noes, but no Member being

willing to act as the Second Teller, Mr. SPEAKER declared that the Ayes had it.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY  
(RATES AND CHARGES) PROVISIONAL  
ORDER BILL (*By Order.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Bill be now considered."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now" and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Atkinson.*)

Question, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question," put, and agreed to.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill considered.

MR. T. ELLIS: The Amendments which I have to move are the corollary of the concessions already made with regard to the London & North-Western. I beg to move, in page 11, line 30, after the word "Worcester," to insert—

"(18.) Railways governed by the 'Vale of Llangollen Act, 1859,' and the 'Llangollen and Corwen Act, 1860.'"

"(19.) Railways governed by the 'Corwen and Bala, and Bala and Dolgelly Acts, 1862.'"

"(20.) Railways governed by the 'Bala and Festiniog Act, 1873.'"

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I accept this Amendment, on the understanding that it is only consequential, and that I am at liberty to satisfy myself by further inquiry before finally agreeing to it.

Question put and agreed to.

\*(6.35.) SIR M. HICKS BEACH: So far as concerns the Amendments of this Bill, I have gone as far as I can to meet the points raised by hon. Members. With regard to the reduced rates in South Wales, the Company lose £2,500 actual receipts in the articles of coal and coke alone, and I am sure the House would not desire to entail a further loss, amounting in the whole to £22,500 a year, on the Welsh line of the Great Western Railway Company, which would result from the immediate reduction of the conveyance rates on this line to the Boon line scale. I am desirous of meet-

ing my hon. Friend (Sir Hussey Vivian), who has Amendments on the Paper, as far as possible, and I feel that there is some claim on the part of those connected with South Wales for a reduction of rates on the South Wales line, which is now one of the main lines of the Great Western Railway. I therefore propose to insert a proviso, at page 11, line 43, which will ensure that the reduction of the rates will only take place when the company can afford it. That seems to me a fair arrangement, and I hope it will be adopted by both parties.

SIR H. VIVIAN (Swansea, District): We are labouring under what we feel to be a very great grievance in this case, which is not, I am sorry to say, altogether met by the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. At the same time, the President of the Board of Trade has probably gone as far as he possibly can to meet our wishes. At the same time it must be clearly understood that we do not accept this as final, and that we shall be precluded from endeavouring to obtain redress. I understand that we shall not be hung up for three years, and that if the Great Western Company become prosperous we shall have the advantage of this clause. I am glad the right hon. Gentleman accepts that interpretation, and I think that is a very important Amendment indeed. Then I understand the clause applies to the share capital—to the dividends upon the share capital of the company. Again, I have the assent of the right hon. Gentleman to my interpretation. The paid-up capital might be strained into meaning debentures and various other things. Do I understand it to mean *bond fide* share capital?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: It means the share capital.

SIR H. VIVIAN: I shall not move the Amendment standing in my name.

(6.45.) MR. ARTHUR WILLIAMS (Glamorgan, S.): The hon. Member for Preston has said that the proposed division would have amounted to a serious loss to the Great Western, but I contend that there would not have been a loss, it would only have been a reduction of their advantage. In 1855 the Great Western Company took possession of the South Wales system, and from that time to this the traffic in that part of the country has been yearly growing in

prosperity and yielding a large proportion of the dividends payable to the shareholders. It is, therefore, perfectly misleading to suggest that the South Wales system is not contributing a large proportion of the earnings of the Great Western system. But for their intervention that line would be paying 50 per cent. more than any other line for conveying the products of the staple industry of the district.

**MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON** (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): It was laid down by a learned Judge the other day that the first stock of a company was only the preferred ordinary stock. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will make it clearly understood that by the stock of the company he means the ordinary stock.

**\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH:** I must remind the hon. Member that I have already said so. I will, however, agree to the insertion of the word "ordinary."

**\*MR. W. PRITCHARD MORGAN:** Payments out of the stock of a company must include payments out of the debenture stock, and if that be so, the ordinary stock will get to 8 or 9 per cent. before any relief is given. It has always been held by the Railway Companies that the whole stock of a company must necessarily earn 6 per cent. before any dividends can be paid.

**\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH:** If, instead of "capital stock," the words "capital ordinary stock" are inserted that will meet the difficulty.

**\*MR. W. PRITCHARD MORGAN:** As far as I am concerned I shall be perfectly satisfied with that; but I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether he cannot reduce the 6 per cent. to 5 per cent., or at any rate, to 5½ per cent. The great traffic in South Wales, especially in Glamorganshire, both in coal and iron, comes down to the coast, but in the case of the iron ore, which goes into the interior for manufacture, the Great Western Company is enabled to earn a large amount of money on the short distances run, in consequence of the terminal charges at both ends. If the Provisional Order is passed, the maximum rate per ton per mile, including the terminals, will be altered from 2s. 1d. and 2s. 6d. to 5s.

This, therefore, is a most important matter when we consider the enormous traffic in iron and steel that will be affected. In the case of coal the charges will be increased from 2s. 6d. to 3s., and considering that 54 millions of tons of coal are sent from Glamorganshire every year, the increased charges will necessarily amount to an enormous sum in favour of the Great Western Railway Company. I should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman could see his way to reduce the 6 per cent. to 5 per cent.

**\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH:** The 6 per cent. is the figure fixed by the South Wales Railway Amalgamation Act, and I do not think I can alter it.

**MR. S. T. EVANS** (Glamorgan, Mid.): I think in the case of dividends fixed at 6 per cent. it would be competent to the Board of Trade to revise the rates. I fail to see any reason why the Great Western Company should be treated in the way proposed by this Bill. The question is whether by increasing the maxima on the South Wales line, the industries of South Wales will be paralysed. When we are revising railway rates, it is hard that South Wales should be charged more than the other lines, the difference being as against South Wales something like 55 per cent. I do not see why in its race with Staffordshire, Lancashire, Yorks, and other mining districts, South Wales should be placed at so great a disadvantage. I can see no reason whatever for continuing the 6 per cent. fixed by the Act of 1864, at the present day. At the time the Act was passed the coalfields of South Wales were not developed, and the railways in that district were practically a speculation.

**\*SIR E. J. REED** (Cardiff): I hope the spirit of conciliation which has been shown by the right hon. Gentlemen will enable him to arrive at such a conclusion with regard to these short distance terminals as will give general satisfaction. The enormous traffic in minerals in the South Wales district is surely deserving of consideration, and the effect of heavy terminal charges on short lines of railways is a matter deserving of serious consideration.

(7.0.) **MR. HUNTER:** On looking at the South Wales Consolidation Act I find a circumstance which was not brought to the attention of the Committee. Under



the Act of 1855 the Terminal Clause is not a terminal clause in the ordinary sense. It is the same terminal clause as that of the London, Chatham, and Dover Company, and the traders in South Wales may fairly contend that in comparing the old maximum rate of 2d. per mile with the new rate the railways are not entitled under the old maximum rate to make a terminal charge. That question was not brought to the attention of the Committee. If it had been, I think it might have affected their decision.

MR. HANBURY: There can be no doubt that it was the impression of the Committee that they were reducing the South Wales rates by 25 per cent. I was somewhat astonished to find the opposition raised to our proposal. If it is a fact that that there is no power under the old Act to charge terminals, that 25 per cent. reduction has not taken place. I think my right hon. friend would do well to bear that fact in mind.

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I will look into the matter, but I cannot go further than that at present. Perhaps I may point out that this provision is distinctly more favourable to the South Wales traders than the Act of 1863.

Question put and agreed to.

Other Amendments made.

Bill read the third time, passed.

#### LONDON AND SOUTH-WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY (RATES AND CHARGES) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL (*by Order*).

As amended, considered.

Amendments made.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

(7.15.) The House proceeded to a Division.

MR. SPEAKER stated that he thought the Ayes had it; but on his decision being challenged, it appeared to Mr. Speaker that the Division was frivolously claimed, and he directed the Noes to stand up in their places; whereupon,  
*Mr. Hunter*

one Member having stood up, Mr. Speaker declared that the Ayes had it. —(*See Div. List, No. 375.*)

Bill read the third time, and passed.

#### POOR RELIEF (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Copy ordered—

"Of Statement of the Amount expended for In-maintenance and Out-door Relief in England and Wales during the half-year ended Lady Day, 1891."

"And, similar Statement for the half-year ended Michaelmas, 1891."—(*Mr. Long.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 370.]

#### PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND RECEIPTS.

Account ordered—

"Of the total Public Expenditure in the year ending the 31st day of March, 1890-91, distinguishing between the ordinary Expenditure provided for out of the Revenue of the year and the extraordinary Expenditure provided for out of Loans or other sources, and also of the total Receipts of the year, distinguishing between the ordinary Revenue and Receipts derived from Loans or other sources." —(*Sir William Harcourt.*)

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS (VENTILATION).

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 371.]

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Factories and Workshops Bill; Elementary Education Bill; Trusts Amendment (Scotland) Bill; County Councils (Elections) Bill; Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle) Bill.

#### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [REMISSION AND GRANT].

Committee to consider of authorising the remission of certain Loans made by the Exchequer Bill Loan Commissioners and the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to the Ulster Canal Company, and also of authorising a Grant, out of money to be provided by Parliament, to the Arklow Harbour Commissioners, pursuant to any Act of the present Session to grant money for the purpose of Local Loans and for other purposes relating to Local Loans (Queen's Recommendation signified), upon Monday next.—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (ATTENDANCE, &c.)

Address for—

“Return for London and the following Municipal Boroughs for the year ending the 31st day of August, 1890, showing:—

London ..	Population according to last Census Returns.				
Birkenhead ..					
Birmingham ..	School Accommodation.				
Blackburn ..					
Bolton ..	Number on Roll.				
Bradford ..					
Brighton ..	Average Attendance.				
Bristol ..					
Cardiff ..	Total Grant.				
Hull ..					
Leeds ..	Grant per head.				
Leicester ..					
Liverpool ..	Deductions per head under Article 114, Code 1889.				
Manchester ..					
Newcastle ..	Mo it Grant.				
Norwich ..					
Nottingham ..	Board. E.G.F.R.*				
Oldham ..					
Portsmouth ..	Voluntary. E.G.F.R.				
Salford ..					
Sheffield ..					
Sunderland ..					
Swansea ..					
West Ham ..					
Total ..					

—(Mr. Mundella.)

\*E., Excellent; G., good; F., fair; R., refused.

# NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1889-90.

Committee to consider the Savings and Deficiencies upon Navy and Army Grants for 1889-90, and the temporary sanction obtained from the Treasury by the Navy and Army Departments to the Expenditure not provided for in the Grants for that year, upon Monday next.—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Ordered, That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 16th and 11th days of February respectively, be referred to the Committee.

## QUESTIONS.

### ALLEGED GRIEVANCE OF ROBERT COLCLOUGH.

MR. PICTON (*Leicester*): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the alleged grievance of Robert Colclough, for 28 years employed in the Ordnance Store Department, Woolwich, and a foreman since 1878, who was reduced in 1888 in consequence of a mistake made when he was absent through illness; whether he is aware that this man received sick pay at the rate of 30s. per week, but was afterwards superannuated on the scale due to a labourer on 19s. per week, and that his reduction from foreman to labourer took place 40 days after his pay had ceased; and whether, looking to the long service of this man terminating in a breakdown of his health, the case can be re-considered?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (*Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford*): In reply to this question, I have to say that Robert Colclough, of the Ordnance Store Department, Woolwich, was not reduced in grade for any mistake made during his absence from illness, but on account of long proved inefficiency and carelessness as a foreman, for which he had been reported before his illness. Under all the circumstances, it was an act of mercy to give this man the benefit of the doubt, and not to dismiss him altogether, as his conduct would have justified.

### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT REPORTS.

MR. T. ELLIS (*Merionethshire*): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether the Report of the Education Department

for the school year ending on August 31 in one year is only presented to Parliament in the August of the following year, at the end of, and sometimes even after, the Parliamentary Session; when the Report for the school year ending August 31, 1890, will be published; and whether, in future, the annual Report can be published within six months after the end of the school year?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (*Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford*): The Blue Book, as a whole, is not issued till August, but many of its parts are distributed much earlier. The Report for the year ending August, 1890, has already been circulated, and the preparation of the remaining Appendices is being proceeded with as expeditiously as possible. The Chief Inspector's Reports sometimes do not come in for six months, and the Appendix dealing with the accounts of School Boards cannot be prepared until the audits for their year, which only ends on September 30, are complete, and these audits are often protracted till late in the spring, so that the hon. Member will see the impossibility of materially accelerating the production of the full Report; but every effort will be made in that direction.

### REPORTS ON HIGHER GRADE SCHOOLS.

MR. T. ELLIS: I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether the Education Department, in conjunction with the Department of Science and Art, will issue annually a Report of the progress, condition, inspection, and the possibilities of the development of advanced elementary and higher grade schools in England and Wales?

SIR W. HART DYKE: Some of this information is already contained in the Reports of the Science and Art Department, and I will see what more can be given with the present staff and arrangements; but so far as the Education Department is concerned, there would be a difficulty in differentiating schools on any definite basis, and I do not think much can be done, in the direction suggested, until further progress is made with the organisation of secondary education.

#### THE CASE OF JOHN AND SARAH STARLING.

MR. QUILTER (Suffolk, Sudbury): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the evidence and the Judge's remarks at the trial of John and Sarah Starling, of Cowlinge, at the Suffolk Assizes on July 15, for the manslaughter of their daughter; and whether he intends that the Local Government Board should be represented at the inquiry which is to be held by the Board of Guardians of the Risbridge Union?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): My attention has been called to the evidence and the remarks of the Judge at the trial at the Suffolk Assizes to which reference is made in the question. I do not propose that the Local Government Board should intervene at the inquiry which, it is stated, is to be held by the Board of Guardians of the Risbridge Union, but when that inquiry has been held the Board will consider what course it will be necessary for them to take in the matter.

#### THE CONDUCT OF DR. KING, MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE DELVIN UNION.

MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): On behalf of my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Tuite), I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the attention of the Local Government Board for Ireland has been drawn to a charge of assault committed by Dr. King, the medical officer of the Delvin Union, on a poor man when in the act of presenting him with a dispensary ticket requiring the doctor's attendance on a member of his family; and what action he proposes to take in the matter?

MR. TUIITE had also given notice of the following question:—Whether it is the intention of the Local Government Board for Ireland to take any action in response to the communication of the Granard Board of Guardians, in which complaint was made of the conduct of Dr. King, the medical officer of the Union, who deliberately opened a letter addressed to the Chairman, on a matter in which the doctor was himself concerned, and afterwards hid the letter

under a book in the room adjoining the Board-room?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I propose to reply to both questions at the same time. A charge of assault of the nature referred to has been made against the medical officer mentioned, and the Local Government Board have decided to hold a sworn inquiry into the matter. With regard to the second charge, it is not one which comes under the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board, and they see no reason why the inquiry should be extended to that charge. The documentary evidence does not appear to be well founded.

#### THE CASE OF HARRIET HARLIDGE.

MR. J. WILSON (Durham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the case of Harriet Harlidge, who was tried at the recent Durham Assizes for the murder of George Dixon; whether he is aware that, although the jury returned a verdict of "Manslaughter" without previous intention, the Judge sentenced the prisoner to 20 years' penal servitude, and in so doing stated that the prisoner had intended to take the life of the deceased; and whether he will consider the case with the view to a commutation of the sentence?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): At present I have only seen a newspaper account of the case. The facts as stated there amount to a very grave case of homicide, and do not disclose any grounds for advising interference with the sentence. I will duly consider any representation that may be made to me on the woman's behalf.

#### JUVENILE LABOUR IN MINES.

MR. PICKARD (York, W.R., Normanton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will grant a Return stating the ages of persons working underground in mines under the Coal Mines Regulation Act, above 16 and under 21 years of age, and the nature of their work?

MR. J. WILSON (Durham): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers may

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I ask if he will add to such a Return the number of hours worked in the collieries?

MR. MATTHEWS: I cannot undertake to grant this Return. I have no right to call upon the owners of every colliery in the Kingdom to furnish me with the details asked for, and it would be difficult in any case to provide the information with any degree of accuracy. In the summary tables of the Census the hon. Member will find some statistics which bear upon his inquiry.

MR. PICKARD: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether a similar Return has not been granted in relation to another class of labour, and is there more difficulty in this case?

MR. MATTHEWS: I can only refer the hon. Member to my answer.

MR. PICKARD: But will the right hon. Gentleman give me the reason for refusing such a Return?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have done so in the answer I have just given.

#### THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

SIR W. HARCOURT (Derby): On behalf of my right hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer on what day the Lords Amendments on the Education Bill will be taken?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square): I cannot at present name a day for the purpose. In our opinion, and I think it will also be the wish of the House, it is desirable that we should proceed uninterruptedly with the business of Supply.

#### EAST INDIA ACCOUNTS.

MR. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): On behalf of my hon. Friend the Member for West Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan), I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India when the Explanatory Memorandum of the East India Accounts will be circulated?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gosst, Chatham): I laid the Explanatory Memorandum upon the Table last night, and it will be distributed among Members immediately.

*Mr. J. Wilson*

#### TELEGRAPH COMMUNICATION WITH BISHOP'S SUTTON, NORTH SOMERSET.

MR. LLEWELLYN (Somerset, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he can now give a more favourable reply to the request made early in this year by the inhabitants of Bishop's Sutton, a village in North Somerset, for the establishment of a postal telegraph office; and whether, considering the great inconvenience felt in the neighbourhood owing to present arrangements, he will accept as a guarantee a more reasonable sum than that hitherto demanded?

\*THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University): The question of guarantees for telegraph offices is at present under the consideration of the Treasury, and I am not, therefore, in a position to give the hon. Member any further information than that which was communicated to him a short time ago by letter. I shall be very glad, if I find myself in a position, to accept reduced guarantees. Perhaps my hon. Friend may not have observed that the Post Office Bill which has passed this House will enable a Rural Sanitary Authority to become the guarantors in these cases.

#### RELIEF WORKS, WEST AND SOUTH CORK.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if it is true that a number of relief works instituted by the Government in West and South Cork will be left unfinished, and that it is proposed to tax the cesspayers of the County of Cork, as suggested by the County Surveyor to the West Riding of the County of Cork, to supply the alleged deficiency; and, if so, which of the works in course of construction will be left unfinished?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am happy to be in a position to say that it is not the case that a number of relief works in Cork will be left unfinished as suggested in the question. At the present time 21 such works are in progress, and it is not anticipated that more than one or two will be incompleated when relief operations cease, and they will be completed if, in the opinion of the Govern-

ment, there appears to be necessity for the completion.

DR. TANNER: I am very pleased to hear the right hon. Gentleman's reply; but may I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he has any knowledge of a letter being addressed by the County Surveyor to the Grand Jury of the West Riding, in which it is suggested that no fewer than 13 relief works will be left unfinished?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I know nothing of such a letter; but it is evident that if the County Surveyor has made such representations he has written under a misapprehension.

#### INDEMNITY FOR MILITIA OUTRAGE, CORK.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the cesspayers of the County, or a portion of the County, of Cork have been condemned to pay £1,000 indemnity to Constable Timothy Courtney, who was severely beaten, and unfortunately lost an eye, in a conflict with a number of drunken Militiamen at Whitegate, County Cork, on the 21st ultimo; and whether it is usual for civilians in any locality to be made responsible for outrage or misdemeanour perpetrated by military?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that it is the case that the Constable Courtney mentioned has been awarded by the Grand Jury of the County Cork £1,000 compensation, to be levied off the county at large, in respect of a serious assault committed on him while in discharge of his duty by Militiamen, resulting in the loss of his eye. Such serious assaults by military on the police are, I am glad to say, most unusual. Indeed, so far as the Constabulary Authorities are aware, this is the only instance of such an assault calling for compensation under the Grand Jury Acts.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the cesspayers of a county are responsible at law for damage caused in an assault committed by members of Her Majesty's Military Forces; and especially I would ask whether the cesspayers of Cork are responsible for the alleged violence of Militia brought from another part of the country? These were not members of

the Cork Militia; I believe they came from Limerick.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no ground for doubting that the action of the Grand Jury is legal, but perhaps the hon. Member will be good enough to put his question to my right hon. Friend the Attorney General for Ireland. The matter is altogether outside the jurisdiction of the Executive.

DR. TANNER: Will the right hon. Gentleman say if these were not the Cork Militia?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is very probable that is so. I have no knowledge. The hon. Member for West Belfast says the Militia were from another county, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of that statement.

#### UNWHOLESOME TINNED FISH.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been directed to the poisoning of six persons, resulting in the death of one, in consequence of having eaten tinned salmon; whether it is a fact that many cases of acute gastric irritation and tin poisoning have been reported from time to time consequent upon the consumption of tinned fish and shell fish (lobster); and whether, having regard to the evidence given in the case referred to by Dr. Arthur P. Luff, an expert, before Dr. Danford Thomas, steps will be taken to inquire into the subject for the protection of the public and the safeguarding of legitimate trade?

\*MR. RITCHIE: I have received a copy of the depositions in this case. I understand that the jury found that the deceased died from the effects of an irritant poison in the shape of ptomaines, probably conveyed in tinned salmon eaten by the deceased. Cases of poisoning by shell fish have from time to time been recorded, but cases of poisoning by other fish are rare, and only one instance of poisoning by such other fish, tinned, is known to the Local Government Board. The evidence given by Dr. Luff is to the effect that he did not detect ptomaines in any of the articles sent to him, which included another tin of salmon procured from the same shop. The experience of the Department is that cases of poisoning of this sort are not in any way special to fish or to tinned

provisions. The general subject of poisoning by agents of this class is habitually under observation by the Medical Department of the Local Government Board, and it does not appear to me that any special inquiry as regards the case of tinned fish is necessary.

DR. TANNER: This is an important public question. Am I to understand that the Local Government Board think from inquiries made that there is no danger attaching to the use of this tinned fish?

\*MR. RITCHIE: It is impossible for me to say that. As I have said, only one case of poisoning by such fish is known to the Local Government Board; but obviously it is impossible for me to say there is no danger in the use of such provisions.

DR. TANNER: But seeing that there has been this case with fatal result, can the right hon. Gentleman see his way to directing an inquiry to set doubts at rest?

\*MR. RITCHIE: I can assure the hon. Member that this subject has been repeatedly under inquiry by the Local Government Board, and most careful inquiries are constantly being made.

#### EXAMINATION OF UNREGISTERED WILLS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): On behalf of my hon. Friend the Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. Ellis), I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the reason for withdrawing the concession made to antiquarians, of giving them, free of charge, a search order to examine unregistered wills in district registries; and whether the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury can re-consider their decision, and again grant this privilege to antiquarians and literary men?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): There has been no withdrawal of a concession, but attention has been drawn to the existence of the rule that requires the payment of a fee, which rule has not in all cases been acted upon.

#### THE SALVATION ARMY DISTURBANCES AT EASTBOURNE.

MR. BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye): On behalf of my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the Eastbourne Division *Mr. Ritchie*

(Admiral Field), I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware of the serious disturbances in Eastbourne on Sunday last caused by the Salvationists there acting in defiance of the local Act, which prohibits processions with bands on Sundays; whether he is aware that a considerable number of persons are reported to have been sent from London for the express purpose of assisting them in their determined and wilful violation of the law aforesaid; whether he is aware that nine Salvationists have since Sunday been committed for trial on a charge of "unlawful assembly and conspiracy to infringe the local Act;" whether he has been informed that further serious disturbances are expected on Sunday next, owing to the indignation of the inhabitants of all classes at the serious injury caused to the town, and its interests as a seaside resort, by this unseemly disregard of law; and whether he will so far assist the Local Authorities in maintaining the peace of the town of Eastbourne, comprising over 34,000 inhabitants, as to allow a certain number of detectives from the Metropolitan Police Force to be sent there, with a view to identifying certain prominent parties expected from London—prizefighters and others—in order the more readily to indict them on a charge of "conspiracy to break the law;" and, finally, will he advise generally as to the best course to be pursued by the Mayor and the Magistrates generally in maintaining law and order, whether by the swearing in of special constables or otherwise?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have been informed that, although there seemed at one time a probability of considerable disturbance at Eastbourne last Sunday, the timely action of the authorities was successful in preventing any serious breach of the peace. I am also informed that excursionists have arrived by train to join in the processions at Eastbourne. Eight of the nine persons committed since last Sunday appear to have come from London. The Watch Committee apprehend further disturbance on Sunday next. The Local Authorities have so far been able, although with some difficulty,\* to prevent serious disorders at Eastbourne; and I do not think any such emergency has arisen as to call for the intervention of the Metropolitan

Police. That Force is not too large for the needs of the Metropolis. It is not intended to supply the deficiencies of county or borough forces, and should not be used for that purpose unless where very special circumstances have arisen. The Mayor and the Magistrates are entitled to swear in special constables, and should not hesitate to do so, if riot or tumult is apprehended, or if their local force, assisted by the police of the county and neighbouring boroughs, is insufficient to maintain order.

**MR. BROOKFIELD:** Has the right hon. Gentleman any objection to say whether he has received an official representation from the Mayor on the subject of the dangers apprehended next Sunday, and, if so, what reply has been sent?

**MR. MATTHEWS:** I have received such a representation, and an application for the loan of Metropolitan Police, and in the answer I have just given I have stated generally the purport of my reply.

#### THE CHIEF RESIDENCY MAGISTRATE AT BOMBAY.

**MR. D. CRAWFORD:** I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State is aware that Mr. Slater, a junior barrister, has been appointed by the Bombay Government to act as Chief Residency Magistrate at Bombay; and whether Mr. Slater is duly qualified, according to the regulations, to hold this appointment?

**SIR J. GORST:** The Secretary of State has received no official information of Mr. Slater's appointment; but, if appointed, he would be duly qualified, being a barrister of upwards of nine years' standing, and an advocate for some years in the High Court of Bombay.

#### POLICE RETURNS.

**MR. LAWRENCE** (Liverpool, Abercromby): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, for the purpose of facilitating comparison between the three countries as to drunkenness, licensing, and criminality in general, he will advise with the Scotch and Irish Departments so that the Annual Police Returns issued by his own and the Scotch and Irish Departments may, in future, be based

on the same principle so far as legislation in each country may permit of?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT** (Mr. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): My hon. Friend's object is undoubtedly desirable, but the matter is somewhat complicated, and I will give it careful attention, with a view to ascertain what can be done towards obtaining an approximate comparison.

#### NORTH WEST INDIAN FRONTIER EXPENDITURE.

**MR. BRYCE** (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India a question, of which I have given him private notice, if he can now state whether the India Office will grant the return on the Paper relating to expenditure incurred since 1882 beyond the north-west frontier of India; or what information on the subject can be supplied, if not in the precise form suggested by the Return, then in some other form calculated to bring out the salient facts of the case.

**SIR J. GORST:** The Secretary of State is not in possession of information which would enable him to give the Return asked for, nor can he say without communication with the Government of India how far it is possible to procure the information desired, but he will during the recess see what information can be obtained from India, and if the hon. Member will move next Session, all details compatible with the public interest shall be given.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

**MR. S. SMITH** (Flintshire): Will the right hon. Gentleman say what business is to be taken on Monday?

**MR. GOSCHEN:** Supply.

**MR. HUNTER** (Aberdeen, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman say when the Vote for £110,000 for the Grant to Scotland will be taken?

**MR. GOSCHEN:** The suggestion was made, and I thought it was generally accepted, that the Vote should be taken after Class IV., directly after the Education Votes are taken.

**MR. SEXTON:** Will the right hon. Gentleman say when the Government propose to go forward with the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill? There has been much shillyshallying with this Bill, and



I think the time has come when the Government should say definitely when it will be submitted to the House and a decision taken upon it.

MR. GOSCHEN: I really think the hon. Member is very exigent. There are several Bills on the Paper, including one of my own—the Coinage Bill—as to which it may be said the Government are shillyshallying for exactly the same reason—that we cannot say when they will be taken. I am sure my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland is most anxious to pass the Bill, and there is absolutely no doubt that it will pass; but we cannot make special arrangements for that Bill at present, looking to the other business of the House.

DR. TANNER: Night after night, when the Bill has been reached, it has been postponed without apparent reason. I hope some definite arrangement will be made.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My right hon. Friend is not aware of all the circumstances in relation to the Bill. I very greatly regret the delay should have occurred. I sincerely trust the Bill will be passed. No effort will be spared to reduce the controversy that has arisen to the narrowest possible limits. It is quite clear now that it is hopeless to expect to get the Bill through after 12 o'clock; we shall therefore make arrangements by which the Bill may be taken at a time to allow hon. Members to express their views and take a Division.

MR. SEXTON: Precisely; but we want to know when that will be.

MR. CRAWFORD: May I ask the Lord Advocate when the Report of the Scotch Education Department will be in the hands of Members, and will the Vote for Scotland be taken before we have the Report?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): The Report has been in the hands of the printers for some time, and, I hope, will shortly be ready. I am not responsible for the time when the Vote will be taken.

#### THE BEHRINGS' SEA SEAL FISHERIES.

MR. BRYCE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state what progress has

*Mr. Sexton*

been made with the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States regarding the proposed arbitration on the Behrings' Sea Seal Fisheries?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.): The negotiations are not yet concluded, but there is every reason to hope that a satisfactory arrangement between the two Governments will be arrived at very shortly.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1891-2.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee).

#### CLASS III.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £256,681, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund."

(7.55.) MR. MORTON (Peterborough): There are one or two items under sub-head A upon which I desire information. First, I would like to know the meaning of the entry "Clerk of the Chamber, who acts as sealer," £400. Then I find Preacher at the Rolls Chapel, £180, and allowance for expenses, £45. I thought the Rolls Chapel was closed. It serves no purpose, for there is scarcely a congregation, and the few persons who attend may find a place of worship very close by. But I wait to hear what is to be said as to these two items, and meantime I formally move a reduction of the Vote by £100, part of the salary of "the Clerk of the Chamber, who acts as sealer."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Clerk of the Chamber."—(*Mr. Morton.*)

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.): We ought to get some information on these matters. It is known to the public, and recognised by the House of Commons,

that the salaries in this Vote are too high, and altogether in excess of work done. At the present day in these, I am glad to say, democratic times, the people want to know how it comes to pass that vast sums of money are voted year after year without explanation, except that these people have received appointments from officials in power. It is only reasonable that we should know why we vote the money. I also desire some information as to the duties of the Permanent Secretary and the Sergeant-at-Arms—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now entering upon other items. A reduction has been moved in reference to the salary of the Clerk of the Chamber. Other items may be referred to subsequently, but this must first be disposed of.

DR. TANNER: The item I was about to refer to comes first.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no matter, they both come under Sub-head A.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I will answer the hon. Member's second question first. The hon. Member asks about the salary of the Preacher at the Rolls Chapel—

MR. MORTON: I rise to order. My Motion has reference to the Clerk of the Chamber.

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Member will perhaps allow me to answer his question in my own way.

DR. TANNER: I was ruled out of order.

MR. JACKSON: I understood the hon. Member for Peterborough to say that he waited for an answer to his two questions. However, in regard to the other officer, I have only to say that the question has been put and answered a great many times, and I do not know that I can give the hon. Member any special details about the duties of the office. It is an office necessary for the establishment; it is filled by a good officer, who is certainly entitled to his salary.

(8.0.) MR. MORTON: I shall go to a Division, because I believe this is a waste of money.

DR. TANNER: I should like to know what are the duties of the Clerk of the Chamber who acts as "Sealer." It seems to me that anyone could go about with a lump of sealing-wax—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

DR. TANNER: Well, he gets £400 a year, and we want to know what he gets it for. We must remember that this is not our own money, but that of the British taxpayer.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I shall vote for this reduction for the reason that I think this is one of a considerable number of appointments in connection with the Supreme Court of Judicature that are unnecessary, and as to which men are paid large salaries for merely nominal work. As an illustration of what I mean I would refer to the post of Sergeant-at-Arms. Only a few weeks ago Mr. Justice Chitty being called on to commit some one for an offence, inquired whether this officer any longer existed, for he had not heard of him for many years. A formal inquiry had to be addressed to the Lord Chancellor to find out whether such an officer still existed. Subsequently, Mr. Justice Chitty, in open Court, stated as an interesting fact that there was such an official. This Vote is different from the rest of the Civil Service Estimates. It is the result of a long system of personal patronage in the hands of the Judges. No doubt the system has been considerably pruned and reduced of late years, but I cannot help thinking it will bear still further pruning. And I would point out that if we can economise on this Vote by doing away with unnecessary offices, we shall probably be able to find money for an additional Judge who, in the opinion of many persons, is very urgently required to prevent accumulation of arrears in the Courts. For this reason I will join in the Motion to reduce the Vote by the salary of the office of Clerk of the Chamber. If the Motion were carried I do not suppose that the gentleman who occupies this particular office would suffer. I suppose he would still be employed in doing some sort of work.

(8.5.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 38; Noes 60.—(Div. List, No. 376.)

Original Question again proposed.

(8.13.) DR. TANNER: I see that there is a personal allowance to the Sergeant-at-Arms of £96 a year. There is no reason why this should be given, as the gentleman who occupies this post also receives a sum of £300 under the

Vote as Clerk of the Crown. We have had many Divisions on this particular portion of the Estimates. Again and again in this House the hon. Member for Northampton has called attention to the swollen and plethoric state of these Estimates, and, accordingly, we have had this reduction moved from time to time. For my own part I fail to see why there should be a personal allowance to any Sergeant-at-Arms. I move to reduce the Vote by this £96, and would ask for a reasonable explanation of the item. If such explanation is not vouchsafed, I shall deem it to be my duty to put the House to the trouble of a Division not merely on this but on many Votes.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £96, personal allowance to present Sergeant-at-Arms."—(*Dr. Tanner.*)

(8.17.) MR. JACKSON: I hope that it will be satisfactory to the hon. Member if I inform him that this item of charge will come to an end when the next vacancy in the office in question occurs. The officer who holds the post now has held it for some time.

DR. TANNER: I always like to have a reason. It seems that the Government regard this as an extraordinary Vote, and the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman shows that I was justified in moving the reduction—because if the item were a rational one, it would not expire on the retirement of the present holder of the office. I will take what the right hon. Gentleman has said as an answer, and will not divide the Committee.

MR. MORTON: I am not particular about going to a Division on this Vote now that we have heard the right hon. Gentleman's explanation, but I must say it is an outrageous Vote. The gentleman who gets this £96 receives a salary of £1,500.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

(8.20.) DR. CLARK (Caithness: I wish to draw attention to the fact that the Lord Chancellor's Private Secretary is paid £200 a year for doing the work of the Secretary of Presentations, which office has been abolished.

*Dr. Tanner*

MR. JACKSON: There is no charge under the Vote for that.

DR. CLARK: I am only asking a question. You are giving an extra salary of £200 a year by this Vote to the Private Secretary of the Lord Chancellor. Ordinary Secretaries get £500, but the Private Secretary to the Lord Chancellor receives £200 in addition to £500.

MR. JACKSON: We are effecting a saving.

DR. CLARK: The Clerk of the Crown ought to do the work. He has an office with clerks, and it seems to me that when you are making a change, instead of handing over this £200 a year to a Private Secretary, we should have handed it over to a permanent secretary.

MR. JACKSON: We save £500 a year.

DR. CLARK: No; you save £300, because you give £200 extra to the Lord Chancellor's secretary.

MR. JACKSON: I beg the hon. Member's pardon. He is quite right. This official has to deal with the question of the livings that are in the gift of the Lord Chancellor. Speaking from my own knowledge, I can say that I know of no officials who are more hardily worked and who do their work more ably than this official. We certainly thought we were making an effective economical arrangement that would be best for the interests of the public. I think we should permit the Lord Chancellor to know something about the management of his own Department.

DR. CLARK: I am astonished at the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. This is an office that we agreed should be abolished altogether, and now that you have abolished it you are handing over the work to a Private Secretary. I am rather sceptical as to the information the right hon. Gentleman has received in regard to the amount of work that has to be done. However, the present Lord Chancellor may not be long in office, and it is very probable that the noble Lord who follows him will make a change.

(8.24.) MR. MORTON: I do not think we have received a satisfactory explanation of this matter. We ought to be told distinctly what this Gentleman does for this £200. This is one of

those extravagant sums that one is bound to protest against. I am sorry, especially at this time of the year, to be obliged to detain the Committee, but the only way to get reforms is to let the Government see—whatever Government may be in office—that we object to these payments. The only way in which we can protest is by moving a reduction of the Vote. I, therefore, move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £200 a year.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £200, part of the Salary of the Private Secretary to the Lord Chancellor."—*(Mr. Morton.)*

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): This item affords a good illustration of the way in which work is done in these Departments. We find that the time of a man who gets £300 a year is so little taken up with the duties of his office that he can take upon himself the duties of another office for another £200 a year. This shows that formerly we had two men doing the work that ought to have been done by one. There is a Clerk of the Chamber, and I have no doubt if we went to the secretary to the Lord Chancellor and offered him the duties of that post for another £200 a year, he would accept them. I have not the least doubt that all round in these offices one man could do the work now done by three or four people.

(8.28.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 38; Noes 60.—(Div. List, No. 377.)

Original Question again proposed. (8.38.)

(9.10.) Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. MORTON: I have to move a reduction of the Vote in respect to the Preacher at the Rolls Chapel, whose salary and allowances amount to £225. I understood the Rolls Chapel was to be closed, and whether it is closed or not I do not know; but I do know from my own knowledge that the chapel is not required and that this money is wasted. Not far off is the Church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and recently the church of the neighbouring parish was

pulled down as not being required. I have visited St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and I know there are many vacant seats there, certainly quite sufficient accommodation for the congregation attending the Rolls Chapel—

MR. JACKSON: I am sure the hon. Gentleman will be glad to be reminded that this Session we passed an Act for the purpose of enabling us to abolish the office, and to get rid of the salary and expenses on the next vacancy.

MR. MORTON: I am very much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for the information, and that is a proof confirming what I say that this is an unnecessary expenditure. I do not wish to deprive the preacher of his salary, let him be transferred elsewhere, say to the East End of London; set him to work with this salary and I will offer no opposition. It is an unnecessary sum we are asked to vote. Can the Attorney General show us any reason why we should pass this Vote? The Financial Secretary is as such one of the most intelligent and best informed Gentlemen on the Government Bench, but upon this subject I suppose he knows nothing and has never been to this chapel—

MR. JACKSON: I beg pardon, I have been there and know all about it.

MR. MORTON: I am glad to hear it, but still I should like to know from the Attorney General why the office is kept up for the present year. It is, in my opinion, an absolutely useless expenditure. I do not want to bandy words across the floor, it will make no difference to my mind; and as a public man I object to public money being paid away for nothing. I move to reduce the Vote by £225.

Motion made, and Question, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £225, Salary and Expenses of the Preacher at the Rolls Chapel."—*(Mr. Morton.)*

DR. CLARK: I hope my hon. Friend will not press this. Surely he cannot have a more satisfactory answer than he has received; an Act has been passed to give the Government a free hand and they intend to abolish the office. It surely will be wasting time to take a Division.

DR. TANNER: I have been to the church in question, and I know that it is attended by a very thin con-

gregation, and this is comparatively a large sum of money to vote for this purpose. I have opposed the Vote in former years, but now that we see our efforts have not been ineffectual, and that the Government have at last seen their error and intend to reduce this expenditure, I think my hon. Friend may rest satisfied. I hope the Government will deal with many other indefensible items of expenditure in the same way.

MR. MORTON: I should like to hear the explanation the Attorney General rose to make just now. After all, we do not know what is going to be done; an Act has been passed to enable something to be done, but we do not know that the Vote will not appear again next year.

Question put, and negatived.

Original question again proposed.

(9.15.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: I would ask the attention of the Financial Secretary to the particulars given in reference to the clerical staff in some of these Departments. Reductions, we are informed, are to be made as vacancies occur. Among the officers of the Lords Justices of Appeal here is a principal clerk, receiving a salary of £600, and this appointment is to be filled on the next vacancy with an officer at the reduced salary of £400, an admission that a third of the salary hitherto paid is unnecessary. Then a junior, at £200, is to be abolished on the next vacancy arising. Then, further on, I find the present salary of the official solicitor to the Supreme Court is to be reduced when the vacancy arises, and in the central office of the Supreme Court the office of Clerk of Enrolments is to be abolished at the next vacancy.

MR. JACKSON: That vacancy has occurred.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: I am dealing with the items as they appear on the Estimate. Then the additional salary to a Master of the Supreme Court, who acts as Registrar of acknowledgments by married women, is to cease with the next vacancy in the office. Then the 14 first class clerks in the central office of the Supreme Court are to be ultimately reduced to 10, and 35 second class clerks are to be reduced to 28. It is true that the third class clerks will be increased from 25 to 35, but on the

*Dr. Tanner*

whole there is a very substantial reduction in numbers and in the amount of salaries to be charged. If that is the case, what is the justification for spending this money for salaries which you admit are not warranted? You admit that some 12 or 15 officials are not necessary, what, then, is the justification for keeping these gentlemen in their office? The history of the office of the Supreme Court is a curious one; half-a-dozen men can go on permanent leave for two years drawing full pay and doing absolutely no work. I admit this Estimate shows that the Government have been overhauling these Departments to a certain extent, but what I complain of, and there is good ground for the complaint, is that having found that many of the offices are overpaid considerably, and many of the offices not wanted at all, you still continue to keep them on the Estimate for the Department, practically wasting the public money. Then, what is the condition of the Departments themselves? There is an amount of arrears affecting litigants which is little short of scandalous. In the business of taxation of costs the condition is such that nobody who knows anything about it can justify. You have seven taxing masters, but such is the state of taxation, especially during the long vacation, that solicitors have to wait months when they have passed July. The Attorney General knows that perfectly well. Now, seeing there is so much money unnecessarily expended, seeing that it is admitted there are more officers than are required in some Departments, surely it is reasonable to suggest that prompt measures should be taken to utilise the means that are available to enable suitors to get their business despatched with a little more celerity. If you have officers not at present employed, why not transfer them to other Departments? Shall I be told that once a man enters the Civil Service in one Department he must be looked upon as perfectly useless for any other Department for the rest of his life, unless he happens to be a private secretary, and then he can be transferred to a good post at the top of the Customs or the Excise, without experience or qualification for the post? Cannot the men in the subordinate position of junior clerks be transferred to Depart-

ments where there is work for them? Additions are made to the various grades of the Civil Service day after day, and with each appointment you increase the amount of vested interest. Why not transfer the redundant clerks from one Department to another as vacancies occur; why go on making fresh appointments of men who will qualify for pensions and, perhaps, in turn become redundant? The whole of this Vote is open to observations of this kind, and I would ask the Secretary to the Treasury, or the Attorney General if it lies within his province, to give us some explanation why it is that admittedly excessive charges are still allowed to be presented under this Vote?

(9.23.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I do not demur to the criticisms of the hon. and learned Member, which are based on sound principles, but if he thinks those principles have not been regarded and to a large extent adopted by the Government in relation to these matters, I can assure him he is mistaken. If the hon. and learned Member will compare the Estimates of two or three years ago with the present Estimates, he will find there have been large reductions in the number of clerks and in the public expenditure, and these reductions have been carried out with caution and foresight. Following suggestions made in Debate, a Committee was a short time ago appointed to consider these matters, and this Committee made certain recommendations as to the way in which and the time at which changes in the Central Office should be brought about, and changes in the staff and arrangements have been made in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee. If there had been an attempt to affect changes by wholesale reductions or transfers, we should at once have had complaints of inefficiency in the services. I quite agree with the hon. and learned Member that it is possible and desirable that clerks should be transferred from one Department to another Department where assistance is required, but such a transfer can only be made gradually. I heartily sympathise with the hon. and learned Member in his remarks on the delay in the Taxation Department; there are many complaints, and I know they are well founded, but the hon. Member must allow that this is a class

of work to which we cannot appoint inexperienced clerks, and he knows there have been complaints of inequality in taxation, and this inequality has arisen from inexperience. I hope there will be a greater amalgamation of Taxing Masters' Offices, with a saving of time and equalisation of work. This is a matter which has been considered by the Committee, and it has not been lost sight of by the Government. As to the transfer of clerks from one Department to another, there are, of course, always technical difficulties in the way, and I may mention that a large number of the redundancies and future reductions to which the hon. Member has called attention are personal appointments of the Judges, simply a matter of reduction, the officers not being available for other kind of work. It is a matter that is not lost sight of, but we must take care not to transfer men to do work that requires training and experience. What the hon. Member has said deserves and has received attention, but the matter has to be watched with reference to tabulated scales of payment, and I think anyone who has followed the changes made in the central offices during the last four or five years must admit, and it has been admitted by hon. Members who have previously attacked the administration in regard to these matters, that by economy of labour there has been a saving of expenditure without loss of efficiency in the work. Indeed, I am not sure that in a few years we may not find we have reduced the staff a little too much. I can assure the hon. Member that the object he has in view is by no means lost sight of.

\*(9.28.) MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I fully agree with the hon. and learned Member for Donegal as to the desirability of employing the redundant clerks in one Department to assist in the work of another Department.

MR. JACKSON: We have no power to do that in cases where the appointment is that of personal clerk to the Judges. Those are the appointments to which reference has been made, and they are to be abolished on the next vacancy.

\*MR. T. H. BOLTON: Surely clerks may be transferred from offices where there is not sufficient work for the staff

to other Departments where there is work for them to do. If the Government have not that simple power of transfer, the sooner they come to Parliament and obtain that power the better for the public service. I do not for a moment suggest that the Government are not endeavouring to carry out, as far as they can, what they clearly appreciate as the wish of Parliament in this matter; but they seem to me to be disposed rather too much to recognise the claims of vested interest of clerks in the particular offices they hold and the discharge of the particular duties they now perform. Many of these gentlemen have legal knowledge and legal training which might be availed of in the Inland Revenue Department of Somerset House to the assistance of officials there. If they were transferred from one Department to another when there was a press of work, they could not reasonably object, and the public service would be benefited. As to the Taxing Office, there are occasional delays, but I am bound to say, from long experience of the office, that generally there is reasonable expedition.

(9.31.) MR. MORTON: It appears to me that the transference of clerks from one office to another might be very easily accomplished. I shall be told that one gentleman cannot do another's work. On page 209 I find provision for third-class clerks. Two of these officers receive fixed salaries of £300, and one receives £260. One of these receives 4s. 8d. per diem as a retired Naval Lieutenant. If a sailor can do a lawyer's work, surely there would be no difficulty in transferring a gentleman from the Chancery Division to the Queen's Bench Division. The other night we were told a sailor was the best man we could have as a Veterinary Inspector. I suppose that now we shall be told that a sailor is the best man we can have to do legal work. Now, I want information as to the Clerk of Enrolments—

MR. JACKSON: I have already stated that the office was abolished on the death of the last holder.

MR. MORTON: That is exactly the answer I got to the question I put on the subject, and, therefore, I want to know what business the item has in the account at all? Lord Romilly died some months ago, and therefore—

*Mr. T. H. Bolton*

THE CHAIRMAN: I have laid it down more than once that hon. Gentlemen who propose to discuss the Estimates are bound to bring some intelligence and knowledge of the subject to their consideration. The hon. Member ought to be well aware that the Estimates were prepared months before Lord Romilly's death. The salary will, of course, not be paid subsequent to Lord Romilly's death.

MR. MORTON: I should have thought the Secretary to the Treasury would have at once suggested that the item be struck out. There is an unfortunate practice of making use of money voted under one head to supply a deficiency under another head. I do not desire to detain the Committee unnecessarily; but with the view of settling this question and getting the principal part of this item removed from the Vote, I beg to move—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is trifling with the Committee. The salary will only be paid up to the death of Lord Romilly. The surplus cannot be paid to anyone else or used for any purpose that is not shown on the Estimates.

MR. MORTON: Would it not be a proper thing to remove the amount at once?

MR. A. O'CONNOR: On a point of order, may I remind the Committee that on a previous occasion it was ascertained that, instead of there being four Official Referees, there were, in fact, only three. The Government submitted to a reduction of the Estimate by £1,500 on the ground that that sum was admittedly not required. Therefore, I ask you, Sir, whether it is not open to any Member of the Committee, on finding that an office has been abolished on the death of the holder, to move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of the salary formerly paid?

THE CHAIRMAN: Undoubtedly it is open to any Member to move a reduction of the Vote, but I have expressed the opinion that in this instance it would be trifling with the Committee to do so, inasmuch as this money cannot be paid.

MR. MORTON: Under the circumstances, I will not press the matter to a Division.

(9.44.) DR. TANNER: I should like to hear from the Secretary to the Treas-

sure whether any steps have been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Comptroller and Auditor General in reference to the Registrar's Office of the Chancery Division. The Comptroller and Auditor General condemned the system of farming out the copying in this office. He considered the system of payment open to serious objection.

MR. JACKSON: That does not come under this sub-head at all, but under Sub-head F, page 220.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I notice a small item for refreshment contractor. Is this for the contractor who supplies refreshments at the Royal Courts of Justice, and, if not, will the right hon. Gentleman say what are the arrangements for supplying refreshments at the Courts?

MR. JACKSON: I imagine that the sum is for the contractor who supplies refreshments at the office merely.

MR. COBB: I cannot see anything in the Vote to show what the contract is, or how refreshments are supplied. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will afford us some information on the point?

\*MR. R. WEBSTER: No subsidy is given to the contractor, who is the cook at Lincoln's Inn.

MR. COBB: I suppose that if there is no subsidy the Treasury will have some control over the terms of the contract?

MR. JACKSON: No.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I wish to tender my thanks to the Attorney General for the handsome way in which he has recognised the efforts of the Opposition to reduce the Estimates. At Wisbech I stated that, although we were in a minority, yet, by our pertinacity with regard to the Estimates, we had forced the Government to make considerable reductions, and to waste a little less money than is ordinarily the case with Governments. I wish to thank the hon. Gentleman for having confirmed what I said at Wisbech in this handsome manner.

DR. TANNER: I want some assurance as to the expenditure on the Central Office of the Supreme Court. How does it come to pass that there is an increase of £422?

(9.50.) THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): We have now been on this Vote since 8 o'clock, and have not yet reached the only notice of reduction, namely, that in the name of the hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill). I think the time has arrived when I may appeal to hon. Members to let us make real progress with the Vote. If so much time is to be devoted to every sub-head in the Estimates as is being devoted to the sub-heads of this Vote, it is impossible to close the Session in a reasonable time. I make no reproach; but I would appeal to hon. Gentlemen in the interest of the Committee generally to allow us to make Progress.

DR. TANNER: I understand from the Papers that very few hon. Members will be present next week, and, therefore, I think I am justified in raising these points when there is a comparatively good attendance of Members. I assure the right hon. Gentleman the points I have raised are points that were raised in the Public Accounts Committee.

MR. GOSCHEN: On his own showing, the hon. Gentleman is keeping other hon. Members from the opportunity of raising important questions in which they are interested. I beg of him to give way and let other hon. Members have a chance.

DR. TANNER: I will answer the right hon. Gentleman in the words of the First Lord of the Treasury: Duty to the country should be the first and paramount factor in dealing with all matters in Committee of Supply. I am trying to do my duty, and I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to assist me: our united efforts may have results beneficial to the taxpayers.

MR. MORTON: I suppose that some answer will be given on the points which have been raised. I notice that one Taxing Master gets a salary of £2,000. Why does that gentleman get £500 more than the specified maximum? I should be glad to fall in with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's view, but I agree with my hon. Friend (Dr. Tanner) that we are here to do a certain duty:



we are pledged to economy, and it is our business to get these Estimates reduced.

DR. TANNER: In respect of the Central Office of the Supreme Court, I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of the increase, £422.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Sub-head A, be reduced by £422, in respect of the Central Office of the High Court of Judicature." — (*Dr. Tanner.*)

SIR R. WEBSTER: The reason why one of the Taxing Masters receives £2,000 a year is that he held his office before the new rule under which the salaries were reduced came into force.

MR. MORTON: Will the salary be reduced on a vacancy occurring?

SIR R. WEBSTER: Certainly.

Question put, and negatived.

Original Question again proposed.

(9.57.) MR. S. T. EVANS (Glamorgan, Mid): I should like to draw attention to the method of appointing Clerks of Assize. At present, the Judge who happens to go the circuit before a vacancy occurs has the appointment absolutely in his own discretion. The Judge may have a son, or a brother, or a brother-in-law, or some other relative at the Bar whom he appoints. There is no circuit where you could not select from the barristers a fit person to be Clerk of Assize. I think it is very hard on them that some man should be appointed who, perhaps, never had any practice as a barrister. I should be glad if the Attorney General would explain the system of payment.

SIR R. WEBSTER: Speaking from a knowledge of these appointments extending over 25 years, with one exception all the gentlemen appointed have been practising barristers. I do not say there have not been instances in which Judges have appointed relatives of their own, but I am not aware of any instance in which the duties have been inefficiently performed. Clerks of Assize used to be paid by fees, and the fees amounted to larger sums than the salaries now paid; that is why there is a difference in the salaries. On the Northern Circuit, where the fees amounted to a very large sum, a higher salary was paid than in other cases.

*Mr. Morton*

MR. S. T. EVANS: I presume that with the exception of the Northern Circuit the salaries in future will not exceed £800.

SIR R. WEBSTER: Certainly.

(10.2.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I put down a notice of reduction of Sub-head F, but I believe it will not be necessary to move the reduction, or indeed to detain the Committee more than a minute or two, as the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury has very courteously informed me he will be able to give a favourable reply in regard to the particular mischief against which my Amendment is directed. But I do desire to point to the very gross delay which has occurred in dealing with an exceedingly lax disposition of public money. In this Vote there is an item of £3,000 for the Scrivener of the Chancery Registrar's Office. Year after year £3,000 has been shovelled out to the officer of that Department, and no kind of account rendered by him as to the way he has disposed of it. We do not know how much is retained by this gentleman—I do not say corruptly—for his own remuneration, and how much actually reaches the hands of the very poor class of law writers, who probably do a good deal of the work for which this money is voted. I rely upon the statement which the right hon. Gentleman has made that the system will be altered, but I think I am justified in calling attention to the extraordinary delay which has occurred in dealing with what is now admitted to be a great mischief. In 1884 the Comptroller and Auditor General and the Treasury called attention to this matter, and in January, 1890, a Committee reported to the Lord Chancellor. That distinguished functionary knew in January, 1890, of this scandalously lax disposition of public money, and yet it appears that more than a year afterwards, namely, in February, 1891, the same lax system was continued. I think some explanation should be given by the right hon. Gentleman of that delay, especially as it seems to reflect somewhat on the care with which the Lord Chancellor discharges his duty.

DR. TANNER: I think it is high time we received an assurance that

the system to which my hon. Friend has drawn the attention of the Committee will be changed.

(10.10.) MR. JACKSON: It is a fact that a Committee was appointed, and that this Committee reported to the effect stated by the hon. Member for Bethnal Green. Arrangements have been made by which the present system of having the work done by law stationers will be discontinued, and 40 copyists will be employed. Some preliminary matters are now under consideration, but the Lord Chancellor sanctioned the alteration in April last. It has been necessary to give notice to the law stationers of the termination of the present arrangement, and I understand the new system will come into operation after the Long Vacation.

DR. TANNER: Another item calls for mention under Sub-head (G), the allowance to a Master in Lunacy £500, and allowances to Visitors of Lunatics £1,400. These are altogether on an extravagant scale, and two years ago the matter was under consideration. Really it is so difficult to get these reforms carried out that we must incur the risk of being a little tedious in Committee. I wish to ask if any steps have been taken to give effect to the opinion expressed by the Parliamentary Accounts Committee?

MR. JACKSON: I believe the matter has been considered.

DR. TANNER: And the result?

MR. JACKSON: I really do not know.

DR. TANNER: But are we to get no assurance on this matter? It is rather an extraordinary state of affairs. I do not wish to be troublesome, but I must press for something more satisfactory, and perhaps I had better move a reduction. I regret to find that the right hon. Gentleman, departing from the courtesy with which he usually replies, will give us no assurance that the recommendations of the Committee will be carried out.

MR. JACKSON: I should have thought it would not have been necessary to give any assurance of the kind. I thought it was well known that the recommendations of the Committee have been taken in detail by the Treasury and dealt with, each item in order. I

should have thought no assurance was necessary.

DR. TANNER: But I wish to avoid delay. The last item was under consideration for seven or eight years, and meanwhile waste of expenditure goes on annually.

MR. MORTON: I observe an item under Sub-head H, £47 for a licence for the refreshment contractor at the Law Courts. A short time ago we discussed the question of having a refreshment bar in the Lobby of this House, and whether a licence was necessary in a Royal Palace. May I ask what this new item means? Has it been found necessary to apply to the Magistrate for a refreshment licence?

MR. JACKSON: I believe it has been necessary to get a licence, and this is the cost of it.

MR. MORTON: Then the Magistrates have licensed the Royal Courts of Justice as if the building were an ordinary restaurant in the Strand.

(10.15.) DR. TANNER: I hope satisfactory measures have been taken to prevent those defalcations which in recent years we have had to provide for, and which last year amounted to £1,287 16s. 6d. There is also an item under Sub-head K, Central Office compensations, for which £325 is the amount asked for this year, as against £265 last year. In order to get some satisfactory explanation and assurance, I move the reduction of the Vote by £200.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item R Central Office Compensations, be reduced by £200."—(Dr. Tanner.)

MR. MORTON: Surely some explanation is forthcoming?

MR. JACKSON: The explanation is simply this: There have been reductions in the higher appointments and an increase in the lower appointments.

DR. TANNER: This generalisation is far from being satisfactory. I feel indignant at the attempt to shuffle out of responsibility by the Treasury, and I must persist in my Motion.

(10.18.) The Committee divided: — Ayes 41; Noes 91. — (Div. List, No. 378.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,068, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Land Registry."

(10.25.) MR. MORTON: Here there are two items upon which I ask for a little information. A temporary professional assistant is engaged at 40 guineas a month, and his temporary employment seems to come near a permanent engagement, for he is employed for every month in the year. This I do not quite understand. Then, I find a clerk is in receipt of a salary of £350, while the maximum of the office he holds is set down at £250. The amount now paid is personal to the present holder of the office, but there are far too many of these personal claims; they are unfair to the taxpayers and to the Committee, and it is an absurdity that a maximum should be fixed, and yet officers be in receipt of salaries far in excess of the maximum amount attached to the offices they hold. To get information on these points I move the reduction of the Vote by £200. I am told there is little work for the office to do, yet there is temporary assistance paid for.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £200."—(Mr. Morton.)

DR. TANNER: I may point out that this Vote shows a steady annual increase. It is £3,568 as compared with £3,553 last year, and turning to the previous year I find the amount was £3,375. How does this come to pass?

SIR R. WEBSTER: The hon. Member is under some misapprehension. Not only is this Vote not increasing, but large reductions have been made in it. During recent years considerable modifications have taken place in the office, so that, whereas between 1880 and 1886 the expense was as much as an average of £5,500, it has, under the re-organisation scheme carried out by the present Lord Chancellor, been reduced to about £3,000 during the last

two years. The increase of £15 on the present year is due to the fact that one clerk has become entitled to that increment on his salary. Of the clerks on the staff, one receives a maximum of £250, and the other a maximum of £400; but there is now holding the office worth £250 a clerk who under a higher scale is entitled to £350, and this item cannot be reduced until a vacancy occurs. As to the temporary assistance, it was necessary in consequence of large reductions made in the staff, and to enable the particular work for which professional assistance was engaged to be completed, the temporary assistance has been continued for 12 months.

(10.30.) MR. HALDANE (Haddington): I am unable to agree that this is a useless office. I regard it as the nucleus of a reformed land transfer system. I only want to know whether steps are being taken to bring the officials of this office and the Middlesex Registry under the same roof, and what progress is being made?

SIR R. WEBSTER: Not only are these steps being taken, but arrangements are being made to carry out the work of both offices by the same staff. We have brought in a Bill this Session to enable economies to be brought about by transferring the fees to the Treasury. I can assure the hon. Gentleman that the Lord Chancellor is doing all he can to promote the efficiency of the staff. I do not think it will be too large for the work which has to be done.

MR. MORTON: These charges having gone down for some years I notice are now going up. I hope they will not go up much further. I agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman on my right who spoke about land registration. I have taken a great interest in that question, because in the colonies I have seen it carried out to perfection. I should like to see the colonial system adopted in this country, so that you could have your property transferred for a small fee. I do not think that would suit many hon. and learned Gentlemen, but it would be to the advantage of the public. After the statement we have heard from the

Attorney General, I beg to withdraw the Amendment.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

3. £391,100, to complete the sum for County Courts.

\*(10.34.) SIR W. PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.): I wish to draw the attention of the Committee and of the hon. and learned Gentleman in charge of the Vote to the condition of the County Courts of England and Wales, so far as it is disclosed by the Annual Returns sent to us, the last of which was issued about 10 days ago. That Return is not altogether complete, because it does not give information on some points which are really of value, and on which I think information should be given. For instance, it does not tell us the average duration of the cases, nor does it give us the dates of the cases. But, though not absolutely complete, it gives us a large amount of information, and I am bound to say that that information does not lead us to a very happy conclusion. When the Act of 1846, which re-constituted the County Courts, was passed, there was a statement inserted in one of the sections which showed that one of the main reasons for re-construction was the dilatory and expensive character of the working of the Courts in former days. Of course, in the 45 years that have elapsed there must necessarily have been a great improvement in this matter, but still there is room for further improvement, and it is my duty to impress on the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General the desirability of enforcing that improvement. The Return recently laid on the Table brings out several points very conspicuously. One is the expensive character of these Courts; another is the small number of days in the year that they sit; and another which must be taken into consideration in connection with the second point is that there

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is a very large amount of arrears. The Return is conclusive on these points. Turning first of all to the expensive character of the Courts, I find on looking at the Return that out of somewhat less than £3,000,000 claimed somewhere about £1,500,000 has been decreed, and to obtain this sum no less than £543,000 had to be spent; that is to say, roughly speaking, for every £3 recovered £1 has to be spent by the suitors in fees. I do not press the point for I am afraid that the whole of our litigation is of an expensive character. But this is a matter which should be taken account of. But as to the other two points I would press them as strongly as I can on the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman. One would think that it would be a fair allowance to make to these Courts to give them a vacation of a couple of months, and I am justified in that conclusion by the fact that in the legislation of, I think, 1888, there is a section which provides for a certain period of vacation for these Courts, and which indicates the time at which the vacation should be obtained. In that section it was provided that no Judge should be obliged to hold any Courts in September in any year, but that if he did not wish to take advantage of that one month, he might, with the consent of the Lord Chancellor, take any other period, or periods, but that the vacation was not to exceed four weeks in any year. I would allow a period double that which I say is a liberal allowance. Now, allowing a period of a couple of months' vacation, and giving the Sundays in the year in which no work is done, there remain out of the 365 days a little over 250 working days in the year. But in this list there is only one Court which sat more than 250 days in the year, and that was the Court of Northumberland. I find that taking the whole of the 55 Courts the average number of days during which they have sat during the past year has been 164. And this is not all, because there are few cases where the average has been exceeded, and some of the cases where the average has not been reached are very conspicuous. There is one case where the Court sat for 104 days only. That is to say, this Court sat four months out of 12. Another sat 109 days. There are 11

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cases out of the 55 where the Courts have not sat for more than one-third of the whole year. Well, one could understand this if you also found that the work of the Courts had been effectually disposed of, but that is not the case. These Courts, which sit for such a short time, have left an enormous amount of arrears, and it is curious to observe that, whereas you would expect to find that where a Court has sat a short time only, a small amount of arrears would be left, and where a Court has been largely employed a large amount of arrears would remain, the reverse has been the case. The Courts that have sat the smallest number of days have left the largest number of arrears. I think that is a most unsatisfactory state of things, to which the attention of the responsible officers of the Crown should certainly be directed. We have seven Courts which last year sat over 200 days. These had a total of 159,000 cases entered; they disposed of 101,000, and there were pending at the close of the year 57,000. That is to say, the percentage of arrears on the number of cases decided was 57. But in the case of the 11 Courts I have referred to, where the number of days during which the Court has sat has been less than 134—and in some cases less than 110—though the Courts are nearly double in number, they had a less number of cases entered in them, and they decided a less number of cases than these seven Courts, and they left a larger number of cases pending, namely, 59,800, against 57,000. This shows a very unsatisfactory condition of things, and, further, I am told that these Courts are supervised by nobody. The Returns from some of the Circuits show a great disparity between the number of cases entered and the number disposed of, while the sittings are few in comparison with the work to be done and the expenditure incurred. In Northumberland the Court sat 262 days, in Birmingham it sat 202 days, and yet in Birmingham they have decided 28,809 cases, and they have 14,345 pending; whereas in Northumberland only 7,940 cases have been decided, and 4,118 are pending. I must call particular attention to the case of Taunton, which sat only for 130 days in the year. There were 7,980 cases entered, 3,840 were disposed of, and 4,140

*Sir W. Plowden*

are left pending; so that absolutely in regard to the number of cases decided the number of cases pending is in the proportion of 108 to 100. And there is a worse case than this—that of Bath and Devizes, which sat for only 123 days during the year, where the number of cases entered was 12,386, the number decided 5,864, and the number left pending 6,522. When you find such a state of things as this existing, I say your whole system is faulty. The facts show that the whole system requires supervision, and this might be facilitated if the Judges were required to report upon the causes of the varying conditions of business in their circuits. That is a thing with which we are familiar in other Courts, and I do not see why it should not be done in the case of County Court Judges. Arrangements might be made for Judges who are underworked to assist those who are overworked. I do not move any reduction in the Vote, but have only made use of the notice on the Paper in order to call the attention of the Committee to this matter. I trust I shall receive an assurance from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General that the subject will be pressed seriously on the attention of the Lord Chancellor, so as to secure greater efficiency, more continuous sittings of the Judges, and less heavy arrears of cases pending at the close of the year.

(10.50.) MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.): I rise for the purpose of asking a question or two of the Attorney General with regard to any projected reforms he may have in his mind with reference to County Courts. The period of the Session will not permit me to go at any length into the question, and I have no intention of doing so. I desire to ask, however, whether the Government have in view any redistribution of the circuits of the County Courts. As has been pointed out, there are many County Courts in which the work is very heavy indeed, while in others the Judges do not sit more than 100 days a year, and it is desirable that an effort should be made in the direction of re-distributing the

circuits. The Judges of the High Court sit, I think, a period of something like 213 days, and it certainly does seem an intolerable state of things that the County Court Judges in all the districts, who receive high salaries, should only sit, in something like 30 cases out of the 55, not much more than 100 days a year. I do not blame the County Court Judges for that. They have not the work. But I do blame the Treasury, who should long ere this have made some effort in the direction of redistributing the circuits. Something has been urged in former years as to the considerable amount of time which is spent by the County Court Judges in travelling. In some circuits time spent by Judges in travelling might be reduced by having fewer Court towns within a limited area. Take the case of Essex for instance. In that county you have no less than three towns with a trunk line of railway, distant some 24 miles from each other. Surely it would be a simple matter to arrange that the Court should sit in one of these towns to take the cases for the three. As to the expense of the County Courts, I would point out that the larger part of the outgoings in connection with the High Court of Justice is defrayed out of the public taxes, but in the case of the County Court, the money comes from the fees of the suitors and from stamps. The fees in the County Courts are nearly 100 per cent. higher than in the High Court of Justice, and the pressure of the fees on litigants deters people from seeking justice in what is understood to be the poor man's Court. Then, there is another point on which I would ask the hon. and learned gentleman the Attorney General to give us an assurance, and that is as to the amendment of the law with regard to imprisonment for debt. An amazing number of commitments is made by County Court Judges, but apparently upon no recognised principle. I have suggested the introduction of a measure laying down the principle that a man shall be committed only if he had sufficient means to pay the debt at the time the summons was taken out. I am told that the application of the Act in its present form operates most harshly. Another point to which I wish to call attention is this: there has been a large accession of work to some Courts through

the passing of the Employers' Liability and other Acts, and it might be desirable to centralise some of the special work, and to increase the judicial staff for the purpose, especially in the Metropolis. There are many other topics I should like to refer to, but at this period of the Session I will not do more than venture to put these questions to the hon. Member, and ask him if he can give us some assurance in the matter.

\*(10.57.) MR. T. H. BOLTON: I would urge on the hon. and learned Gentleman the desirability of re-arranging the County Court districts in the Metropolis, particularly in the north of London for the convenience of Islington and St. Pancras, where there has been a large increase of population since the present arrangements were made. I am told that it is proposed to establish a County Court at Hampstead, and that a Petition has been presented on the subject. But I would venture to suggest that a Court is much more required in the northern part of St. Pancras.

MR. S. T. EVANS: This question is a very large one, and I do not apologise for taking part in the discussion. One point has been omitted by the hon. Members who have spoken, and that is the position of the salaries of the Registrars. My hon. Friend near me drew attention to the fees of the County Courts and the high salaries of the Judges. Well, I venture to say that on the whole the County Court Judges are not overpaid, but some of the Registrars are, their income from fees being more than the salaries of the Judges. The County Court work of the country is becoming more important every year. Not a year passes without the passing of fresh legislation, imposing new duties on the County Courts. We have, for instance, now given them work to do in connection with the collection of the tithe: and I am not sure that it would not be a wise economy to increase the salaries of the Judges so that we might get the most competent men for the appointments and might have a claim on them to give up all their time to their official duties.

As to the inequality in the number of days that the Judges sit, I can assure hon. Gentleman that in some cases the Judges have to spend a considerable time in travelling, and it would, therefore, be well to consider whether some of that time could not be saved for effective work by a re-distribution of the circuits. There ought, in my opinion, to be two scales of costs in County Courts, one scale for defended, and the other for undefended cases. At present, if a grocer has to collect a debt of 10s. by the operation of the machinery of the County Court, the fees must amount to 3s., although the case is undefended. Similarly, in an undefended case for the recovery of £2 10s., the fees payable by the defendant amount to 21s. The time has come when the fees should be rearranged, distinct scales being provided for defended and for undefended cases. With respect to the question of imprisonment for debt, I do not think that anything can be better than the present arrangement. The County Court Judges exercise their power of committal for contempt of Court in respect of the non-payment of debts with the greatest caution. They do not commit unless they are satisfied that a defendant absolutely refuses to pay, although he is in a position to do so. They are exceedingly anxious to protect the liberty of the subject. I think my hon. Friend ought not to look merely at the number of committal orders, for in not one out of 10 does the defendant eventually go to prison. The orders simply act as an instrument for getting the money out of the debtor.

(11.3.) SIR R. WEBSTER: I do not deny the importance of this subject, but I hope my hon. Friend will be content with the protest he has made and the answer I have to make. I agree that it would probably be well to revise the scale of costs so as to lower them in cases where the amounts sought to be recovered are very small. It is scarcely fair to compare the expense with the amount recovered, for there is a large amount of work done in connection with unrecovered debts. To the criticisms that have been made with respect to the

*Mr. S. T. Evans*

number of days on which certain County Court Judges sit, I will reply by pointing out that the time occupied in travelling through a circuit must be taken into account. Circuit 57, for example, comprises Axminster, Barnstaple, Bridgewater, Wellington, Landport, South Molton, Taunton, Tiverton, and other towns. To get to these different Courts must naturally occupy a considerable amount of time. The question of the revision of the circuits is, however, one which the Government always keep in view. Changes can only be effected conveniently when vacancies occur in the judicial staff, but whenever opportunities arise steps are taken with a view to consolidate the Courts in such a way as to promote economy. A suggestion has been made by the hon. Member for Durham that in one particular county two Courts out of three shall be abolished. Such a suggestion would not be acceded to lightly by any one who knows how great a howl is heard in a locality whenever it is proposed that a Court should be abolished. I have myself received many letters complaining of the infrequency of the sittings of certain County Courts. It must be remembered that this Court is a poor man's Court, and it should be brought as nearly as possible to his door. I am not prepared to say that some Judges might not put in some more days' work in a week; but the question is not one that could be disposed of by mere criticism. Judges who are certainly not open to the imputation of shirking their work have told me that they frequently have to travel one whole day in order to sit for two hours on the following day. If they do not sit once a week or once a fortnight in certain places an outcry is at once raised, although there may be no urgent work to be got through. As to the time taken in getting through the work, I have known a case to last several hours, and then 30 cases to be got through in one hour. I have practised in the County Court where I have seen a distinguished Judge dispose of 60 or 70 cases in an hour with perfect satisfaction. The hon. Member for St. Pancras has urged a re-organisation of the Courts in London. I hardly think the question a pressing one, because locomotion in London is ex-

ceedingly cheap, and if there is a Court within a mile, or mile and a half, of a litigant's residence he has not much to complain of. Under the County Courts Act all the newly-appointed Judges must reside in their districts, and under the same Act provision is made against Registrars receiving excessive remuneration, which formerly undoubtedly took place in some instances. I know of some Courts where the Registrar received more than the Judge. This, however, has been put an end to by the Act of 1888, and I do not anticipate there will be any such abuses in the future. I think I have answered all the points raised.

\*(11.14.) **SIR W. PLOWDEN**: The Judge to whom I alluded to as having sat only 104 days was the Carmarthen Judge. On that circuit there are only six places of Session. The Taunton Court has no less than 13 Sessional places. It is clear, from a comparison of these two Courts, that it is not the mere difficulty in travelling which interferes with the number of days the Judges sit. If that were so, Taunton would be in a worse position than Carmarthen. But that is not so. Taunton is better than Carmarthen, though hampered with almost double the number of places of sitting. Surely he might occupy his time more fully in the interests of the public.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL** (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I have noticed that there is very great inequality in the work of the County Court Judges. Their functions are not sufficiently supervised, and I am glad, therefore, to hear the Attorney General promise on behalf of the Government to re-arrange the circuits.

**SIR R. WEBSTER**: What I said was that the desirability of doing so should be borne in mind when vacancies occurred.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL**: I am afraid that excessive regard is paid to vested rights. It seems to be assumed that when once a man is appointed to an office it is necessary to consider his position tenderly, and that no change can be made. If the circuits can only

be re-arranged when a vacancy arises, it seems to me it will be necessary to wait for the re-arrangement until four or five County Court Judges die simultaneously, for no change can be made in the event of one vacancy without disturbing the arrangements in adjoining circuits.

**MR. MORTON**: I suppose the reduction in the amount of the Vote is due to the changes regarding bankruptcy. What has astonished me is that although the receipts have exceeded £400,000 there has been a loss of £100,000. How can that be explained? I know that the business in the City of London Court is so well managed that it is transacted at a profit. Why should not the other Courts be similarly managed? I have no desire to move the reduction of the Vote.

(11.21.) **MR. P. STANHOPE** (Wendesbury): I should like to draw attention to the increasing practice of sons of County Court Judges practising in the Courts over which their fathers preside.

**THE CHAIRMAN**: Order, order! That is not relevant to the Vote.

**MR. P. STANHOPE**: I was going to suggest that the Lord Chancellor, when appointing County Court Judges (whose salaries are included in this Vote) should suggest the impropriety of such a practice.

**THE CHAIRMAN**: Order, order! The salaries of the County Court Judges are not included in this Vote.

**SIR R. WEBSTER**: With regard to the point raised by the hon. Member for Peterborough, I may point out that the position of the City of London Court is unique. It is worked at a profit because so enormous a number of undefended causes come before it. That is the Court in which I have seen from 60 to 100 cases disposed of in an hour. But the Provincial Courts do not get anything like the amount of business that passes through the City of London Court. In many the number of cases dealt with does not exceed 500 in a year, whereas in the City of London Court the number is 30,000 or 40,000. It is impossible to impose on suitors in the country Courts fees which would be



sufficient to ensure the working of the Courts at a profit.

(11.26.) MR. MORTON: Is it not on account of the superior management in the City of London Court that the profit arises?

SIR R. WEBSTER: Certainly not.

MR. MORTON: I would suggest that Parliament should be asked to transfer the management of these Courts to County Councils and Corporations; then, possibly, a profit would be obtained, as in the City of London.

MR. ROBY (Lancashire, S.E., Eccles): Is the item "allowance for subsistence of Judges" separate from the travelling allowance? I should like to know on what principle the travelling expenses are paid.

SIR R. WEBSTER: There is a fixed allowance—3d. per mile by rail, 2s. per mile by road, and an allowance of 21s. per day.

MR. ROBY: And that covers travelling and subsistence?

SIR R. WEBSTER: Yes.

Vote agreed to.

4. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £13,047, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Police Courts of London and Sheerness."

\*(11.28.) MR. T. H. BOLTON: I wish to call attention to the necessity of a Police Court for Pancras. At the present time the Courts serving that district are situate outside it. Some cases are taken to Highgate, some to the North London Police Court, some to Clerkenwell, and some to Marylebone. All these Courts are excessively inconvenient for the populous portion of St. Pancras. I would suggest that there might be some re-arrangement of the Courts in the West Central District. There are three Courts close together—Bow Street, Marlborough Street, and Westminster—and one of these might be re-

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moved to St. Pancras. There are three Magistrates at Bow Street, and two at each of the other two Courts, and I have not heard that they are overworked. I would suggest that one Court might be transferred to St. Pancras with great advantage to the public. I wish to thank the Home Secretary for the courtesy with which he received this suggestion when it was made to him privately some time ago. I believe the change I have suggested is a public necessity, and in the interests of my constituents I hope it will be effected.

DR. CLARK: I understand that for these London Courts Parliament pays nearly £91,000 a year, and that £20,000 is received back in fees. I think we have cause to complain that the Imperial Exchequer should have to pay £70,000 for the London Police Courts, while every other large town in the United Kingdom pays for its own. The only course to adopt is to vote against the charge every year; then, possibly, we may in time get rid of this grievance.

(11.32.) MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.): I should like to say a few words in support of the suggestion of my hon. Friend the Member for North St. Pancras. The population of St. Pancras numbers, I believe, 300,000; it is a population which, to some extent, works together, and has local interests. May I point out that the persons who find their way into the London Police Courts are not always Londoners; that a good many of them are individuals from the country; and that, consequently, there is a reason for charging the expense on the Imperial Exchequer? The present arrangements for St. Pancras are very inconvenient to those who have from time to time to attend the Police Court; and though there is no district in London which less requires a Court, yet it is necessary to have one, and that Court should be in a central situation. I therefore support the suggestion for a re-arrangement of the existing Courts.

(11.35.) MR. PICKERSGILL: I wish to ask the Home Secretary what

steps have been taken to provide female attendants for female prisoners at the various stations and Police Courts? The right hon. Gentleman on a former occasion promised that steps should be taken to avoid the necessity of leaving female prisoners under the charge of male warders.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I have promised that during the Recess I will endeavour to ascertain whether it is possible to re-arrange the Metropolitan Police Courts. It would be inconvenient to displace the old Courts and so interfere with the habits of the people who live near them. I remember I had a Departmental Committee which proposed to do away with Marlborough Street Police Court, but immediately the proposal was made there was a great outcry. The hon. Member for Bethnal Green will see from the Estimates that provision has been made for one female warder for each of the 14 Metropolitan Police Courts.

MR. MORTON: This is one of the Votes I am specially pledged to vote against. I cannot understand why the taxpayers of the country should pay for keeping up the London Courts. Experience has shown that the City Magistrates do the work better than Stipendiaries, and I would suggest to the people of London that they should do away with paid Magistrates. I shall go with my hon. Friend the Member for Caithness into the Lobby against this Vote.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I think I am entitled to fuller information with regard to the appointment of female warders. The number provided for in this Estimate is exactly the same as in last year's Estimate. I want to know are there female attendants at police stations where women are detained at night? If so, what is the expense?

MR. MATTHEWS: We have had female warders at Police Courts since December, 1888.

MR. PICKERSGILL: But women prisoners are not detained at Police Courts at night, are they?

MR. MATTHEWS: No.

(11.41.) MR. ATKINSON (Boston): Having regard to the treatment of the Salvation Army at Eastbourne by the Home Secretary, I cannot have much confidence in the promises of the right hon. Gentleman, and if a Division takes place I shall vote against the Government.

(11.42.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 97; Noes 48.—(Div. List, No. 379.)

5. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £37,586, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries of the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, and of the Receiver for the Metropolitan Police District, the Pay and Expenses of Officers of Metropolitan Police employed on special duties, and the Salaries and Expenses of the Inspectors of Constabulary."

(11.52.) MR. PICKERSGILL: I shall be glad if the Home Secretary will inform the Committee to what extent female warders have been supplied at police stations where women are detained at night?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): A start has been made in that direction in some of the larger stations. I will give the hon. Member details on Report.

MR. MORTON: I beg to move to reduce the salary of the Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police by £500. I am told there is a place in Bond Street where fortunes are told at 10s. a head. The place is run by a syndicate, who have put a young lady named Kennedy in charge of the business, and, I suppose, make a profit. There is a considerable establishment, and a footman is employed. I want to know why the Chief Commissioner or

the Home Office prosecute poor people who charge 6d. or 1s., and do not prosecute those persons in Bond Street who charge 10s. a head? I am told that this business is carried on to a large extent. I am speaking from facts and not from mere hearsay, for a friend of mine sent his servant there with 10s. and he came back without the money. Vice seems to be peculiar to the West End of London, and the authorities appear to think it their duty not to interfere. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £500, part of the Salary of the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police."—(*Mr. Morton.*)

(11.56.) *SIR W. LAWSON* (Cumberland, Cockermouth): The Home Secretary does not appear to intend to answer. I hope the Committee will get some information on the subject. It appears that poor people are prosecuted for this sort of thing, while rich people are not.

*MR. MATTHEWS*: I really heard the observations of the hon. Member for Peterborough so imperfectly that I do not feel able to answer him. The function of the police is not to play the part of public prosecutors, nor is it my function. The police are always glad to aid in bringing offenders against the law to justice when their offences are brought to their knowledge. I did not hear what the facts of this case are—

*MR. MORTON*: I shall be very glad to repeat my statement.

*MR. MATTHEWS*: There is no necessity for that. If the hon. Gentleman will lay the facts of the case before the superintendent of the district, I have no doubt that that officer will assist the hon. Gentleman in bringing the offenders to justice.

*MR. MORTON*: I shall do nothing of the sort. The police and the right hon. Gentleman are paid to do this work. After what the Home Secretary has said, I feel it my duty to make my statement over again. My duty is to make

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this statement, and it is the duty of the Home Secretary to see that the law is carried out. A friend of mine sent his servant to this place in Bond Street lately, and he was ushered in to see this young lady by a footman. He came back without the 10s. The police prosecute from time to time persons who tell fortunes at 6d. a head, and what I want to know is why they do not prosecute this person in Bond Street, who tells fortunes at 10s. a head. The business in Bond Street is, I am told, run by a syndicate, who divide the profits after paying the footman.

(12.2.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 41; Noes 102.—(Div. List. No. 380.)

Original Question again proposed.

(12.12.) *DR. TANNER*: I think this is a good opportunity to get some assurance from the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Vote in reference to the occurrences at Eastbourne in connection with the Salvation Army.

*THE CHAIRMAN*: The question does not arise on this Vote at all.

Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £433,490, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Expenses of the Prisons in England, Wales, and the Colonies."

*MR. PARNELL* (Cork): When the 12 o'clock Rule was suspended the Government undertook not to proceed with any Irish Votes after 12 o'clock. Although this particular Vote is not an Irish Vote, there is an Irish question of considerable importance which I wish to raise upon it, and I trust that as that question must give rise to a discussion of considerable length, the Government will consent to postpone the Vote, so that I and my friends may have an opportunity of putting our views before the Committee at a time when they can be fairly considered and understood.

MR. GOSCHEN: I think the hon. Member will admit it would be a pity to close our discussion of Supply at this early hour (12.15). The Committee, I feel confident, desire to make progress. The hon. Gentleman suggests that this Vote should be postponed. It is understood that the Votes will be taken in their order, and unless it should be unanimously desired that this particular Vote should be postponed, I must adhere to that arrangement.

SIR W. HARCOURT (Derby): The arrangement made was that after 12 o'clock no Vote of any consequence should be proceeded with, but I see no reason why the Committee should not enter upon the consideration of this Vote. If the subject which the hon. Member desires to bring forward is one of such importance that the discussion upon it cannot be concluded to-night, Progress can be reported at a later hour. Why should we not discuss the Vote now for a reasonable time? If we are to close the Session at an early date, it is quite plain we must make greater progress with the Votes than we have made lately.

MR. GOSCHEN: After what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, it is clear that I cannot consent to the postponement of the Vote.

MR. PARNELL: I regret very much that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby has intervened in this discussion to prevent me from bringing before the Committee in a satisfactory way the very serious matters to which it will be my duty to draw attention when this Vote is discussed. I cannot see that it is my duty to make my statement at this late hour. The right hon. Member for Derby has stated that he cannot see any reason why the Vote should not now be proceeded with. I can see reasons why the right hon. Gentleman should not wish the Vote to be taken in the daytime, and why he should desire that it should be taken at an hour when the discussion cannot be fully reported.

It will be my duty to deal with matters which had their origin during the right hon. Gentleman's tenure of office. It will be necessary for me to deal with considerations affecting the liberty of a prisoner who received his sentence under the policy and under the direction of the right hon. Member for Derby. I refer to the case of the prisoner John Daly. At this late period of the night I do not feel justified in bringing this subject before the Committee, because it cannot be profitably discussed. It is most unfair of the right hon. Member for Derby to insist that the subject should be opened to-night, and I shall do all I can within the Forms of the House to prevent the Vote being proceeded with at this late hour. I beg to move that you, Sir, do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." — (*Mr. Parnell.*)

MR. GOSCHEN: I rise to a point of order. I understand that the hon. Member for Cork intends to call attention to matters connected with the administration of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. I desire to ask you, Sir, whether the hon. Member would be in order in so doing on this Vote? I ask this question because the answer of the Chairman may influence the course which the hon. Member himself proposes to take. If he would not be in order in raising the question, I assume he would not object to the Committee making progress with the Vote.

(12.20.) MR. PARNELL: On the point of order, Sir, I submit to you that the question of the right hon. Gentleman is premature; no question of order can arise until I have infringed a Rule of Order, or until any hon. Member considers I have infringed a Rule of Order. I did not say that I intended to discuss the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby as Home Secretary; I said I proposed to refer to circumstances in connection with a

prisoner, the expense of whose imprisonment comes under this Vote, and which imprisonment had its origin during the term of office of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. I respectfully submit to you, Sir, that to raise the question now, before it is alleged that I have infringed any Rule of Order, is entirely premature. I shall endeavour in any observations I may have to address to you to keep myself in order; I shall always be subject to your direction, and shall endeavour to observe your ruling; but until I break through any Rule governing debate in Committee I submit to you, Sir, no point of order can be raised.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is no doubt true that the question raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer refers rather to what would happen after the question to report Progress has been disposed of, and it may therefore be said to be premature. But I was about to point out, in reference to the Motion to report Progress, that so far as I understood the purport of what the hon. Member intended to discuss, it was difficult to say exactly what was his intention; but it did appear to me that it would probably be out of order, and it would probably save time if I expressly decline to put the Motion to report Progress, in order that we may see what it is the hon. Member desires to bring forward.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ATKINSON: It is a pleasant thing for us to notice now, and it will be a very pleasant thing for the country to see to-morrow, how the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby and the Member for Cork are drifting apart. It seems to me of very little consequence whether we discuss John Daly or any other prisoner; but whether they have been well or ill-treated we know that the hon. Member for Cork has been responsible for the imprisonment of a great number of John Dalys—

THE CHAIRMAN: The Motion to report Progress has not been put. The  
*Mr. Parnell*

Vote is now before the Committee, and to that the hon. Member's remarks are not relevant.

MR. ATKINSON: The remarks that I have made are congratulatory to the House and to the country, that the right hon. Gentleman the present Leader of the Party on the other side—[*Cries of "Order!"*—or part of the Party—and the Member for Cork seem to have less understanding as to what they should do—

THE CHAIRMAN: That has nothing to do with the Vote. The hon. Member must confine himself to that.

MR. ATKINSON: Then I beg to oppose the Vote.

(12.25.) MR. PARNELL: I regret that I should have to proceed when it is quite impossible that I can go into the very important subject it will be necessary for me to bring before the Committee, but there is a preliminary portion of it which I may perhaps deal with, and in doing so I shall address myself to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. It is in reference to the prisoner John Daly. The hon. Gentleman will remember that he recently received a letter from a Member of this House, Mr. John Redmond, the Member for North Wexford, asking his permission to hold a private interview of a professional character with John Daly in Portland Prison, an interview as professional adviser. It appears that in relation to the case of John Daly and the justice of his conviction fresh information—fresh evidence—had been received in the shape of a very important statement made by Alderman Manton, of Birmingham, on the authority of the Police Superintendent of that district, and the statement was of such a character as to render it necessary or desirable, before bringing the case of John Daly before the House of Commons, and even before bringing it before the Home Secretary, that somebody should have an interview of a private character with this prisoner to obtain from him certain information with regard to the identity of an unknown

person whose name did not transpire at the trial, but who on sworn evidence was stated to have handed to Daly certain explosive material for the possession of which John Daly was convicted. In order to obtain the necessary information, my hon. Friend requested a private interview with Daly, and he understood from the reply received from the right hon. Gentleman that his request had been granted, and, in pursuance of that understanding, he went to Portland to have the private interview. On his arrival at the prison he found that the prison officials insisted on being present at the interview. Daly, although most anxious to have the opportunity of conferring with my hon. Friend in private, was unwilling to give the necessary information in the presence of the prison officials. My hon. Friend accordingly retired from the prison, and telegraphed to the right hon. Gentleman for authority to see Daly privately. He received from the right hon. Gentleman a reply by telegraph that the authority could not be given. Now, I wish to bring this matter again under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman. This evidence, or further information, is of a most grave and important character. It is, in the opinion of Daly's legal adviser, absolutely necessary that he should have an opportunity of obtaining with the prisoner an interview of a confidential character in order to obtain further information with regard to this further evidence. The right hon. Gentleman has refused up to the present to grant this private interview. I cannot think that the right hon. Gentleman is carrying out strictly the rules which are enforced, for I know that in the case of convicted prisoners in Ireland their legal advisers are permitted to have private interviews with prisoners without the presence of a prison warder. It must be obvious to the right hon. Gentleman that in cases of this kind there may be special reasons why it is impossible for such prisoners to confer freely with their legal advisers in the presence of prison officials. At all events, it is certain that Daly has declined, and, as I think, reasonably and properly declined, to give the necessary information in the presence of an official. What I now ask from the right hon. Gentleman is permission for the legal

adviser of John Daly to see the prisoner privately in accordance with the precedent set by the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Lord Lieutenant in regard to convicted prisoners under their jurisdiction, who are allowed private interviews with their legal advisers during their term of imprisonment. This is a subject of such very grave importance that I may be excused for pressing it very strongly on the attention of the Home Secretary. We believe that if an opportunity were given for the legal adviser of John Daly to confer freely in private with him, the result would be information of such a character being put before the Home Office as would lead to the re-opening of the case, and possibly—probably, as we hope—to the release of the prisoner. We think, under these circumstances, as there is no Court of Appeal established, and as the Home Secretary is the only Court of Appeal, that he ought to permit this interview between prisoner and legal adviser, which would be permitted if there were in existence in this country that Court of Appeal which successive Governments, both Liberal and Conservative, have supported and advocated from time to time. I trust, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman will be able to say that he will remove any difficulty in the way of this private interview, and that he will allow the legal adviser of John Daly to see him without the presence of a warder.

\*(12.35.) MR. MATTHEWS: This question of interviews with prisoners is one which hon. Members sitting below the Gangway opposite brought prominently before the attention of the House at the time of the sitting of the Special Commission. At that time, and perhaps not without reason, they complained of the laxity of the rule. I recollect that they complained that representatives of the *Times* were allowed to see prisoners in custody within sight but out of the hearing of a warder. I remember at that time saying I thought the practice was one that ought to be reconsidered. I said I thought it was not reasonable to allow a lawyer to see a prisoner in private except on the prisoner's own

legal business. Having had my attention directed to the subject, I believe the directions which I gave are in accordance with the public declarations I made, namely, that when a legal person has *bond fide* business to transact with a prisoner, it is proper to grant an interview which shall take place out of the hearing of a warder. The privilege of absolute secrecy attaches to such communications, and we ought not to insist on imposing a witness in the shape of a warder, who might be compelled to state all that takes place. That seems to me to be a sound principle to proceed upon, but, as I think the Committee will see, it is absolutely essential, in order to guard the system from abuse, that clear and satisfactory explanation should be given to show that it is upon legal business of the prisoner's that the interview is desired. Now, even after the explanation of the hon. Member for Cork, I do not clearly understand what legal business Mr. Redmond proposes to transact with Daly. I can only say no sufficient reason has been stated why there should be a private interview. Mr. Redmond asked for an interview; and having gone to Portland for the purpose, and being informed that the rules did not allow the interview to take place without the presence of a warder, Mr. Redmond telegraphed to me that he wished to see the prisoner privately. My answer, not quite in the terms mentioned by the hon. Member for Cork, was that I saw no reason for departing from the usual Prison Rules in Mr. Redmond's case. If, however, I have before me, or if the Governor has laid before him, substantial grounds for believing that the interview would be on legal business of the prisoner's, I should think it desirable that, although a warder should be in sight, he should be out of hearing.

(12.40.) MR. PARNELL: I think the right hon. Gentleman must be under some misapprehension. As I understand the facts of the case from my hon. Friend, Daly did apply to the prison authorities to be permitted to see his legal adviser, Mr. John Redmond, upon his own (Daly's) legal business, and Mr. John Redmond wrote to the right hon. Gentleman stating that

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he was desirous of seeing Daly as his professional legal adviser—that he was desirous of having a professional interview. If my memory serves me aright, these were the words my hon. Friend represented to me he had used in his communication to the right hon. Gentleman in asking for an interview, and the right hon. Gentleman granted the application. Mr. Redmond then proceeded to Portland Prison in the firm belief that he was going to obtain the private interview with Daly which he had requested from the right hon. Gentleman, and which he supposed the right hon. Gentleman had agreed to grant, and he was perfectly amazed, when ushered into the presence of Daly, to find that an official of the prison insisted on remaining in the room. I have only to repeat that in my belief the request was distinctly made to the prison authorities by Daly and by Mr. John Redmond to the Home Secretary that Mr. Redmond should see Daly as his professional legal adviser. I cannot suppose that the right hon. Gentleman, knowing as he does the circumstances and history of this case, would wish for a single moment to suggest that this interview was sought for any other purpose by Mr. Redmond than that alleged, or that it was other than a professional interview between client and legal adviser. I trust, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman will see his way to giving the assurance that he will allow the interview to take place, in order that Daly may give the important information which he is anxious to give, and which my hon. and learned Friend, as a lawyer, believes to be absolutely essential in order to enable truth and justice in this case to be met.

(12.42.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I have listened with attention to the statement of the hon. Member for Cork and the reply of the Home Secretary, and I feel it my duty to say that not only has a case for a private interview been completely made out, but the right hon. Gentleman has himself admitted it. He has put before the Committee the principle that governs this matter, and the reasons upon which that principle is based. The right hon.

Gentleman has said that a prisoner is entitled to have an interview with his legal adviser in sight, but out of hearing, of the prison officials, who may disclose what passes between the legal adviser and his client. The hon. Member for Cork has stated that Mr. Redmond wished to see the prisoner to consult him upon evidence relating to the justice of his conviction, which evidence apparently rests first upon a statement of the Superintendent of Police of the district in which Daly was convicted; and, secondly, on that of a gentleman who heard the matter directly from the Superintendent, and who is a Magistrate in the borough. It is a matter of great gravity. It is said that Daly requested the interview on legal business, and undoubtedly it is legal business in which the prisoner is very closely interested. Following upon that, and confirmatory of it, we have the application made by Mr. Redmond, and I am bound to say that the name of the hon. Member for Wexford, well-known as a member of the Irish Bar, and as a Member of this House, should have been sufficient evidence of the *bona fides* of the application. There was an application by letter to the right hon. Gentleman for a private interview with Daly.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: No.

MR. PARNELL: A professional interview.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: Not at that time.

MR. SEXTON: I am going upon the statement of the hon. Member for Cork, who says that Mr. Redmond wrote to the Home Secretary to say he desired an interview upon professional business. Now, surely this is not Mr. Redmond's business as distinct from the prisoner's? The hon. Member for Cork has stated the object of the interview was to discuss matters of evidence having relation to the justice of the prisoner's conviction and I do not think that in common courtesy and common sense, after the hon. Member for Cork has stated on behalf of Mr. Redmond the object with which the application was made, any further statement can be desired.

If that is not the prisoner's business I do not know what is. The right hon. Gentleman has treated this matter in a somewhat pedantic spirit, and I think it would be only in conformity with the spirit of the rules and common sense if he were now to rise and say that such an interview does fall within the rules and shall be granted.

\*(12.46.) MR. MATTHEWS: I do not think I treated the matter in a pedantic spirit when I said that the speech of the hon. Member for Cork was not sufficient to justify the demand. It must be made clear to the prison authorities before they can grant leave that there is some *bona fide* legal business on hand; it is not necessary that they should know the particulars, but there must be some representations upon which the authorities may judge if the application comes within the proper category or not. I was unable to judge from the speech of the hon. Member for Cork what the legal business was, and Mr. Redmond's letter contained, so far as I remember, no explanation of the kind of business.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): What did you let in Soames for?

\*MR. MATTHEWS: From the speech of the hon. Member for West Belfast, I now gather, with some difficulty, that Mr. Redmond desires to see John Daly in order to ascertain from information Daly can give, coupled with subsequent information to be obtained elsewhere, whether he can make out a case for showing that Daly's conviction was wrong. That, I think, would come within the rule I have mentioned, and I think that Daly should see Mr. Redmond outside the hearing of the prison officials.

MR. ATKINSON: I think if the Home Secretary were in prison and his solicitor were trying to get him out, he would consider that legal business enough. I cannot understand the ramifications of his mind which enabled him to decide that this was a case in which



Daly should not be allowed to see his solicitor. The fact is, the Home Office seem so determined not to let their Irish prisoners or their Salvation Army prisoners at Eastbourne see solicitors, or anybody else who wants to do them good, that it amounts to a craze. I protest against the way in which the right hon. Gentleman looks at prisoners. He may be a prisoner himself some day. I do not mean that he is more liable to that misfortune than the rest of us, but we are all afflicted with human nature. I think the right hon. Gentleman has shown great hard-heartedness not only towards John Daly, but towards the Eastbourne prisoners. I protest against this. I think the hon. Member for Cork has made out his case, supported by the talented Member for West Belfast, and I hope the Home Secretary will give way.

(12.50.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I think we have reason to complain of the attitude of the Government. We ought not to be asked to take the Vote now. Many matters arise in connection with it. Contrast the manner in which Mr. Redmond was treated with the manner in which Mr. Soames was treated, or Inspector Littlechild, or any other gentleman connected with the prosecution before the Parnell or Special Commission. No one who takes up this Blue Book which deals with the treatment of these prisoners can fail to be struck with the facility afforded to the *Times*' pimps for seeing them for the purposes of the Parnell Commission, and frequently they were admitted against the protests of the prisoners themselves. Not once, but twice, and thrice were they allowed to be seen. If Soames failed to get anything out of them, then Pigott tried, and after him Littlechild. And all this was done to back up a bogus case on behalf of the Government, with no warder even in sight. Not only were these facilities given to the *Times*' men, but the Government actually, for their convenience,

*Mr. Atkinson*

brought over convicts from Ireland and kept them in London for three months. But here in this case the counsel for the prisoner, a Member of this House, desiring to see his client on a matter concerning the justice of his sentence and his liberty, after travelling some 300 or 400 miles, is denied the right conceded readily to the subordinate of the *Times* on a matter of far less importance. Can you expect the Irish people not to draw their own conclusions? This prisoner has been allowed to see three courses of the *Times*' spies, yet, when he wants to see his own legal adviser, it is denied him. This is not the way in which all prisoners charged with treason felony have been treated. Mr. Davitt was not treated in this way. I now understand the Government admit Mr. Redmond's title as the prisoner's legal adviser, and if it is right to admit him now he ought not to have been denied admission before. The Government and the right hon. Member for Derby have pressed the hon. Member for Cork to go on with this Vote to-night; but if we are to go on with it, it will take a very considerable time longer, and I think the Government might profitably agree to its postponement, and take some later Votes. I have matters to raise in connection with this Vote which will probably occupy some time in discussion. I have to refer to the treatment of the prisoner, James M'Grath, who died in prison. The right hon. Gentleman told me that the relatives of the deceased were communicated with before his death; but I have communications from his friends—most respectable people—directly traversing that statement. I have several other matters to mention, and several hours may be occupied.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): To a certain extent thanks are due to the Home Secretary for the permission to Mr. Redmond to visit the prisoner. I think my hon. Friend is quite entitled to make a Motion to strike out the Governor's salary, for the action of the Governor of the prison was most unjust, and has caused a vast amount of trouble.

MR. PARNELL: I do not desire to move a reduction.

COLONEL NOLAN: A Motion to reduce the salary would be justified—

MR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Redmond never made any statement to the Governor, so far as I know.

(1.0.) MR. PARNELL: I think the right hon. Gentleman is mistaken. Mr. Redmond assured me that he made the strongest possible remonstrances to the prison officials, and gave the object and character of the business on which he wished to consult Daly.

COLONEL NOLAN: I think the statement of the Home Secretary is a good reason for postponing the Vote in the interest of Public Business. I would point out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, in the interest of Public Business, it would be far better to go on with some other Vote. We are not yet in possession of all the facts of the case, and I have no doubt that if we have a short postponement, we shall be able to clear up all the facts in the case.

MR. GOSCHEN: I will agree to postpone this Vote upon the understanding that further progress is made with the remaining Votes.

MR. HUNTER: I would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman how far he proposes to go to-night? The 11th Vote is for the Law Courts and Law Charges in Scotland, and I should oppose going on with that at this hour.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman, I take it, proposes to proceed with Votes 9 and 10.

MR. GOSCHEN: If there is no protest against the postponement—and I think I may take it that silence gives consent—we will now proceed with Votes 9 and 10.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

6. £135,894, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

7. £23,866, to complete the sum for the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next.

Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

REDEMPTION OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 426.)

CONSIDERATION.

As amended, considered.

(1.10.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): It would appear that Sub-section 1 should be amended.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 7, after the word "one," to insert the words "and section three."—(Mr. T. M. Healy.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

DR. CLARK (Caithness): There is an understanding that no business should be taken after 1 o'clock. If you, Sir, come in one minute before 1 o'clock after the business has been Supply, at 1 o'clock you leave the Chair, and the House adjourns; but if you come in one minute after 1 you sit until the Orders are gone through. I must say I fail to understand the principle of this. I do not think we should go on after 1 o'clock, and therefore I object to the consideration of this Bill. I beg to move the adjournment of the Debate.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square): The Bill is not opposed.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): All Irish Members on both sides of the House are in favour of the Bill, and I think it should be allowed to go on. If progress is not made with it it will be in great danger of being defeated, at any rate for the Session.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): It will not take the House five minutes to dispose of the Bill. My hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy), who has given great attention to the measure, will be obliged to leave in a day or two

to attend to some important business in Ireland.

Dr. CLARK: I will not further object if the Government assure us that they will not allow progress to be made with any other Bill after this.

Mr. ATKINSON (Boston): But I must object. If one Member is to be prevented from going on with his Bill other Members should not be permitted.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I would point out that when there is a purely Scotch Bill down, such as the Herring Brand Bill, we Irish Members do not interfere with its progress.

\*Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Gentleman withdraw his objection?

Mr. ATKINSON: No.

It being after Midnight, and Objection being taken to Further Proceeding, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

#### TRAINING COLLEGES (IRELAND) ♦

BILL.—(No. 391.)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

(1.15.) Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): What do the Government intend to do with this Bill?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Unfortunately, though a Private Bill it is of a controversial character. There are two or three hon. Members who are opposed to certain parts of it, but I trust they will not press their opposition to an extreme length. They desire an opportunity of expressing their views, and therefore we cannot take the Bill until after 12 o'clock. Subject to getting on with

Supply, I understand that my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer will afford the House a fair opportunity for the consideration of the Bill, if the discussion is not carried to an unreasonable length.

Mr. SEXTON: When will it be taken?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): We cannot stop Supply.

Committee deferred till Monday next.

#### LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY)

BILL.—(No. 407.)

COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

#### RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).

Lords Message [23rd July], requesting a Copy of the Report, &c., from the Select Committee on Railway Servants (Hours of Labour), considered:—Printed Copy to be communicated.

#### LUNACY BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 430.]

#### CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 431.]

House adjourned at twenty minutes after One o'clock till Monday next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 27th July, 1891.*

## NEW PEERS.

Sir George Stephen, Baronet, having been created Baron Mount Stephen, of Mount Stephen, in the Province of British Columbia and Dominion of Canada, and of Dufftown, in the County of Banff—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Samuel Cunliffe Lister, Esquire, having been created Baron Masham, of Swinton, in the County of York—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

## RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).

Report, &c., of the Select Committee of the House of Commons: Communicated (pursuant to message of Tuesday last), and to be printed. (No. 267.)

## RAILWAY RATES AND CHARGES PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS.

Proceedings of the Select Committee laid upon the Table, and to be printed (No. 268); and Minutes of Evidence to be delivered out.

## THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY AND MR. STOREY.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

\*THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: My Lords, I venture to ask your indulgence while I bring under your notice a matter concerning which I wish to make a personal explanation. I am sorry to occupy your time, but after the statements which have been made with reference to myself by the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Storey), on Thursday last, you will admit that I am fully justified in not allowing them to pass unnoticed and unchallenged, especially as those statements included the names of several other people who, on account of their position, are unable to reply for themselves. I would have brought this matter forward on Friday last, but, in the first place, I was anxious to obtain a

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copy of the local paper which would contain a full report of the speech of the hon. Member for Sunderland; and therefore I got a copy of Mr. Storey's own paper, which can devote more space to the speeches of a politician of the calibre of Mr. Storey than can the London papers. I further wished to obtain the fullest information with respect to the statement he made about myself from those who were best in a position to give it. This information has immensely strengthened my belief in the opinion generally held—that when a man has succeeded in making himself sublimely ridiculous, he invariably attempts to shift the responsibility of his folly on to some one else's shoulders. Mr. Storey is no exception to the general rule. He has attempted to fix the responsibility of his own folly on to the shoulders of no fewer than five persons; one a policeman, whom he says he can summon, and four others, myself among them, the chief constable of the county, and two inspectors of police. The statement that Mr. Storey made on Thursday is due to the prosecution of him by the police for perjury in connection with some evictions which took place in February last at some collieries of mine called Silksworth, in the county of Durham. In alluding to this prosecution on Thursday last, Mr. Storey said that—

"It was a police prosecution ostensibly, but the police did not venture to take the money out of the county fund, as they had a right to do, but went to private persons and to the owner of the colliery, the Marquess of Londonderry, for money with which to prosecute him."

And further on he said :—

"What is my remedy now? I could commence an action for damages against policeman Smith. That is to say, that Colonel White, the two inspectors, and Lord Londonderry, who had combined in the matter, or found the money for conducting these criminal proceedings, would escape scot-free. I have no power over them, and if I have a remedy I could only go against the policeman."

I am glad to take the first opportunity of contradicting most emphatically and flatly every word of Mr. Storey's statement. I was never approached myself and asked to provide money for this prosecution, nor was my agent, and I can assure your Lordships that I have not given a shilling towards it. I therefore, as flatly and emphatically as is in my power, contra-

O

dict the statement of Mr. Storey. If I may venture to go further, and trespass on your Lordships' time, I will tell your Lordships what were the facts of the case. I need not enter at length into the evictions at Silksworth, for the simple reason that in March last I wrote a somewhat long letter to the *Daily News* on account of attacks which that paper had made upon me in connection with the evictions, and I am bound to say that in one of their leading articles within the next few days they gave me a fair and full apology. Mr. Storey came down for the purpose of attending these evictions, on February 20, and proceeded to a house known as Newport Farm, which is my own private property. He insisted on entering that house, in which, at the time, there were certain policemen and two inspectors named Oliver and Burrell. They requested him to leave the house, and on his refusing to do so they very properly ejected him into the street. On this he instituted a prosecution against the police on the ground of assault. I instructed my agent to render those policemen every possible assistance in the way of obtaining legal aid to defend them. In consequence the charge against one policeman was dismissed with costs against Mr. Storey, and Mr. Storey very wisely withdrew the charge against the other. Now, my Lords, I am glad of the opportunity which Mr. Storey has afforded me of expressing to you the opinion of those qualified to give it, that they regarded with sincere admiration the conduct of the police during the disturbances which took place at Silksworth. They said that the police displayed a moderation and a toleration which entitled them to the highest praise. But for that moderation and that toleration serious consequences might have ensued, and had these consequences taken place there is no impartial person who would have held Mr. Storey absolutely irresponsible. I thank your Lordships most sincerely for the manner in which you have allowed me to make this personal explanation, and for the indulgence you have accorded me. I trust that I have explained and proved to your Lordships that the statement made in the House of Commons on Thursday last is synonymous with the name of the man who made it, and that man is the hon. Member for Sunderland.

*The Marquess of Londonderry*

PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) BILL.—  
(No. 255.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the Amendments.

\*LORD THRING: My Lords, I hope the noble Viscount opposite will regard with favour a clause which I move on behalf of my noble Friend Lord Clifford, which is to come in after Clause 7—that is the clause which provides that after two convictions for overcrowding, a house shall be shut up. This clause provides that when the house is shut up the owner may go to the Court and ask the Court to adjust the rights between the occupier and himself; in other words, the Court may on such conditions as it thinks right and proper turn out the occupier in order that the owner may do his duty. I do not see, myself, why the owner should be driven to proceedings in ejectment when the Court which has cognisance of the case and knows all about it, can deal with it. I confess I think that the Court may very properly be called upon to determine the rights as between the owner and occupier. I was told that the noble Viscount intended to bring in a clause in some other Bill. I quite admit that no one is better acquainted with the details of such legislation than the noble Viscount, but even if he did intend to introduce it into another Bill I trust your Lordships will think this Amendment is necessary.

Moved to insert the following new clause to follow Clause 7, page 6, line 3:—

"When a closing order has been made as to any premises, the owner of such premises may apply to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, and the Court shall thereupon summon the occupier or occupiers of such premises to show cause why he or they should not forthwith give up possession to the owner, and upon the hearing of such summons, the Court, if it thinks fit, shall by warrant cause possession of the premises to be given to the owner within a reasonable time, to be stated in such warrant, and shall make such order as to the cost of the proceedings as to the Court shall seem meet."

—(The Lord Thring.)

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): My Lords, my right hon. Friend, the President of the Local Government Board, objects strongly to putting that clause here. If anything of the kind was wanted, it should have been put in in the Bill

which was passed last year with regard to the Housing of the Working Classes. Your Lordships will think, I consider, that it would be very inconvenient to put in this clause, because you will find there is provision that when a nuisance arises notice shall be served on the owner, or, if he cannot be found, on the occupier. Then, if any structural alteration is necessary, of course notice has to be given to the owner, and if he does not do his duty, he will be subject to the penalties provided under the 4th and 5th clauses of this Bill. If the occupier is to be passed over for the purpose of the owner getting the premises into his own hands, it would be rather a premium on his not performing his duty and doing what he ought to do. Therefore, I am afraid I cannot accept the proposed clause.

\***LORD THRING:** I shall not press the Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

Clause 41 and Clause 60.

Verbal Amendments made.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** In regard to the Amendment in Clause 60, page 35, line 40, for compensating the owners of houses or articles for damage caused thereto, or upon the destruction of any article, by the authorities, I would suggest to the noble Viscount that he should move the Amendment, omitting the words "and in case of dispute shall be settled by"; and for this reason, that the words "shall be recoverable in a Petty Sessional Court," would, of course, give that Court jurisdiction to settle the dispute in cases involving any amount. You do not want those words "to settle" disputes, because you would have this inconvenience, that under the section in the other Act, with regard to proceedings for recovering penalties, if the matter be taken before the County Court it is to be treated as if such claim were a debt. If you leave those words in, it might be open to the construction that even if persons were desirous of going to the County Court their claims could not be settled there. That, of course, is not intended. It will do no harm to leave the words out.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** I will agree to that. Then the end of the clause will read, "shall be recoverable in a Petty Sessional Court."

Amendment moved, in Clause 60, page 35, line 40, to leave out from ("shall") to the end of the clause and insert—

"Compensate the master or owner of such house or part of a house, or the owner of such article, for any unnecessary damage thereby caused to such house, part of a house, or article; and when the authority destroy any article under this section they shall compensate the owner thereof; and the amount of any such compensation shall be recoverable in a Petty Sessional Court."—(*The Viscount Cross.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 108.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** In this clause I have to move to leave out the words "or Sanitary Inspector." This is a point which was raised in Standing Committee, and I object to the insertion of those words on behalf of my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board. The Standing Committee took a different view, and I have to ask your Lordships to reverse the opinion of the Standing Committee. The question is simply as to dismissal of the Sanitary Inspector, and it was sought by the insertion of these words to place him on the same footing as the Medical Officer. This is a question which has disturbed the Local Authorities very much. As originally drawn, the Bill had those words in; but very great objection was taken to them in the House of Commons; and an arrangement was come to by my right hon. Friend and all those who opposed the Bill, that the words should be omitted. In consequence of that agreement the opposition was withdrawn, and the Local Authorities were satisfied. As the Bill came up to your Lordships' House, therefore, those words were not in, but the Standing Committee inserted them, although I did all I could to prevent their doing so. I have now to ask your Lordships to strike out the words which the Standing Committee put in.

Moved in Clause 108, page 56, line 20, leave out ("or Sanitary Inspector"); lines 25 and 26, leave out ("or Sanitary Inspector"); line 28, leave out ("or Sanitary Inspector").—(*The Viscount Cross.*)

\*EARL FORTESCUE: My Lords, I should not have attached so much importance to these words and have pressed their restoration rather than retention so much, if it had not happened that I have had almost a life-long experience of the great importance of enabling subordinate as well as more important officers in the work of Local Government to act fearlessly and independently. From the very first passing of what used to be called the New Poor Law, though it is now more than half a century old, a number of their officials, the Relieving Officers, the Medical Officers, and Masters of workhouses were rendered irremovable without the consent, in the first instance, of the Poor Law Commissioners, then of the Poor Law Board who replaced them, and now of the Local Government Board. Having served on a Board of Guardians, mostly as chairman and vice-chairman, for more than 40 years, and having during the greater part of the remainder of that time held the place of Secretary to the Poor Law Board, I can testify from experience, not only in a country Union, but from correspondence with Unions in all parts of the kingdom, as to the very great value and importance of enabling officers to discharge their duties fearlessly, without the dread of being dismissed at the instigation of some influential person in the body, whether a Sanitary Authority or Board of Guardians, or a London Vestry. The position of a Sanitary Inspector is still more invidious, still more open to misrepresentation, and still more likely to give offence than the position of a Relieving Officer. It is notorious—I speak from my experience now in another capacity, as having had a good deal to do for some years with the sanitary affairs of the Metropolis. I sat for years on more than one successive Metropolitan Commission of Sewers. I had the honour of being selected as chairman for all the latter portion of the time, and I know that sanitary improvement is in many instances just as unpopular with the tenants and lodgers, whose health is suffering from the unsanitary conditions in which they are, as it is with the owners of those unwholesome tenements. I am old enough to remember when one of the most powerful cries at an election was "The poor man's pig," and it is

difficult to say who was the most indignant at the compulsory removal of the pigs from the immediate proximity to human habitation, the owner of the pig or his neighbour. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the popular feeling among those who are most subject to the evils resulting from unsanitary conditions is on the side of improvement; it very often is just the reverse. The position of the Sanitary Inspector, who may be considered, as it were, a private in the ranks of the sanitary army, whereas the medical officer of health, who is made irremovable by this Bill without the consent of the Local Government Board, may be considered as one of the officers, is without some such protection as this, a most invidious and hazardous one. Sanitary inspectors are liable to be either tempted to neglect their duty or to suffer a real martyrdom, and to be deprived of their livelihood by giving offence to some influential vestryman—and under this Act the Local Sanitary Authority is the vestry—a vestryman who perhaps has taken great pains to get himself elected in order to protect from needful, but perhaps rather costly, sanitary improvement, the unsanitary dwellings and lodgings for which he is receiving a high rent. More than half the Sanitary Inspectors have now, in London, got certificates of competent sanitary knowledge from the Sanitary Institute after a regular course of pretty stringent examination by men like Sir Douglas Galton, Professor Schofield, Professor Corfield, and others, who are themselves notoriously experts in sanitary matters. I think the practical value of this Bill will be very much impaired by the elimination of the words in question, and of the protection to the Sanitary Inspectors; and highly valuable as it is, for it is consolidation into an accessible and intelligible form of the multifarious sanitary statutes under which the inhabitants of the metropolis are living, its practical value will be very much diminished; if all those whose business it specially is to examine and inquire from house to house are to do so at the hazard of their situations, and danger of being deprived of their livelihood by interested parties, owners—one may use the word "owner" because that does not necessarily mean the ground landlord—who, as I have said, in many cases

have taken pains to get elected in order to prevent the requisite sanitary improvements from being made at their expense. After, as I have said, a lifelong experience, almost, of the value of protection to officials who are engaged in useful, but unpopular duties, and as one who, for more than forty years, has devoted himself very much to the great sanitary cause, I most earnestly entreat the House not to accede to the elimination of these very important words.

**THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** My noble Friend has stated at such great length the arguments in favour of the amendment which he moved in Standing Committee, and which it is now proposed to strike out, that I owe an apology to your Lordships for saying a word upon it; but I think the matter is one of some importance, and I must say I deeply regret to find that the noble Viscount intends to strike out these words. The matter lies in a very small compass indeed. The Sanitary Inspectors have extremely invidious duties to perform, and it seems to me more than any officer who is employed under the bodies controlled by the Local Government Board can be expected to do without protection. It is desirable, I think, that he should not be dismissed without the consent of the Local Government Board. This is not a new principle at all; it has always been applied as regards all the officers who serve under Boards of Guardians, and they certainly have duties less invidious to perform than those of the Sanitary Inspectors. Even a Medical Officer hardly has, I think, duties so difficult to perform with perfect honesty as a Sanitary Inspector. I do not wish to impute any particular laxity in the performance of their duties to the Sanitary Authorities; but it must be perfectly obvious that where there are men sitting on a Board, who are themselves, as is constantly the case, with others on the Board, interested in the nuisances which are to be suppressed, the Sanitary Officer will be tempted to exercise the duties of his office with an extreme lenity. It is notorious that this is the case, and especially is it so, I am told, in London, where Sanitary Officers have not always done their duty. I think it is very important indeed in passing an Act of

this kind, the whole value of which consists not in the mere passing of the Act, but in the way in which it may be administered, that we should give this protection to the Sanitary Officers. It appears to me that was the intention of the Government originally, and although they have given way to pressure from the very bodies who are interested in the matter, and who ought not to have been listened to on the subject, I still hope the House will preserve the Amendment and keep the Bill as it left the Standing Committee.

**LORD MONK BRETTON:** My Lords, I should just like to say one word upon this matter. I have heard with great regret that the noble Viscount proposes to omit these words. He offered no argument upon the merits of this omission; he simply said he proposed their omission because there were a good many vestrymen who would not like them to be retained. That rather appears to me to be an argument for the retention of the words. Every argument that applies to giving the Medical Officer of Health the protection of the Local Government Board, applies with greater force to the case of the Sanitary Inspector, who is a man whose task is even more invidious than that of the Medical Officer, and he is a smaller man, so to speak, and therefore more liable to be under the influence of the vestrymen than the other officers. It is not proposed to make the Sanitary Inspector independent; I should be very sorry to think he should be placed in an independent position, because he might act unreasonably, or take an unreasonable view of the facts in certain cases; but it is necessary he should be protected, otherwise he cannot be expected to perform his very invidious task.

**\*VISCOUNT CROSS:** I would ask your Lordships to allow me to say one word more. I think the noble Lord who has just sat down has rather misunderstood my argument. The argument which I presented to your Lordships was that the Government, having introduced the words originally, were compelled to give way in the other House, and that they pledged themselves, as far as they were concerned, that those words should not appear in the Bill. I am very much afraid that, if we insisted upon these



words remaining in, we might very much imperil the passing of the Bill.

On question, Whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand part of the Bill?

Their Lordships divided:—Contents 12; Not-Contents 31.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### IMPRISONMENT UNDER THE VACCINATION ACTS.

##### QUESTIONS—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD HERSCHELL, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government whether, in recent cases, persons committed to prison for breach of the Vaccination Acts have not been treated as criminals, and not as persons committed to prison for non-payment of a sum of money, said: My Lords, I am led to put this question to Her Majesty's Government owing to an answer which was given some time ago to a question put by my noble Friend Lord Stanley of Alderley. The answer that was then given by my noble Friend Lord De Ramsey to that question was understood by me certainly to be to the effect that persons committed to prison for breach of the Vaccination laws were treated as persons committed for non-payment of sums of money, and that their treatment was the same as that of debtors. I expressed my satisfaction with that answer, and stated that I was glad that was now the treatment to which those persons were subjected. Since that time, however, I have received various communications on the subject, alleging that since that time persons committed to prison for breaches of the Vaccination Laws have had to sleep on the plank bed and have been made to pick oakum; and that question having arisen with regard to one person and his treatment in a particular gaol, the Home Office have stated, in answer to an inquiry, that the imprisonment was in respect of the non-payment of a penalty for disobedience to a judicial order under Section 31 of the Vaccination Act, 1867, and that the instructions given were that the prisoner should be treated as a convicted criminal prisoner not sentenced to hard labour. Those instructions seem to me to be quite inconsistent with the answer given in this

*Viscount Cross*

House by the noble Lord, unless there is some distinction drawn between the treatment of some vaccination offenders and other vaccination offenders, because certainly the treatment of a convicted criminal prisoner not sentenced to hard labour is not the treatment usually meted out to persons imprisoned in respect of the non-payment of a sum of money. At least that is what I understood when I expressed my satisfaction with the answer of the noble Lord. The matter is of some importance, because I find the only point on which those not opposed to vaccination and those who are opposed to vaccination are pretty well agreed, is that it is inexpedient to add to the punishment of detention in prison for breaches of Vaccination Laws, the treatment as a criminal of the person so convicted. The reason why those opposed to vaccination are opposed to this course is obvious, and I need not refer further to that; but the reason why those who are favourable to vaccination are opposed to such a course is that it does not really tend to increase the number of persons vaccinated; while, on the other hand, it certainly does intensify and extend the area of the opposition to vaccination; and therefore, it is a proceeding with which neither those who are opposed to vaccination nor those who are favourable to it are satisfied. If this be the practice, and if it be possible for the Home Office by any regulations to alter the practice, I would certainly, speaking entirely impartially as between those in favour of vaccination and those opposed to it, urge upon Her Majesty's Government the great inexpediency of the treatment of those persons as convicted criminals, which I believe does no good to the cause of vaccination, but, on the contrary, does a good deal of harm.

\*LORD DE RAMSEY: My Lords, I regret, if through any doubtful expression in my answer last May, I led the noble and learned Lord to believe anything but what is actually the true state of the case. My answer was correct as I am informed, and I have but to repeat it to-day, but I will endeavour to make my meaning perhaps a little clearer than it was on the 11th May last. The noble and learned Lord suggested just now that there is a division in the way in which the

prisoners are treated. That is so. If a conviction takes place, and a fine is imposed, and is not paid, then that prisoner is treated as an ordinary criminal; but the difference occurs here: that where the default is in respect of costs only, the prisoner is treated as a debtor.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** The difference is between cases where a fine has not been paid, and cases where there are costs only, and no fine?

**\*LORD DE RAMSEY:** Yes, that is the difference. The noble and learned Lord knows very well, I have no doubt, that a case of this sort can be found; a case was tried by Lord Justice Lindley in 1884 bearing exactly on the question which has now been twice put to me. I do not know whether I have explained the matter sufficiently. I have no more details, but if it is desired I should answer further, of course I will.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** I do not, of course, press the matter if the noble Lord is not prepared now to make a further statement on the subject; but what I should like to suggest to him is, whether the Home Office would consider the expediency, if it is possible, in the case of those persons who are imprisoned even upon the imposition of a fine which they have not paid for breaches of the Vaccination Laws, of treating them as debtors or persons committed for non-payment of money; that is to say, of treating such prisoners, not as convicted criminals, but in the same way as if it were only a question of costs.

**\*LORD DE RAMSEY:** As far as I understand it, the matter rests in this way: when a man is in prison, what is he in prison for? Is he in prison for neglecting to pay the fine imposed upon him, or for neglecting to pay the costs, which, I believe, is called, "disobedience to an order"? If he is in prison for neglecting to pay a fine he is in one class, and is treated accordingly; and if he is there for not paying costs he is in another, and is treated as a debtor.

**THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** We perfectly understand the explanation which the noble Lord has given; but what my noble and learned Friend wants to know is something else—not an explanation of the two kinds of convictions, but whether or not the Home Secretary can order, and if he can, whether or not he considers it would

be highly expedient to do so, as I certainly think it would, that in cases where prisoners had been fined, not merely where they have costs to pay, for not complying with the Vaccination Laws, those prisoners should be treated as debtors?

**\*LORD DE RAMSEY:** I am not prepared to answer that at this moment. I must ask the noble and learned Lord to give me notice of the question.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** I will ask the question on a later day.

#### SALE OF GOODS BILL [H.L.]—(No. 262.)

Amendments reported (according to order); and Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> on Thursday next.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 259.)

##### REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments reported (according to order).

**THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN:** My Lords, I have to move certain Amendments, and I am very sorry I have not been able to place them on the Paper, as the Bill in the present form had not been circulated to the Members of the House in time. I have three Amendments to propose. They are not Amendments so much of substance as to explain the meaning of the Bill in various clauses, and to carry out what I believe is the intention of its promoters. The purpose of the first is to secure that the meeting of the District Committee, at which it is resolved to apply to the County Council, shall be a special meeting.

Amendment moved in Clause 2, line 24, after the word "passed" to insert the words "and such application having been sanctioned"; and in the next line to strike out the words "a meeting" and to substitute therefor the word "meeting."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

**\*LORD HAMILTON OF DALZELL:** My noble Friend has been good enough to show me this Amendment before the House met, and I have no objection to it.

Amendment agreed to.

**THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN:** The next Amendment is in Clause 5. The

object of this Amendment is to explain exactly what the Local Authority is for the purpose of borrowing. There is no doubt it is the County Council; but at the same time it is thought better that the words "County Council" should be inserted. I beg to move that Amendment.

Amendment moved, in Clause 5, page 3, line 37, after the word "the" to insert "the County Council as the."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

\*LORD HAMILTON OF DALZELL: I have no objection.

Amendment agreed to.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: The purpose of the next Amendment is to make the procedure under Clause 6 the same as the procedure under Clause 2.

Amendment moved in clause 6, page 4, line 6, after the word "authority" to insert the words "at a meeting called by special notice to resolve by an absolute majority of their number."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> to-morrow, and to be printed as amended. (No. 269.)

#### TURBARY (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 265.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN): My Lords, this is a Bill, the object of which is to enable the Land Commission, when tenants on an estate have purchased their holdings, to buy up any charge on the estate for the purpose of taking advantage of the turbary, the costs to be defrayed as part of the expenses of the Land Commission, and all the sums received by the Land Commission in respect of the Turbary so purchased will be under charge of the Treasury, and they will be applied as in appropriation of the money provided by the Land Commission, or they will be paid into the Exchequer. I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and Committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

*The Earl of Camperdown*

#### METALLIFEROUS MINES (ISLE OF MAN) BILL.—(No. 225.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

\*LORD DE RAMSEY: My Lords, this is a Bill for clearing up some doubt that has arisen as to the jurisdiction of a Court in that island to enforce penalties under the Metalliferous Mines Act. The intention is to put the Isle of Man on an equality with England in this matter. I beg to move the Second Reading.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

#### POST OFFICE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL. (No. 254.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (the Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, this is a Bill for the purpose of increasing the facilities given by the Post Office to the public in a number of small matters, among others that of having re-directed letters sent on without additional payment. All the alterations are in favour of the public, and I have no doubt the Bill will meet with your Lordships' approval.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

#### PENAL SERVITUDE BILL.—(No. 249.)

##### THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>a</sup>."

\*LORD NORTON: My Lords, I wish to say a few words upon the Third Reading of this Bill. I want to ask whether there is any intention of renewing the proposal which was made in a most elaborate and able speech of the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Herschell) last year, for a revision of our secondary sentences. I think this Bill shows more than ever the importance of such a revision, and the urgent necessity

of it. The Bill very usefully restores the minimum term of penal servitude, which was most unfortunately omitted in an Act which was placed on the Statute Book during a panic in 1864; but it shows more glaringly than ever the want of anything like system in the sentences to secondary punishments. It enacts that a sentence of imprisonment for two years may be awarded in cases in which the Act requires a sentence of penal servitude. In official statements from the Home Office it has been urged lately that the two punishments have become the same. Imprisonment with hard labour and penal servitude are sentences practically in the same category of punishment, only differing in duration, and in the necessity in the longer term, that of penal servitude, of a period being passed on public works preparing for discharge. I think myself that penal servitude was altogether a mistaken phraseology in substituting for transportation a new punishment which really had nothing whatever to do with it. It does not carry a greater terror than a sentence to imprisonment with hard labour—rather the reverse, in consequence of the uncertainty with which it is necessarily carried out under the present system; but when two secondary punishments are decided to be punishments of the same kind, yet differently named, in the same category it is important that both the judges and criminals may understand what they mean. There is confusion in the series of punishments by making two punishments of the same kind designated differently, and still more as this Bill proposes to make one mean the other at the discretion of the Judge. I think this shows the necessity of revision. Nothing can be more striking to anybody who visits our prisons than the number of recommitments; in fact, you may say that a first commitment is a rarity in our prisons. Nine-tenths of the prisoners, have been convicted five or six, and even as many as twenty times. That shows an inefficacy in our existing form of secondary punishments, which is very much caused by indistinctness of phraseology, which makes the penal code unintelligible both to the Judges and to the criminals. What is wanted is something like a definite principle laid down as to the meaning of our punishments and cumulative sentences upon the repeti-

sion of crime. I want to ask, especially, the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Herschell), whose Motion for a Commission of Inquiry was accompanied by a very full and most able statement of the reasons why such an inquiry should be carried out, whether this Bill is all that is necessary. I observe that the noble and learned Lord in that speech reflected also upon the system of police supervision upon the discharge of prisoners as very much requiring reconsideration. All these experiments require re-consideration from time to time; and the noble and learned Lord suggested, and I fully agree with his suggestion, that now our Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies are distributed throughout the whole of the kingdom, they might be made a much safer and more practical mode of enabling discharged prisoners to get into employment, and to get into industrial life, than the police supervision which must, with all its details of reporting from time to time, be a great hindrance to a man's restoration to anything like a feeling of self-respect as far as regards himself, and a great check upon employers taking him into their service. Everybody is delighted with the undoubted fact that crime is being very much reduced in this country; and, therefore, many people are hastily thinking, if that is the case, what is the use of looking into the system. The system must be good under which crime has been reduced. But the reduction of crime, I think, as your Lordships will allow, is attributable not to the perfection of our penal system—I think that has been rather adverse to the reduction of crime—but it is attributable to the extension of education and the reformatory system, and to the Discharged Prisoners' Aid system in this country. Those are the three causes of the great reduction of crime. But that is no reason why we should not look into the faulty system which is fraught with injury and impediment to the effective execution of the law. I rather address my question to the noble and learned Lord opposite, whether he has any intention to re-introduce early next Session the Motion urging the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into this subject which he so ably proposed last year?

LORD HERSCHELL: My Lords, in answer to the question put to me by the noble Lord, I certainly do feel as strongly as I did when I brought the matter before your Lordships somewhat more than a year ago, that the time has come when inquiry might be very usefully made into our present system of punishments, with a view to see whether there could not be a better gradation of sentences than now exists, and also to inquire into the question of these particular terms of punishments, imprisonment and penal servitude. That inquiry has become more necessary in consequence of the one term becoming more assimilated to the other by means of the present Bill. There can be no doubt that different views do prevail among those who administer the law, not merely as to what is expedient to be done in particular cases, but as to the principle of awarding sentences. There are those who believe that anything beyond the first offence must be followed by very severe sentences; there are others who believe that for even many offences committed after the first one, if they are small ones, the sentences inflicted ought not to be for periods of lengthened detention. Those views have been acted upon at Quarter Sessions on one side and the other for a long time past; and I think the time has now arrived when inquiry might usefully be made as to the effect which has been produced during several years past by the application of those different systems. I think the present state of things has gone on long enough to enable useful knowledge to be obtained as to what the results have been as regards the repetition of offences and the numbers of persons imprisoned under the various sentences. There are other matters to which the noble Lord has referred, as, for instance, whether we could improve the present system of supervision of prisoners who are to be placed under some supervision for a time after their sentences have expired, and adopt some system which shall not tend, as it is to be feared the present system tends, to render it difficult for those who have been convicted to obtain or keep employment. The truth is, our present system has been going on for a very considerable time without inquiry, and I cannot help thinking there is an advantage in from

time to time overhauling a system of this sort by means of inquiry to ascertain where we stand and what improvements might be made, and, therefore, entertaining these views, I still propose to call the attention of the House to the subject, and early next Session to ask your Lordships to consider whether it is not expedient that such an inquiry should be made by a Royal Commission, Committee, or otherwise.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I am under the impression that my noble and learned Friend and my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department have already agreed on an inquiry into this subject. That is the information that has reached me from the Home Secretary.

LORD HERSCHELL: No; the Home Secretary has communicated to me his willingness to grant an inquiry into the treatment of habitual drunkards, but he is not willing to extend it further.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I think my noble and learned Friend has misunderstood the Home Secretary, or the Home Secretary has altered his mind since I made inquiry. If my noble and learned Friend will approach the Home Secretary I think he will find that he is not unprepared to have some inquiry on this subject.

\*THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I am very glad to hear what the noble and learned Lord has said. I think it would be a pity to confine the inquiry to habitual drunkards. What is required is an inquiry upon the subject of habitual criminals. I had the honour to introduce a Bill into this House in 1869 which dealt with the treatment of habitual criminals. I think the time has arrived when it is very desirable to make some inquiry and see whether the system requires alteration and improvement, in these matters especially; and I am sure the noble Lord, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, will agree with me that it is quite necessary from time to time to look into the system and see whether changes are required. Such a step, of course, implies no want of confidence in the present Prison Commissioners. I remember when the inquiry took place upon penal servitude the very able Chairman of the Prison Commission, Sir Edmund Du Cane, told me that inquiries from time to time strengthened

the hands of the Prison Commission, for complaints which there is otherwise no opportunity of answering are very often shown to be groundless upon inquiry. The question of supervision was very carefully examined by the Commission, of which I was Chairman, and I would observe that the supervision exercised in cases of penal servitude is not supervision after the sentences have expired, but during the period when the prisoners are released upon license. It is very important to bear that in mind, because those who remember the introduction of the penal servitude sentences will recollect that the public were extremely alarmed when tickets-of-leave were first issued, and it was only when the system of the supervision of convicts, "on licence," as it is now called, was established, that the confidence of the public was restored. I entirely agree with those who think that the system of supervision should be enforced with the greatest care, so as not to impede the return to honest life of those who have committed crime, but as it is the fact that not a few of them do return to a course of crime, it is essential for public safety that there should be some means of ascertaining where these men are, and of being able to still watch them and know what they are doing. If that is done, as I believe it is done, with judgment by the police, I think such a system is useful and commendable; but, at the same time, with regard to the shorter terms of imprisonment followed by supervision, that system has never been examined into, and I should be glad if there were an inquiry into the matter. Then the grading of sentences requires careful consideration also, and especially the matter to which my noble and learned Friend referred, namely, the total differences of view which exist with regard to sentences which have been expressed with regard to those who have repeated their offences. A great number of people hold—I myself am one of them—that if a man has committed a long series of offences, not, perhaps, very serious, taking each of them, that man should be treated very differently from a man who commits an offence for the first time of the same kind. But some judges pursue the course of taking each offence upon its merits without reference to the previous history of the prisoner.

That being so, I think it is very desirable that the whole system should be examined into, because I am quite certain that every one will agree with me in saying that certainty in the infliction of punishment is of the greatest possible advantage. If people are not aware of what their punishment is to be, that must impair the efficacy of any system which may be adopted.

On Question, agreed to; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup> accordingly, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### LOCAL REGISTRATION OF TITLE (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 228.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order) with the Amendments; a further Amendment made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Ordered, That the Evening Sitting of the House to-morrow do commence at a quarter past Four o'clock.

House adjourned at a quarter before  
Six o'clock, till to-morrow, a  
quarter past Ten o'clock.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 27th July, 1891.*

#### PRIVATE BUSINESS.

#### HANOVER CHAPEL BILL.

Bill considered as amended.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) moved, in page 7, line 26, Clause 7, to insert the following proviso:—

"Provided that the amount to be expended for sub-sections 3, 4, and 5 shall not, without the consent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, exceed two-fifths of the sum to be paid for the said site."

Question put, and agreed to.

\*MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) moved, in Clause 13, page 9, line 22, to leave out from "to," to end of Clause, and insert—

"Apply to the Charity Commissioners, under the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1891, for a scheme to be established by them amending the said scheme for

the administration of the charity of the 'Trinity Chapel Site,' so as to provide for the future administration of the said moneys for the benefit of the mother parish of St. George, Hanover Square, or any ecclesiastical parish or district therein."

The hon. Member said: The Amendment is simply another way of drafting the clause which was amended by the Committee. It is an alteration of the machinery, and will bring the provision under the ordinary jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill to be read the third time.

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (SCHOOLS RECEIVING SPECIAL GRANTS).

Return ordered, by Counties, of the Schools which received, during the year ending the 31st day of August 1890, the Special Grant of £10 or £15 under Article 104 of the Code, under the following heads:—

Name and population of School District.

Name and denomination of School.

Accommodation.

Average attendance.

Total Grant.

Additional Grant, Article 104.

—(Mr. Arthur Acland.)

#### BRITISH GUIANA (IMMIGRATION OF COOLIES).

Address for—

"Return showing particulars relating to Immigration of Indian and Chinese Coolies into British Guiana since the Report of the Commission of Inquiry in 1871:—

Coolies introduced:—

British Indians.

Chinese.

Total.

Description:—

Males.

Females.

Total.

Deaths.

Births.

Returned to India.

Now in the Colony.

Number of Coolies sent to gaol for offences against the person.

Number found guilty of murder, and sentenced to death.

Number executed.

Mr. J. W. Louther

Now in goal for different crimes.

Total expenditure for immigration purposes.

Amount paid by Planters who employ Coolies.

Amount paid from Immigration Revenues, and loans redeemable by Immigration Revenues.

Amount paid from general Revenues.

Number of estates under cultivation.

Number of estates on which Coolies are employed.

Amount of wages paid to the Coolies."

—(Mr. Alfred Pease.)

#### QUESTIONS.

##### IMPENDING FAMINE IN INDIA.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the increasingly serious reports with regard to impending famine in the North-West Provinces, Rajputana, and other districts in India, he will give the House the most recent information on the subject, and will state what steps the Government of India has taken to meet the distress and danger that may arise?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.) (for Sir J. GORST): My right hon. Friend, in whose absence I answer the question, says—I have with me the latest telegrams about the crop and famine prospects. They are dated the 24th of July, and as they appeared in Saturday's newspapers, I do not know that it is necessary to read them. A further telegram is expected to-morrow; and thereafter weekly telegrams will be sent every Friday as long as cause for anxiety continues. The telegrams will be sent to the newspapers. As regards the preparations for dealing with famine, the Secretary of State is in telegraphic communication with the Viceroy, whom he has urged to take without delay every necessary precaution for the relief of distress, and from whom he has heard that adequate arrangements have been made for all contingencies anticipated. In all the threatened British provinces famine Codes have been issued, and plans have been drawn up for dealing with distress caused by famine. Funds are available for meeting the cost of relief; and in

any district where relief operations are necessary, they will be begun] on the scheme laid down in the Famine Codes. In two districts of Madras considerable relief operations have been going on for some months.

#### CONDITION OF COOLIES IN BRITISH GUIANA.

MR. A. PEASE (York): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government have received any Reports as to the condition of the Coolies in British Guiana since the removal of the late Inspector to a subordinate position in the hospitals, and whether the status of the medical officers is virtually fixed by the elective members of the Combined Court of Policy, although the Coolies are nominally under Imperial protection?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. DE WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The late Medical Inspector of Immigrants, now Chief Medical Officer of the Colonial Hospital was succeeded by the present Medical Inspector of Immigrants in July, 1889. The usual Annual Reports as to the condition of the Coolies, both general and medical, have been received for the year 1889. Those for 1890 have not yet been received. The salary, £1,000 a year, of the Medical Inspector of Immigrants is permanently secured; those of the other medical officers are voted annually. There is no reason to apprehend that the Combined Court will not at all times provide whatever salaries Her Majesty's Government think necessary in connection with Coolie immigration.

#### TRINCOMALEE (CEYLON.)

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary for War, whether he is aware that there is no permanent method of manufacturing ice at Trincomalee (Ceylon), where there is a garrison and hospital and only a temporary ice house erected, and furnished with ice from Colombo at the private expense of the Admiral for the time at the station, and whether he will consider the desirability of furnishing Trincomalee with permanent means of making ice, so necessary to hospital patients and the comfort of the garrison in a hot climate?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The question of securing a supply of ice for Trincomalee is now under consideration.

#### SLAVE TRADE IN THE RED SEA.

MR. E. PEASE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government have received any information concerning a slave trade which has sprung up between small places on the Red Sea Coast north of Suakin to the opposite coast north of Jeddah; and whether, as the slave caravans have to pass through Egyptian territory, Her Majesty's Government will call upon that of Egypt to carry out the terms of the Convention of 1877, which undertakes to prevent such transit of slaves?

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Information has been received from Sir E. Baring of the existence of such a slave trade as that mentioned. It is, however, his opinion that the Egyptian Government is doing everything in its power to prevent it. The frontiers at Wady Halfa and other stations are carefully watched, and the surveillance at Suakin and other ports on the Red Sea Coast is, in my opinion, as efficient as it is in the power of the Egyptian Government to make it. They are also assisted by the gunboats of Her Majesty's Navy. Early in the year about 60 slaves were taken to the Governor of Suakin by Arab Sheikhs and liberated. The occupation of Tokar dealt a heavy blow to the slave trade, and immediately after the fall of Handoub important arrests were made of notorious slave dealers.

#### THE ISLAND OF LEWIS.

DR. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is the intention of the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Western Highlands and Islands Commission as regards lighthouses, by causing lighthouses to be erected at Tiumpan Head and at the entrance to Loch Carlowey, in Lewis; and if he is aware that only a few days ago a large ship went ashore in Broad Bay, Lewis, owing to there being no lighthouse on Tiumpan Head?

\*A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir HERBERT MAXWELL (Wigton): I have



received information that the vessel referred to has been got off and left in tow of a tug, but I may inform the hon. Member that it is intended to erect a lighthouse at the entrance to Loch Carloway in Lewis, and it is possible that the light may be completed this Session. There is no present intention of erecting a lighthouse on Tiumpán Head.

DR. MACDONALD: I beg to ask the Postmaster General, if a petition has been received by Her Majesty's Government from various representative bodies in the island of Lewis, praying that the telegraph system should be extended to the fishing villages of Tolsto, in Stornoway parish, Gravir and Crossbost, in Lochs, and to Shawbost, Brager-Arnol, on the west side of Lewis; and what his intentions are in reference to these petitions?

\*THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that I received a Petition on the subject to which he refers, and at once caused inquiry to be made. The result of that inquiry has just been reported to me, and I regret to say that at none of the villages mentioned would a telegraph office be self-supporting. I shall be glad to forward the Petition to the Scottish office, but I think it will be found that the whole of the grant placed at the disposal of that department for extension of the telegraph in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland for the current year has been expended.

#### POSTAL DELIVERIES AT NESS.

DR. MACDONALD: I beg to ask the Postmaster General if he will explain why the district of Ness has only two postal deliveries a week while the other districts have three; and if he can see his way to give all parts of the island equal facilities in this matter?

\*MR. RAIKES: The post to and from Ness, in the Island of Lewis, already entails an expenditure which largely exceeds the revenue from the correspondence. The post to other districts, besides that of Ness, is restricted to two days a week, and having regard to the heavy charge which the mail service with the island as a whole entails on the Revenue, I regret that I should not be justified in sanctioning any increase in the frequency of the internal posts.

*Sir H. Maxwell*

#### REGENT'S PARK.

MR. LAWSON: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he has received a Petition from the Regent's Park Senior Cricket Association, asking for permission to erect a pavilion for refreshments and dressing accommodation on the junior ground; and whether he is aware that the lads playing on the ground have neither latrine, dressing, nor refreshment accommodation; and, if so, whether he will reconsider his decision?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET, Dublin University): I have received from the Regent's Park Senior Cricket Association a letter in support of the application made by the caterer who sells refreshments at the existing cricket pavilion for leave to build and work a new one on the junior ground. I shall inquire further into the matter, but at present I incline to think that no such necessity exists as should outweigh the objections sure to be raised by other portions of the public against the setting up of any more buildings in the park. It may, however, be true that additional latrine accommodation ought to be provided. I will look into that question.

#### MANCHESTER POLICE FORCE.

MR. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that the Manchester Watch Committee, who have lately revised the pay of the police force in their employ, will not grant any pensions, under the new scale of pay, to men who retire before the expiration of 12 months from the introduction of the new scale of pay, even though certain of the men have been in the police force for more than 25 years, which is the time fixed for their retirement; is this refusal in accordance with the terms of the Police Superannuation Act of last year; and are police officers entitled to a pension in proportion to the rate of pay they are receiving at the date of their retirement, and to retire at the expiration of 25 years of service?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Chairman of the Manchester Watch Committee that no Resolution has been adopted whereby

any benefits which members of the Manchester Police Force are entitled to under the Police Act, 1890, in consequence of an increase of their pay, are to be withheld from them, and the Watch Committee have no intention of coming to any such Resolution. The answer as to the pensions in proportion to rate of pay will be found in Section 1 (a) and Part III. of the first schedule of the Police Act, 1890.

#### THE CROFTER COMMISSION.

MR. LYELL (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the increased work thrown on the Crofter Commission by recent legislation, and the probability that these new duties will further delay the Court in dealing with the applications for fair rents in the highlands and islands, the Government will appoint additional Commissioners who may be empowered to deal with the new duties, and so leave the original members of the Commission free to dispose of the applications for fair rents at a more rapid rate; and whether representations have reached him that the long delay in settling what are fair rents in the highlands and islands is injurious both to crofters and landowners, and that a prompt settlement is most urgently needed?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I assume that the "recent legislation" to which the hon. Member alludes is the Crofters' Common Grazings Bill, which is now awaiting the Royal assent, but it is not anticipated that the new duties imposed upon the Commissioners by this measure will make any very serious call on their time. I much regret that the Commissioners have not been able to overtake their work at a more rapid rate, but the hon. Member will understand that it would be practically impossible, even if it were thought altogether advisable, to introduce the legislation necessary to increase their number at so late a stage of the Session.

#### REVISION OF VOTERS (METROPOLIS).

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, considering the great importance of the list

of voters as published on the 1st of August being correctly drawn up by the overseers, and considering that the number of names respectively added to and struck off that list to form the final register can be easily obtained, especially for London, he will grant the Return to be moved for to-night in relation to the Revision of Voters (Metropolis)?

\*MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): May I ask the hon. Gentleman whether, as all lists of voters are equally important, he will extend the Return to the registers for the whole of the country?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): Undoubtedly, if the Return is granted at all it would be extended over the whole of the country, but I believe that it will be very difficult to obtain the Return asked for, and if obtained would be of a misleading kind.

\*MR. CAUSTON: I am afraid that the hon. Gentleman has misunderstood my question. I am certain that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a Return for the Metropolis.

#### MULLINGAR PRISON.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he has received a copy of a Resolution adopted by the Grand Jury of Westmeath, requesting that the prison at Mullingar be re-established as a major prison; and, if so, can he now state the decision of the Government on the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. MADDEN, Dublin University): The Resolution mentioned was duly received and acknowledged. The Government would not feel justified in incurring the increased public expenditure which the proposal in regard to Mullingar Prison would involve.

#### TELEGRAPH ENGINEERS.

MR. D. SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can hold out any hope that the engineering branch of the telegraph service will be placed on the same footing as regards classification; and, if not, will he state the reason for withholding the concession?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The hon. Member has not stated in his question the branch of the postal or telegraph service with which he thinks the engineering branch of the telegraph service should be put on a level, and I am therefore quite unable to say whether any or what concession will be granted or withheld.

#### SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OFFICERS IN SWITZERLAND.

MR. T. ELLIS (Merionethshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Foreign Office will direct Consuls to report as to the working of the system of employing the police as school attendance officers in Switzerland and other foreign countries?

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Considering that the system in question is inapplicable to this country, the Report proposed would not be of practical value, and would not justify the cost and trouble of procuring it, unless this House should desire to have it.

#### THE SALTERS' COMPANY.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland if the Government is aware that since June, 1889, legal proceedings have been instituted in the County of Londonderry by the Salters' Company, London, against 250 of their former tenants (purchasers in 1886 under the Ashbourne Act) for the recovery of arrears of rent and interest due 1st November, 1884, and 1st November, 1885; that decrees in all cases were granted, and thus the Company have either obtained payment or hold decrees capable of being at once executed for £2,500; that, subsequently, Mr. John M'Guiggan, of Ballynagaire, appealed, and that Judge Holmes, at the recent Derry Assizes, reversed the decree; but, as no appeals are possible in the other cases, will the Government enforce the decrees still outstanding, or take steps to provide that the money already paid under threat of legal proceedings being returned to those 250 tenant purchasers?

MR. MADDEN: I understand that it is the case that proceedings were instituted, as stated in the question, to compel compliance with agreements which the tenants had entered into. The case of M'Guiggan appears to have terminated in the manner indicated by the hon. and

learned Member. The Executive Court have no power to interfere in any way in the matter.

In answer to a further question by MR. T. M. HEALY,

MR. MADDEN said: Of course, I have no positive information to enable me to decide whether the appeal in the single case governed the decision in the other 249; but, whether or not, the hon. and learned Member knows perfectly well that it is a matter between the litigants themselves with which the Executive Government have no concern. Any representations on the subject from the 250 tenants should be addressed to the company.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman address a question to the Salters' Company on the subject?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir; I cannot do that.

#### WATER SUPPLY AT OTLEY, SUFFOLK.

MR. STERN (Suffolk, Stowmarket): I beg to postpone until Thursday my question—To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether complaint has been made to his Department in reference to the neglect of the Woodbridge Rural Sanitary Authority to carry out the Sanitary Act in connection with the supply of pure water to Otley, in Suffolk; how many cases of illness and death from fever have occurred in that district during the last two years; and will the Local Government Board use its powers to compel the Local Authority to proceed at once with the necessary works?

#### TELEGRAPH OFFICE AT LEWKNOR.

MR. F. PARKER (Oxford, Henley): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he will establish a telegraph office at Lewknor, a village between Tetsworth and Watlington, and where the wire passes the post office, seeing that the postmaster is willing to work the telegraph without remuneration till the receipts cover the expenditure, and the only expense would be connecting the office with the wire outside?

\*MR. RAIKES: In reply to my hon. Friend, I am compelled to say that I could not accept an offer from the sub-postmaster to work without remuneration; but I shall be glad to establish a

telegraph office at Lewknor if a guarantee be forthcoming to secure the Post Office against loss. I fear from what I have been able to ascertain that the wire to which my own Friend refers is fully occupied.

#### THE NAVAL VOLUNTEERS.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, with reference to his recent statement with regard to the Naval Volunteers that he would be ready to consider any propositions which would give greater effect to the wish of the Admiralty to convert the Corps into a Marine Corps, he will allow enlistments to go on for the present, so as to maintain the strength of the present force, pending negotiations for its conversion into a Coastguard Naval Corps, or such other form as will meet the requirements of the Service and the views of the Volunteers?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Faling): I am anxious to treat the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers with every consideration, but as their organisation is to be changed, to prevent misunderstandings, all future recruiting must take place under the new and not the old conditions.

#### THE CASE OF MRS. BARKER AT ALEPPO.

MR. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been frequently called to the delay, by the Turkish Courts at Aleppo, in a case raised by Mrs. Braker, widow of a former British Consul (who had been connected with the Consular service for about 50 years); whether he is aware that a Turkish subject, residing at Aleppo, had forcibly entered into Mrs. Barker's house, and resisted for five or six years all her efforts to regain possession of her property by legal proceedings; whether the communications received allege improper influence being exercised over the local tribunals, in order to delay the hearing of the case; and whether, in view of the fact that two of Her Majesty's Consuls have reported favourably as to the justice of Mrs. Barker's case, and also as to the

delay of the Turkish Courts, and that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has reported to the same effect, instructions will be sent out to Her Majesty's representatives at Constantinople to press for the obtaining of a speedy hearing and decision in this case.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The case of Mrs. Barker has formed the subject of frequent correspondence. The questions in dispute have given rise to a long and complicated lawsuit. Mrs. Barker's opponent at one period attempted to enforce his claim by force, and was punished on the representations of the British Ambassador by dismissal from the Government Service. Allegations have been made on Mrs. Barker's behalf as to improper influence over the tribunals, but they have not been substantiated. Further instructions are not required, as the British Diplomatic and Consular officers, while unable to interfere with the action of the constituted Law Courts, have been unwearied in their efforts to assist Mrs. Barker to the extent of their powers. Recent information from Constantinople shows that Mrs. Barker is instructing her legal adviser in communication with the British Embassy.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND.

MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Commissioners or Judges to be appointed under the permanent Act recently arranged with the delegates from Newfoundland for carrying out the *modus vivendi* are to be appointed by the British or by the Colonial Government; whether there will be an appeal to the Supreme Court of Newfoundland from the decisions of the said Commissioners or Judges by the inhabitants of the west coast of Newfoundland; and whether the salaries of the Commissioners or Judges are to be paid by the British or by the Colonial Government?

BARON H. DE WORMS: Until the Draft Bill has been formally accepted by the Government of the colony, it would be premature to state the nature of its proposed provisions.

#### THE LATE MR. JAMES M'HENRY.

MR. COBB: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department

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whether he can state the date of the certificate or authority which was given by the Home Office, under which the body of the late James M'Henry was exhumed in St. James's Cemetery, Liverpool; who applied for such certificate or authority; what was the substance of the Report of the analysis of the contents of the stomach of the deceased; and whether there is any objection to producing such Report?

MR. MATTHEWS: The exhumation order was granted on June 15 at the instance of the Director of the Public Prosecutions. The result of the *post-mortem* and subsequent analysis is to point to natural causes as the source of the disease of the stomach found after death. I have no objection to showing the Report to the hon. Member.

#### LIGHTHOUSES.

MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade, in view of the fact that within the past few days one of the lightkeepers on Tuscar lost a hand through an accidental explosion of gun cotton, and would have remained some 16 hours without surgical attention but for having been taken off by the *Cephalonia*, whether, for use in cases of accident or shipwreck, Her Majesty's Government would consider the propriety of establishing telegraphic or telephonic communication with the more important of the lighthouses situated on rocks and islands round the United Kingdom?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the account of the accident referred to, as given by the hon. Member; but the injured man was, as a matter of fact, promptly taken off for surgical treatment, and I do not think this particular case could be quoted in support of the necessity of establishing the communication to which the hon. Member refers, however desirable it may be on other grounds.

#### ARMY CONTRACTS—COAL.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the coal supplied to Maker Fort, Tregantle Fort, and Picklecombe Fort by Messrs. Harvey is North Country or Scotch; if the con-

Mr. Cobb

tract with Messrs. Harvey calls for North Country or Scotch coal; and if he would make inquiries into the truth of the allegation that Scotch and not North Country coal has been supplied by Messrs. Harvey?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: The contract with Messrs. Harvey with regard to the supply of coal to Maker Fort, Tregantle Fort, and Picklecombe Fort, is for North Country coal; and, on inquiry, it is reported to me that such coal has been duly supplied.

#### CYPRUS.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether there is any foundation for the statement in the *Phoni tis Kyprou* of the 26th June, to the effect that there was a serious error in the basis of the calculation of the average surplus revenue of Cyprus; whether the further statement in the same issue is correct that—

"If the difference between the value of gold and paper money were taken into consideration, Cyprus would now be paying to the Porte £40,000 instead of £92,000 per annum;"

and whether Her Majesty's Government will have the matter investigated?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The tribute was fixed at the value of £92,000 by Her Majesty's late Government in 1881-82 upon Reports of Sir Robert Biddulph made after an investigation of the subject both in Cyprus and at Constantinople. Her Majesty's present Government have had occasion to review the question, and are satisfied that the conclusions of their predecessors were correct, and that there has been no such error as the writer in the Cyprus newspaper imagines. As a matter of fact, only a small part of the five years' receipts were encashed in paper, and full allowance was made as to this in converting the payments into sterling.

#### THE LITTLE BROSNA RIVER.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will direct the Board of Works, or cause the Railway Company, to remove the obstruction erected by the railway in the Little Brosna River, which now prevents the drainage of the Shinrone drainage district; and whether there are any means of compensating the

riparian owners and occupiers for the damage resulting from the obstruction?

\*SIR H. MAXWELL: We have no powers to compel the Railway Company to do as the hon. Member requires, and the riparian owners and others have their remedy at law for any damage caused.

#### GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that, in connection with the new contract held by Messrs. Bramble Brothers for works and repairs of barracks, forts, &c., at Portsmouth, the rates of wages paid by them are for all mechanics at the rate of 6d., and for labourers at the rate of 3½d. per hour, whereas the rates of wages generally accepted and paid in Portsmouth are for mechanics 6½d. to 7d., and for labourers 4½d. an hour; and, if so, what steps he proposes to take in order to carry out the Resolution of this House of 13th February, that under future Government contracts the rates of wages paid should be those generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Messrs. Bramble, the contractors for barracks, forts, &c., at Portsmouth, undertook to pay the wages generally paid in the district, and I have not received any notice from persons concerned that Messrs. Bramble have not fulfilled their pledge.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he is aware that Messrs. Turner & Co., who have taken a contract for work at Buckingham Palace, have sub-let a portion of the work to Messrs. Parker & Co.; and that, in connection with work under this contract, the mechanics employed are being paid at the rate of 8½d. and their labourers at the rate of 5½d. per hour, which is less than the rate of wages generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen; and what steps he proposes to take, in regard to this contract, to carry out the Resolution of the House of 13th February?

MR. PLUNKET: I have ascertained that there is a small piece of work, the cost of which is, I understand, less than

£50, being executed by Messrs. Turner & Co. at Buckingham Palace. It is not a Government contract, nor is it to be paid for out of any moneys voted by Parliament. I have, therefore, no authority to inquire what wages are paid to the mechanics or labourers engaged upon the work, nor do I know.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that A. Lethbridge, contractor for work at the Royal William Victualling Yard, Stonehouse, Devon, sub-let the painting to William Randel and Prowse, of Plymouth; and what was the minimum rate of wages paid by Mr. Lethbridge to the men employed under his contract for the different classes of labour?

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: The contract with Mr. Lethbridge for work at the Royal William Victualling Yard, Stonehouse, was for a lump sum of £745, including £52 for painting. No authority was given for sub-letting the painting or any part of the work, and it was believed at the time that the painting was being done by the contractor's own men. Further inquiry will be made. The contract being for a lump sum, the rate of wages paid by the contractor to his workmen was not reported to the Admiralty.

#### UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that on 29th April, 1889, the University for London Commission reported that—

"A reasonable time should be allowed to the Senate and Convocation of the University of London to consider whether they will apply to Her Majesty for a new charter in accordance with the suggestions contained in Report of the Commission";

that—

"In the event of their applying for and obtaining such a new charter, no other University can now be established in London, and that the prayer of the petition of University and King's College be not granted";

and that, in the contrary event, the subject should be remitted to the Commissioners for further consideration; whether he is aware that on 12th May last the Senate of the University of London invited Convocation to concur in petitioning the Crown for a new charter,

but that such charter was admitted in a Memorandum issued by the Senate to differ very materially from the charter suggested by the Royal Commission; and whether, in view of the fact that a Committee of the Privy Council has recently given judgment in favour of the grant of a charter in accordance with the Petition of University College and King's College, the Government intends to ask Parliament to give its assent to this charter without further consideration of the subject by the Royal Commission, and without Convocation of the University of London having had an opportunity of accepting or rejecting a charter drafted upon the lines of the Royal Commission's Report?

MR. GOSCHEN: I have to inform the hon. Member that the London University failed to obtain the sanction of Convocation to the draft scheme, by which they proposed to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Thereupon the Privy Council resumed their consideration of the Petition of University and King's Colleges for the grant of a charter, and after considerable discussion, requested the petitioners to submit an amended draft charter. This has just been done; but before the Committee report to Her Majesty, the draft charter as finally settled must be laid before both Houses for 30 days. It will then, of course, be subject to discussion in Parliament, and it will be for Parliament, and not for the Government, to decide whether it shall be accepted.

#### TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

MR. ROWNTREE (Scarborough): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education if his attention has been called to a statement in the Annual Report of the Science and Art Department just published, purporting to show from Returns received up to 10th May that the Council of the North Riding of the County of York (amongst other County Councils) has notified that the whole amount of their share of the residue under the Customs and Excise Act will be applied to technical education; and if it is the case that last year the North Riding County Council appropriated the whole of such share, and this year have decided to appropriate one-half to non-educational purposes?

*Mr. Summers*

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): The statement in the Annual Report was compiled from the best information obtainable at the time; but it is possible that subsequent changes have been made by the Local Authorities, in the appropriation of the grant, which have not been communicated to the Department.

MR. A. DYKE ACLAND (York, W.R., Rotherham): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether, in view of the omission of the names of many counties which have granted money to technical education under "The Local Taxation Act, 1890," in the list on page 51 of the Report of the Science and Art Department just issued, a new and complete list can be prepared and separately issued?

SIR W. HART DYKE: The Department have received but very little further information since the compilation of the statement made on page 51 of the Report, and I think it would be better to wait till the beginning of next year, when a full and exhaustive list of the operations of the County Councils for the current financial year can be issued.

MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he can state the amount of the residue now applicable in Scotland, under "The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, at the discretion of the authorities named in the Act, in relief of local rates, or in aid of technical education; and how soon the grant will be paid?

\*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): The amount available for distribution is £48,051 15s. 2d., and it is expected that the grant will be paid in the course of this week.

#### PROMOTION IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury what is the practice observed in transferring or removing members of the Civil Service from one office to another, or from one force or station to another in the same capacity, under the same Department, and subject to the same Board; if the person so transferred, either at his own instance or from any other cause, at the instance of the

particular Board under which he serves, is subjected to any pecuniary loss or loss of seniority by reason of such transfer or removal; whether, when questions of promotion arise in particular forces or stations, the time served in the same capacity in a different port or station from that in connection with which promotions are to be made militates against a person so transferred, in considering his claims for promotion in connection with that force or station to which he may then be attached; and whether seniority and promotion throughout the Civil Service generally depends principally upon the length of service in each particular Department, and not upon the length of time spent in any particular office, force, or station, under the same Board?

\*SIR H. MAXWELL: To answer completely the question of the hon. Member would necessitate inquiry in each Department of the Public Service. I can, therefore, only undertake to reply in a general sense and subject to reasonable reserve. In the first place, men transferred in ordinary course are transferred in accordance with the exigencies of the Public Service. Secondly, men transferred on promotion would not lose seniority, and under reasonable conditions would receive an allowance in respect of removal expenses; but the same rule would not apply to men transferred for their own convenience or as a punishment. Thirdly, in the case of a man transferred the time served by him in the same capacity at the port or station which he leaves would not militate against the man so transferred. Fourthly, as a general rule, promotion in the Public Service is held to depend upon merit.

#### CIVIL SERVICE SURVEYORS IN LONDON.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer when does the Board of Customs intend to fill up the vacancies which have been created in the third class of surveyors in London by the promotion of seven of them to the second class; what steps have the Board taken to have the whole of the import gauging done by first class examining officers as far as possible; and whether officers of this grade are being

transferred to that duty from other duties on which they had hitherto been engaged, and their places filled permanently by second-class examining officers; and, if so, whether it is his intention that such duties should in future be regarded as of an inferior kind, and not requiring the services of first-class examining officers?

MR. GOSCHEN: The hon. Member will see, on referring to the Treasury Minute of March 24, that the vacancies in the third class of surveyors were caused by the creation of three additional first-class and four additional second-class surveyorships,

"Which shall remain until such time as the whole of the existing third-class surveyors who may be fit for promotion shall have been promoted."

These appointments were specially created owing to circumstances which were recorded in the Minute, but it was not part of the plan to promote a corresponding number of first-class examining officers. With regard to this class, provision was made for them to receive increased emoluments under the Minute. As regards import gauging, the Board of Customs have now under active consideration a scheme for assigning the duty as far as possible to first-class examining officers. The work of those officers has been defined, and in any transfer of officers to import gauging duty from other duties care will be taken that proper provision is made for the latter duties by officers of a grade sufficient for the proper performance of the work.

#### SPECIAL GRANTS TO SCHOOLS.

MR. A. DYKE ACLAND: I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether he will arrange for the insertion in the future Annual Reports of the Education Department of distinguishing marks showing the schools to which special grants have been made under Articles 104 and 105 of the Code, and the amount of these grants?

SIR W. HART DYKE: I will see what can be done in the direction indicated without unduly adding to the complexity of the information given in the Appendices to the Report.



# YORKSHIRE NORTH RIDING LUNATIC ASYLUM.

MR. ROWNTREE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the statement in the Appendix to the 46th Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, as to the Yorkshire North Riding Asylum, in which the Commissioners say—

"We gather that there is not any Roman Catholic service here, although there are 72 patients of that faith";

and if this Report has been or will be officially communicated to the Local Authorities who are responsible for the management of the asylum, or if any other means can be taken to secure suitable religious provision for the persons referred to.

MR. MATTHEWS: The Report quoted was originally written by the Visiting Commissioners in the Visitors' Book at the North Riding Asylum, in order that it might come to the notice of the Visiting Committee, whose province it is, under Section 276 of the Act of last year, to deal with the subject of religious provision for the patients. I am informed by the Superintendent of the asylum that the Report was considered by the Committee of Visitors, who decided that the practice hitherto pursued of allowing Roman Catholic patients, when well enough, to attend, if they desire it, the services of the Roman Catholic Church at York be continued; and that care be taken to communicate with a priest in the event of any patient being seriously ill, or wishing to be visited by a priest. I am also informed that the priests have willingly visited the members of their Church, and have always attended when summoned.

# REVENUES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the revenues in the Return of the Revenues of the Church of England (No. 287) are limited to the annual income arising from permanent endowments, and do not include rates levied under local or other Acts, in London and elsewhere, for the maintenance of the clergy, fees, pew rents, Easter, or

other offerings, or income derived from voluntary sources; and whether, in Part 3 of such Return, column 2, the tithe-rent-charge is taken at par value, as in Part 2, or at its value in 1885-6, as in Parts 1 and 4?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am informed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that certain fixed payments made to incumbents out of rates levied under the authority of Local Acts are included in Part 3 of the Return (column 9); but it does not include any receipts from fees, pew rents, Easter and other offerings, or income derived from voluntary sources, other than interest, &c., derived from benefactions permanently invested. The tithe rent-charges included under column 2 of Part 3 are entered at the "commuted amount" or "par value."

# TELEGRAPH LINES IN SHETLAND.

MR. LYELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he can say when the telegraph line to Heylor, in Shetland will be established?

\*MR. RAIKES: I regret that I am not yet in a position to afford the hon. Member definite information on the question of an extension of the telegraph to Heylor. The wire which passes within about two miles of that place is already sufficiently weighted with telegraph offices, and it will, I fear, be a most expensive operation to provide a satisfactory means of communication. As soon as the inquiries have been completed, I will communicate with the hon. Member.

# INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Attorney General whether the decisions of the Institute of Chartered Accountants are subject to be reviewed by the ordinary Courts of Law?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): No general answer can be given to the hon. Member's question, as it depends upon the nature of the decisions and the circumstances under which they were given. If the hon. Member will communicate with me with reference to the circumstances of any particular case, I shall be pleased to render him any assistance in my power.

## BOARD OF TRADE REPORT.

In answer to Mr. TOMLINSON (Preston),

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH said: I am not quite certain as to the date up to which the Report of the Board of Trade under the Conciliation Clause can be prepared; but I believe it will be presented before the close of the Session.

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): May I ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he succeeds this evening in getting the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule, he will proceed with the Clergy Discipline (Immorality) Bill, seeing that the Bill is very much disputed, not only in this House but outside; and whether it does not come under the pledge recently given by the Government that contentious measures would not be proceeded with?

MR. E. ROBERTSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman resist any Private Bills being taken after 12 o'clock?

MR. ATKINSON (Boston): I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will not give away the privileges of private Members.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I presume we may take it for granted that no new Bill will be introduced.

MR. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I hope that time will be allowed to take the Bills of private Members which have reached the last stage.

MR. GOSCHEN: I will answer the questions which have been put to me when I make the Motion on the Paper.

## THE ABDUCTION OF MISS GREENFIELD.

MR. PICTON: Can the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs inform the House whether Miss Kate Greenfield has been released?

SIR J. FERGUSSON: My information on this subject corresponds with what has appeared in the newspapers—that she has been removed from where she was and taken to the house of the Governor. Arrangements are being made for an inquiry as to her personal wishes, where there will be no coercion exercised with regard to her.

## NEW MEMBER SWORN.

The Honourable Arthur George Brand, for Cambridge County (Northern or Wisbech Division).

## PARISHES (UNITED DIVIDED, &amp;c)

Order [2nd March] for an Address for a Return relative thereto read, and discharged; and, instead thereof:—

## PARISHES (UNITED, DIVIDED, &amp;c.)

Address for—

“Return of Parishes divided and Districts assigned to Churches by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, under the provisions of the Church Building Acts and ‘The Parish of Manchester Division Act, 1850.’”

“Of all Districts and new Parishes constituted by the same Commissioners under the New Parishes Acts:”

“Of all Districts or Parishes assigned or constituted by the same Commissioners under ‘The St. Leonard and St. Mary Magdalen Church Districts Act, 1868,’ or any other local Act, from the 31st day of October 1880 to the 31st day of October 1890 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 413, of Session 1881):”

“Of all the Benefices, Parishes, or parts of Parishes united by Order in Council, and of all Benefices or Parishes disunited by Order in Council:”

“Of all Chapelries, Hamlets, and other parts of Parishes severed from their Mother Parishes:”

“Of Extra Parochial Places, constituted separate Benefices by Order in Council, from the 19th day of March 1872 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 227, of Session 1872):”

“And, of all Chapelries, Hamlets, or other parts of Parishes severed from their Mother Parishes, and of Extra Parochial Places not constituted separate Benefices but united to other Parishes, by Order in Council, from the 25th day of June 1872 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 345, of Session 1872).”—(Mr. Talbot.)

## EAST INDIA (OPIUM).

Address for—

“Return of an Article on Opium by Dr. Watt, Reporter on Economic Products with the Government of India, recently written by him, and intended to be published in the Sixth Volume of the Dictionary of Economic Products of India.”—(Mr. Bryces.)

BANKRUPTCY ESTATES ACCOUNT  
(BOARD OF TRADE.)

Return ordered—

“Showing for each year since 1883 (a) the Amounts of Money received by the Board of Trade for the Bankruptcy Estates Account; (b) the Amounts paid over from the said Account to the Treasury; (c) the Amounts repaid by the Treasury in respect of the same.”—(Mr. Arthur O'Connor.)

BANKRUPTCY ESTATES ACCOUNT  
(TREASURY.)

Return ordered—

"Showing for each year since 1883 (a) the Amounts received by the Treasury from the Bankruptcy Estates Account; (b) the Amounts expended for the provision of Office Accommodation for Officers performing duties under 'The Bankruptcy Act, 1883;' and (c) the Amounts repaid to the Board of Trade."—(Mr. Arthur O'Connor.)

MR. ATKINSON AND MR. SPEAKER.

(3.50.) MR. ATKINSON (Boston): Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I very respectfully claim freedom of speech in order to call your attention to the Journals put before the House to-day, which contain a statement with reference to me which, if it were true, would make me ashamed of myself and my conduct as a Member of Parliament for the remainder of my days. It is stated that I, on Friday night, frivolously called for Divisions. I beg to say that the matter I took in hand—namely, the timber trade advocacy—was not known to me until two days previously. There had been a large meeting of the timber trade, and I was moved by a well known firm to take the matter up. I represented to them that they should not pass by the three Members for Hull and their county Members and ask me to do it simply because I was a Hull man, but I was told by my friends that, as I had been 45 years in the business, I was the best fitted to take the matter up. Being pressed to undertake the duty, at length I consented, although there were other matters which I wished to attend to. I went through my duties the other night with extreme reluctance and great regret, and although I had given notice of nine Amendments to postpone for three months the Bills in question, when I found that the feeling of the House was against me, I let five of the Bills go without challenge. I then believed that an hon. Member had spoken in the sense in which I was speaking, and so I named him as a Teller with me, but the hon. Member immediately got up and said that he did not go as far as I did, and thereupon the House laughed, and I let the Amendment go. Another hon. Member on the other side of the House, with whom I had never before acted and of whom I ought to have been

wary, then came across to me and said, "I will tell with you, and I will stick by you to the last." I said, "Very well," and in these circumstances I thought it to be my duty to take one more Division. I gave to the Speaker the name of that hon. Member as Teller, and the Speaker called upon him, and that gentleman, showing that he understood the agreement he had made with me, stood up at once. The Speaker told him to stand up again. I had never before that night been in the position of only having one hon. Member with me. I thought it my duty to take a Division once more, and I stood up again, but the hon. Member did not stand up. If I had known that that hon. Member would not have stood up, I should not have troubled the Speaker and the House to divide. I then sat down, and in my club at 9 o'clock the next morning I found, on receiving the papers, that I was to be pilloried before the House and the country as having frivolously attempted to divide the House. I protest against that, and I say that I would rather have a Committee of the House—even of my political enemies, if you like—to go into the whole matter and show exactly what happened, and it will then be seen that I was moved by the timber trade of the country, and had no personal interest in the matter. In fact, I am a large shareholder in six of the companies I was opposing. But there, I was entrapped, if I may use the word without being unparliamentary, or cajoled, and if that will not do I will say seduced, into accepting the co-operation of an hon. Gentleman opposite—a co-operation I never asked for in my life, and which I never will ask for or accept again should I live to the age of Methuselah. The Papers bear the signature of the Speaker, but I presume that was formal, and I wrote to the clerk to ask the right hon. Gentleman, if he had not already signed them, kindly not to sign them until I had explained the matter. That is the treatment I have received for a week past. I ask the House kindly to accept my Motion that these two entries be expunged from the Journals. If the House will not do that, I ask for a Select Committee to inquire into the matter. If that be not granted, I will take the Chiltern Hundreds, and will go down to Boston and stand upon the question whether I did my duty in this matter or

not. I will not be trampled upon by any one.

\*MR. SPEAKER: I must recall to the House the circumstances of which the hon. Member complains.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.): May I ask a question? [*Cries of "Order!"*]

\*MR. SPEAKER: There were upon the Paper on the occasion in question several Amendments applicable to several Railway Bills. The first of those Bills after a time came to the stage of Third Reading, and when the hon. Gentleman challenged my decision I asked him whether he had any other hon. Member to act with him as Teller, and, no Teller coming forward, I said that the "Ayes" had it. The Great Western Railway Bill next came before the House, and on the Question that the Bill be now considered, the hon. Member moved to leave out "now" in order to insert the words "this day three months." That was put and negatived. Then came the Great Eastern Railway Bill, and the same thing happened as had occurred with reference to the two previous Bills. I put the Question, and that Bill passed without any demur. There was then the Great Northern Railway Bill, which was exactly of the same character as the other Bills. It was not challenged, but was read a third time and passed. Then came the London and South-Western Railway Bill. I put the Question that the Bill be now read a third time. The hon. Member challenged it, and I thought after what had taken place I might properly employ the Standing Order No. 30 and ask the minority to stand up. The hon. Member stood up alone in his place, and the House was saved the trouble of a Division. The hon. Member complains that in the Journals of the House an entry is made that he had frivolously and vexatiously attempted to divide the House.

MR. ATKINSON: It does not say so. [*Cries of "Order!"*]

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I thought it was vexatious, and I put the Standing Order into effect. I have something more to say, and I desire to say it in the hon. Member's presence.

MR. ATKINSON: Hear, hear! [*Cries of "Order!"*]

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member, in the course of the remarks he has just made, referred to the treatment which he says he has received at my hands for a week past.

MR. ATKINSON: Hear, hear! [*Cries of "Order!"*]

\*MR. SPEAKER: I wish to say, in reply, that I will not notice any communication that comes from the hon. Member in his private capacity. I think that any complaints which he has to make against me should be made publicly in this House.

MR. ATKINSON: Hear, hear! [*Cries of "Order!"*]

\*MR. SPEAKER: The House is aware that there is standing on the Paper in the hon. Member's name a notice of Motion charging me with an offence which I hope is new to me as regards any Member of this House—that of discourtesy. I have been on several occasions during my time in the Chair brought into relations that have been exceedingly unpleasant to me with several hon. Members of this House, but I am not aware that either on their part, and I can certainly say not on my own, have any private relations been established between us other than of a friendly kind. They have distinguished between the person and the office. Now, it is my duty, and a very painful one it is, to read to the House two communications which I have received during the last 48 hours from the hon. Member, and I think that the House will agree with me that a stop must be put to these communications between an hon. Member and the Speaker.

MR. ATKINSON: Hear, hear! [*Cries of "Order!"*]

\*MR. SPEAKER: I was away on Saturday on business, and when I came back I found a letter from the hon. Gentleman following a former communication, which was, as I think, so discreditable to the hon. Member and so insulting to myself that I do not think it becoming to read it to the House.

MR. ATKINSON: Yes, do.

\*MR. SPEAKER: I shall take my stand upon the two communications, which I will now read. The hon. Member, as the House will observe, has objected to some public action which I took, and I found this letter on my return:—

"National Club, 1, Whitehall-gardens, S.W.,  
July 26, 1891, before 9 a.m.

Sir,—To my utter amazement, I find that in the minutes of 24th inst., page 836, professing at page 840 to be signed by you, I am pilloried as 'frivolously' claiming a division, which, in fact, I claimed in fulfilment of my promise to one of the greatest trades in the United Kingdom.

As a matter of fact, I assume you have not signed the minutes, which are lengthy, and I believe are not yet fairly written out.

If you do sign them, I ask you (or the clerks) to tell me what is my proper course to impugn the veracity of the record.

I shall certainly do so, and I now protest in the strongest way possible against your persecution of me while a motion is pending which I tried to get on already by making it 'privilege,' and which was printed without that word in the paper.

My protest also refers to page 847.

It contains a false statement, and I will move that it be expunged from the Journals of the House, first proving, as I can do with the greatest ease, it is false.

I much regret the need for this letter, and I send a copy of it to the Press unless I hear satisfactorily before 1 o'clock to-day (addressed to me here).

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY JOHN ATKINSON, a duly-elected Member of Parliament, addressing you in that capacity only.

To the Right Honourable A. Peel, M.P., as Speaker of the House of Commons."

I have not replied to that letter. I would not in any case reply to it. But there has been handed in to the Clerks at the Table this document, intended, of course, for me to see—

"Mr. Atkinson,—To ask the Clerks at the Table if they will consult together as to an impartial chairman to hear the complaints against the Speaker of the House and fix an early day for it."

Now, with reference to the complaint against me which the hon. Gentleman has put down on the Paper, in which he complains that the word "privilege" is struck out, the House is very well aware that no privilege attaches to a complaint involving a question of order, and that it is put down in the ordinary way, the hon. Gentleman—every hon. Gentleman—taking his chance of it coming on. The other night I called upon the hon. Member when the time came round for the Motion to come on. I said, "Mr. Atkinson," when the hon. Member ran from behind my chair, and with a rudeness which is now in the recollection of those who were present at the time said, "What is it?" I

Mr. Speaker

replied, "The hon. Gentleman surely ought to know his own Resolution." I have made this statement before the House. It is intolerable that I should be subjected to treatment of this kind. I have foreborne during the whole of last week from taking any step, whether public or private, in the matter. I have asked the friends of the hon. Gentleman if they could in any way influence him for the purpose of avoiding what I felt to be a growing scandal. And now, having made that statement, I hope without any prejudice on my part, and without attempt to prejudice the question, I beg to leave it in the hands of the House.

MR. ATKINSON: I feel bound to claim freedom of speech again, as a duly elected Member of this House. I protest against any attempt to prevent my discharging my duty to my constituents. I say that I have been obstructed by the officials of this House for a week past and more, and if the House will give me a Committee I will prove that I have been so obstructed. I have given notice during that time of Motions which impugned the conduct of the Clerks at the Table, and I have to ask why they were not printed. I have the courage of my opinions, and when anybody tries to prevent me doing my duty he will not find, wherever he sits, on this side of the House or the other, that I will submit to it. I therefore ask the House, even now, to appoint a Committee on the subject, or to listen while I give the other side of the matter which the Speaker has put before the House. Just now, when the right hon. Gentleman was giving an account of the last Division, he did not mention the fact that Dr. Tanner [*Cries of "Order!"*] did stand up and was called upon. After Dr. Tanner [*"Order, order!"*—I beg pardon for infringing the Rules; I mean the hon. Member for Cork—had sat down, I went to him and said, "You volunteered in this matter. You have put me in a very unpleasant position"; and I then left the House. Having done all that I could in the performance of my duty, I thought it was very hard that my conduct should have been impugned. As to the other matter, I assure the Speaker that I had no intention of speaking rudely to him. If I spoke quickly it must be remembered that it was 12

o'clock at night, and I had had a great many other matters to attend to. I beg to apologise to the right hon. Gentleman, because never in my life have I intended to be rude, either to the right hon. Gentleman or to the clerks at the Table. But, at the same time, I have been spoken to by the clerks at the Table as if they were Members of Parliament, and I was a clerk. One of them the other day, when I showed him a notice of Motion, said, "Oh, oh." I said, "Do not say 'Oh, oh,' to me; I am responsible; tell me whether it is in order or not, and if it is I will go on with it." He was a clerk at the Table, and clerks are not Members of Parliament. I am proud of being a Member of Parliament, and I have never done anything to make my constituents ashamed of me. I will go before them if any one else concerned in the dispute will go before his constituents, and we will see what the result is. I shall come back here elected by a larger majority than before, and then I will no more be browbeaten than I will now. I ask the House to appoint a Committee, and I will prove everything I have said; or I ask the House to name a day to discuss my Resolution, and I will prove that every word I have written or spoken is true. I beg to move that a Select Committee sit to consider the question, or that the Journal of the House be altered immediately in accordance with what I have asked.

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I doubt whether a more painful case than this has been before the House, I may say, during the whole of our Parliamentary history. If there is one office the dignity of which is valued by this House and by the country generally, it is that of the Speaker. I am only expressing the feelings which obtain universally in every part of the House when I say that you, Sir, have shown courtesy and impartiality to all sides of the House and to every Member of the House. You, Sir, have been obliged to appeal to the House against a Member of this House [Mr. ATKINSON: Oh, oh!] and you have said it is intolerable that during the whole of last week you have had to complain of the conduct of the hon. Member. I venture to think it will be the universal feeling of the House

that the protection which you have asked at our hands must be accorded to you, Sir, unanimously. Without wishing to bear hardly on the hon. Member, without wishing in any way to show towards him any animosity, I still think the House will be of opinion that what you have said, Sir, must be marked, and must be marked in such a manner that it may be known that you have the support of the House. Therefore I feel it to be my duty to move—

"That the hon. Member for Boston be suspended for the rest of the Session, and be excluded from the precincts of the House."

MR. ATKINSON: I protest against that from a Liberal. He is not my leader.

SIR W. HARCOURT (Derby): I make no doubt that, after the painful scenes we have witnessed, not only to-day, but I may say for many days past, the House will feel that it was not even necessary that you, Sir, should make the statement which you have felt it your duty to make in order to convince the House that the conduct of the hon. Member for Boston has been a scandal to the House of Commons.

MR. ATKINSON: Order order! It is not true.

SIR W. HARCOURT: That being so, and feeling that it is our duty to vindicate your office, and to vindicate the character of the House of Commons, I think that all of us who have been witnesses of what has been taking place for many days past in the conduct of the hon. Member for Boston have no option but to support the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. ATKINSON: Not true.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the hon. Member for Boston be suspended for the rest of the Session, and be excluded from the precincts of the House."—*(The Chancellor of the Exchequer)*.

MR. ATKINSON: May I not speak upon it?

\*MR. SPEAKER: Yes.

MR. ATKINSON: I wish simply to say it is a very convenient way of settling the Motion which stands in my name, but the moment I come back I will move it. I am not going to be silenced by anything of the sort.

\*MR. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. Member to withdraw.

MR. ATKINSON: Is that in order? Oh, then, I will withdraw, but I will come back and prove my case to be what I have said it is.

MR. ATKINSON then withdrew.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I feel it to be my duty to say that I do not concur in the Motion. I admit without reserve that Mr. Speaker, in the circumstances in which he found himself, had no other course open to him but that which he has taken; the House will unanimously sympathise with him in the position in which he found himself, and will feel that the conduct of the hon. Member has been in a high degree reprehensible. I think, however, that the Members of the House who have observed the conduct of the hon. Member for Boston will feel that his faults and errors are due rather to lack of self-repose and to incapacity for perfect self-control than to any disposition to be disrespectful to the Chair. The errors of the hon. Member are due to impulse and not to malice. In the scenes in which the hon. Member has borne a prominent and regrettable part he seems to have been moved by a feeling which he sincerely believed to be quite justifiable; he was intrusted, in some degree, with the care of an important interest, and that feeling, in his mind, operated perhaps to an extent which many of us cannot justly estimate. It has led him into acts and words with regard to the Chair which cannot be justified, and which the hon. Member himself in cooler moments will most deeply regret. As an Irish Member and one who has had to go through painful experiences in trying times, I wish to say that Mr. Speaker has been sometimes placed in difficult relations. But I feel bound to say that, however much we may have felt at the moment aggrieved by any action he took, we never doubted that his kindness of heart and dignity of disposition made him superior to anything like unfair or discourteous treatment of any Member. That unqualified testimony will, I hope, remove any doubt as to the feeling which animates me in the course I feel bound to take now. I think the Resolution is harsh, and that it is in excess of the necessities of the case. Any one who has observed the hon. Member for Boston will feel

that he is rather to be compassionated than blamed. I think the justice of the case will be met by suspending the hon. Member for this Sitting, and that the lesson taught by that suspension would be sufficient. I therefore hope the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be able to mitigate the severity of his Motion.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I wish to say one or two words, because I also on one or two occasions have been brought in unfortunate conflict with the Chair. I concur in the suggestion of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), but for different reasons. I fear that such a dangerous precedent as this might be used in this way in the future. An hon. Member or some hon. Members might have a very important measure to bring forward touching the condition of the democracy, and it might possibly happen that the general feeling of the country was opposed to it. Then it might happen that that Member or group of Members, while observing the courtesy due to the Chair, would protest vigorously and at great length, and thereupon this precedent might be used to silence them. Without wishing to extenuate the conduct of the hon. Member for Boston, I beg to join in the protest so ably made by the hon. Member for West Belfast.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding): As I am closely connected with the constituency of the hon. Member, and as a large number of his constituents, through the dual operation of the franchise, vote in the Parliamentary Division which I represent, I venture to say a few words, although that reason in itself is not sufficient warrant for my intervention in this painful matter. I have been brought into close personal relationship with the hon. Member. We live in the same town, and I can assure the Speaker and the House that the conduct of which complaint is made is exactly that suffered by everyone who has been brought into association with the hon. Member for Boston. If the matter were not so serious it would be ludicrous, but I hope the House will see it is simply the habitual conduct of an impulsive man, which considerably detracts from the personal offence towards the Speaker in

his official capacity. If there is any possible way in which the constituents of the hon. Member, as well as the dignity of the Chair, can be protected, it will be a happy escape from this unpleasant affair.

MR. MACLEAN (Oldham): I think it only right that some Member on this side of the House should make response to the generous sentiment to which expression has been given by hon. Members opposite. Everybody who knows the hon. Member for Boston must respect him for his honesty and independence of character; and no one can help having a very kindly feeling towards him. We know the hon. Member has not great powers of self-command, but it is certain that in his conduct towards the Speaker he never has had the slightest intention of showing any personal rudeness or discourtesy. I am quite sure the hon. Member did not intend to use the words "false charge" in his letter to suggest that a deliberate mis-statement had been made against him by the Clerks on the Minutes. His only object was to say that the statement that he had "frivolously" pressed a Division was erroneous. With the greatest possible respect for the Chair, I think it is open to question whether the hon. Member acted frivolously in calling for a Division. Speaking with some years' acquaintance of the hon. Member, in which I have known his many good qualities, I am aware that the hon. Member is frequently given to making remarks which he certainly does not intend to be taken as discourteous. I therefore hope the Leader of the House will be satisfied with passing a censure upon the hon. Member's conduct, and will not proceed to the extremity of suspending him.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I am quite willing to bear witness that the Speaker has always treated every Member with the greatest possible courtesy, even at times when relations have been somewhat strained. The conduct of the hon. Member for Boston justifies its being reported to the House, but I must strongly object to the form of the Motion, which is an enormous innovation and of grave political significance. It is quite unusual in my experience to suspend an hon. Member for a first offence for the remainder of the Session, and that course

might work in a most important manner. The precedent will be entered on the Journals, and may be taken to justify a suspension at the beginning of the Session in the future. I appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer either to withdraw his Motion or to so modify it as to limit the suspension to a single sitting, or at least to one week. Personally, I think a mere Vote of Censure would meet the case.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I have nothing but the kindest feeling towards the hon. Member for Boston, but we must not look at the matter as a personal question. We must look at what has occurred in the House. I go no further back than this evening. The hon. Member said the Chair had persecuted him for a week past on account of the Resolution he had put down in regard to the Chair. It is perfectly impossible that any representative Assembly respecting its Chairman can sit quiet and allow such words to pass without punishment of the peccant Member, and, if ever there was a case in which suspension should follow, this is the one. Members are suspended by the Rules of this House, and when an hon. Gentleman addresses the Speaker in such words as has been used this evening, he ought to be suspended. I will, however, suggest that it would meet the views of many hon. Members on this side of the House if some specific period of suspension were named in the Resolution. It is rather vague to say it shall last till the end of the Session. Of course, we hope the end is near, but we do not know.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: With reference to the remarks which have been made, I feel very strongly some of the observations which have dropped from hon. Members opposite—that the hon. Member for Boston lacks, to a certain extent, the power of self-control, and that much of that which seems to be most offensive may be the result of sudden impulse on his part. I venture very respectfully to submit that the Motion I have made is not only a punishment—and I do not wish it should be regarded simply as a punishment of the hon. Member—but that it is a continued protection to the Speaker during the time the hon. Member may remain in the same state of mind as he is now. His particular friend (the hon. Member for Spalding)



has told us that if we knew the ordinary ways of the hon. Member for Boston with his friends we should look in a more indulgent way on what has happened. But what we have to do is not to act in any spirit of resentment—though we should be bound to feel resentment at any insult offered to the Chair—we have to look to the maintenance of the dignity of the House, and I am bound to say that, in my opinion, it requires that we should persist in the substance of the Motion I have made. In view, however, of the suggestions which have been made, I will substitute a fortnight for “the end of the Session” if that would in any way meet the view of hon. Members opposite; but I distinctly wish that those who give their votes should not give them thinking this is a harsh punishment, but that it is a protection to the Speaker. I would move that the hon. Member should be suspended for the remainder of the Session or for a fortnight, whichever should first terminate. [*Cries of “No!”*] Then I would move it be a fortnight if that would secure the unanimity which is so desirable on the present occasion. I attach the greatest importance that it should not seem as if we were a divided House of Commons in this matter, and I will substitute this Motion, hoping that that substitution will do away with any belief that we are actuated by a spirit of anger, and show that our only desire is to protect the Speaker. I trust the Motion will be accepted unanimously.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): There is another view in which the Motion should be considered, namely, that of sympathy with the hon. Member for Boston. Although differences of opinion have been expressed as to the details of the course to be pursued, there is no one who is not thoroughly earnest and loyal in supporting the Chair. The Chancellor of the Exchequer does not impute malice to the hon. Member for Boston. He imputes nothing but a temporary lack of self-control, and, when we consider the great gravity of suspending a Representative of the people for any considerable time, I think the Resolution might be amended. Had the hon. Member been allowed 24 hours for consideration the result might have been that he would have come and amply

*Mr. Goschen*

apologised for his temporary offence. I should have very much preferred suspension for this Sitting only, and I certainly think suspension for a fortnight is too severe a punishment. I hope the Chancellor of the Exchequer will reduce the term to one week, in view of the fact that no one imputes malice or any desire to be disorderly on the part of the hon. Member.

LORD HENRY BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham): I think that the House is acting very harshly towards the hon. Member, who, whatever his mistakes, has tried to do his duty as a private Member.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I approve of the course taken by the hon. Member for West Belfast, and think, if the conduct of the hon. Member for Boston had been judged simply from the speeches delivered from the two Front Benches, the impression conveyed would have been that the hon. Member had been actuated by malice. I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I deplore the conduct of the hon. Member during the past week, but everyone must have noticed that the hon. Member has been suffering from an abnormal amount of excitement, which has absolutely destroyed all his self-control. If the Resolution had been carried simply on the speeches from the two Front Benches it would have been grossly unfair to the hon. Member and to his constituents.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I appeal to my hon. Friends behind me, and hope that there will be unanimity on the part of the House with regard to this Motion. I hope so for the sake of the hon. Member for Boston himself, for I am afraid that if we are not unanimous the hon. Gentleman will believe there is a minority which will support him when he comes back to the House, and that might encourage him to persist in the course which he has pursued. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has amended the Motion to an extent which I think Members on this side of the House may fairly accept.

MR. SEXTON: There is a feeling on this side of the House that it is desirable to have, if possible, a unanimous vote. Naturally, as far as the Speaker is concerned, we should feel pained if we were to give a vote which might be mis-

understood. We wish to avoid that, but some of us feel that we must do so upon the present Resolution. May I suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the object he has in view—namely, the securing of the period of exclusion to the end of the Session—will be practically gained by suspension for a week instead of a fortnight? A Motion limiting the suspension to a week would be more in accordance with the Standing Order.

\***SIR A. ROLLIT** (Islington, S.): Having known the hon. Member for Boston all his life, and having been associated with him in Parliamentary and municipal matters for many years, I should like to say a word in favour of a modification of the Motion, which should be at once unanimous and considerate. I have had opportunities of forming some estimate of the influences acting on the hon. Member throughout the last few days; and when I use the word "considerate," I think it is the one which is most applicable to the case. My private knowledge of the associations of the hon. Member leads me to take the view that one week's exclusion will be sufficient to attain the object in view.

**MR. H. BYRON REED** (Bradford, E.): I desire to add a few words in the spirit of the observations which have been just addressed to the House. I do not think the hon. Member was actuated by a desire to outrage the House or the Chair, but his conduct is rather an expression of waywardness in circumstances with which many hon. Gentlemen sympathise, and such a punishment as a suspension for a fortnight would afford a grave precedent. I hope, therefore, that the House will, under the circumstances, accept the suggestion of the Member for West Belfast.

**MR. R. T. REID** (Dumfries, &c.): I wish to ask whether the Leader of the House will say that in his judgment it is necessary that the period should be a fortnight in order to protect the Speaker from further insult? If the right hon. Gentleman says that, I will support the Motion.

**MR. O'KELLY** (Roscommon, N.): If unanimity is desired the shorter the right hon. Gentleman makes the period of suspension the better. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that he

cannot secure unanimity if the suspension for a fortnight is pressed.

\***MR. SPEAKER**: It may perhaps relieve the House of some embarrassment if I may be allowed to interpose an expression of my own feelings in the matter in favour of the least period of suspension which is compatible with the feelings of the House. I need not say that I have no vindictive feeling towards the hon. Gentleman; the matter has passed beyond any personal feeling altogether. I respectfully suggest to the House that the hon. Gentleman is at this moment somewhat wanting in self-control, and that a short period of rest will be beneficial to himself and will save the House from any repetition of the cause of complaint. If that be the view of the House, I submit that a week may be substituted for a fortnight.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Motion made, and Question,

"That Mr. Atkinson be suspended from the service of the House, and be excluded from the precincts for one week,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*.)

—put, and agreed to. (4.50.)

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL. (No. 401.)

Lords' Amendment to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 432.]

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Tramways (Ireland) Act (1860) Amendment Bill, without amendment.

That they have agreed to Public Health Act (London) Bill; Penal Servitude Bill; and Local Registration of Title (Ireland) Bill, with Amendments.

#### MOTION.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (GOVERNMENT BUSINESS).

\*(4.51.) **MR. GOSCHEN**: I rise to move—

"That, for the remainder of the Session, Government Business be not interrupted under the provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed."

By this Motion I ask the House to allow the 12 o'clock Rule to be suspended for

all Government Business. I think I may assume that there will be a general consent on the part of the House that we should now wind up the Session as speedily as possible, and to that end I look for co-operation in almost every direction. When recently the House was asked to suspend the 12 o'clock Rule as regards Supply, I gave a pledge that the House should not sit very late, but now I think that pledge should be superseded by the Motion on the Paper. I hope that during the short remainder of the Session the House will be ready to sit till a reasonable hour with the object of concluding Supply. I have been asked what the Government intend to do with regard to the Clergy Discipline Bill. That measure creates a new tribunal, which may be a matter of controversy, but the first three or four clauses of the Bill are simply to the effect that clergymen found guilty of crimes are to forfeit their benefices. I think there will be no objection to that, and I shall propose to omit the whole of the remainder of the Bill, and to pass those three or four clauses. I have been asked by the hon. Member for Dundee whether we will stop all Private Business.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: My question was whether the right hon. Gentleman will stop all opposed Private Business?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I think the hon. Member must appoint his own sentinel. There may be a few Bills which are unanimously desired in every part of the House, and any promise of mine might frustrate the passing of such Bills. No new legislation of a controversial nature will be introduced.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: What will be done with regard to the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I have nothing to add to what the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant has already said on that subject.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, for the remainder of the Session, Government Business be not interrupted under the provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. COBB: I hope the Hares Bill introduced by the hon. and gallant Member for Thirsk will not be allowed to pass.

*Mr. Goschen*

(4.59.) SIR W. HARCOURT: I also must oppose that Bill. It seems to me that there is no disposition to refuse to accept the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for, according to Moore's verse, with a little alteration—

"The best of all ways to shorten our days  
Is to steal a few hours from the night."

I need not repeat what I have said on a former occasion, but I think it is greatly to be deplored that the business of Supply should have fallen into such a condition that we are obliged to assent to this proposal. We ought to have some clear understanding that no new Bills will be introduced. I see there is one on to-day's Orders in the name of a Member of the Government, and we know nothing of it. I think also there should be an understanding that only Government Bills will be proceeded with late at night. I would take notice that this House has been sitting 15 days longer than last Session. That is the result of the experiment of an Autumn Session. Fifteen days means three weeks. I hope this will be a lesson against the repetition of an experiment which has obviously failed. The idea was that a Sitting in November would shorten the labours of the House. I ventured at the time to protest against that idea and against the experiment. I think the prediction I ventured to make has been amply fulfilled. I would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to fix a day for the discussion of the Lords' Amendments on the Education Bill. On previous occasions the right hon. Gentleman has said that he will postpone this matter until Committee of Supply has closed; but I would remind him that he has already interrupted Supply in order to take the Lords' Amendments to the Irish Land Bill. Now, the Education Bill is a measure which affects England a great deal more than the Irish Land Bill, and there is every reason why the Amendments should be brought on at a time when there is a sufficient number of hon. Members present to fully discuss them. I would, therefore, ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that the Lords' Amendments to the Education Bill shall be taken on some day not later than Thursday next. Bearing in mind the importance of the Bill, and that it is not desirable that hon. Members should be called on to discuss the Amendments

at a late hour of the night, I think we have a right to ask for this assurance.

(5.3.) **SIR H. DAVEY** (Stockton): I should like to ask whether the Government will take the Betting and Loans (Infants) Bills. There is, I think, a very general feeling in their favour.

**MR. T. M. HEALY** (Longford, N.): I do not think it is in the power of a Minister, having obtained a concession from the House in regard to Supply on a distinct pledge that he would not persevere with it in the case of any important Vote after a given hour, to say when he obtains larger powers as to general business, that it is in his power to retract his pledge. I am quite sure the right hon. Gentleman will say he will not persist against the general feeling of the House with any Vote. If so, no doubt no opposition will be offered to this alteration in his view. As to the proposal with regard to new legislation, I do not know what Bills have been passed by the House of Lords, but a most objectionable practice has grown up of sending down a batch of Lords' Bills after the general body of members interested in them has gone away. I would suggest the insertion of the words "and in the case of Bills already introduced" before "may be entered upon." This would prevent the application of the Motion to Bills not yet introduced into this House. I do not suppose anybody in the House would be so stupid as to oppose a Bill like that of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. Chaplin) with regard to fertilisers, as it is intended to serve the interests of the agricultural community generally. There are Bills frequently introduced by the Treasury at the end of the Session which, like the Public Works Loans Bill of last year, contain a mass of contentious matter. I beg to move the Amendment I have suggested.

Amendment proposed, in line 3, after the word "and," to insert the words "in the case of Bills already introduced."  
—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

(5.7.) **MR. GOSCHEN**: I can assure the hon. and learned Member that his Amendment is not necessary, for I will

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undertake that no new Bills shall be introduced during the prohibited hours.

**MR. T. M. HEALY**: No Lords' Bills.

\***MR. GOSCHEN**: No Lords' Bills. Of course the hon. Member is alluding to Bills which come from the Lords, and not the Lords' Amendments. As to the suggestion of the right hon. Member for Derby, I do not quite understand whether it applies wholly to Government business or not.

**SIR W. HARCOURT**: I understand the difficulty to be in reference to Bills, not being Government Bills, that are not opposed. I know the difficulty there sometimes is of distinguishing between opposed and unopposed Bills, and I think the best course to take at this late period of the Session is to lay down that no business shall be taken except Government business.

\***MR. GOSCHEN**: I thought that was the view of the right hon. Gentleman. What I undertake is this, that if the House is fairly unanimous in proceeding with these Bills, we will not deprive private Members of their chance. We adopt this attitude not in the interest of the Government, but in the interest of private Members. With regard to the question of the right hon. Member for Derby relating to the Lords' Amendments to the Education Bill, I had hoped that it would not be necessary to interrupt Supply. If we should be so fortunate as to finish Supply by Wednesday evening, we should be in a position to take the Education Bill on Thursday. However, seeing the interest hon. Members take in the Amendments, and in order to facilitate business, I will undertake that the Lords' Amendments to the Bill shall be taken, under any circumstances, on Thursday next as the first Order.

(5.10.) **MR. SCHWANN** (Manchester, N.): I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Indian Budget will be the first Order on some early day?

\***MR. GOSCHEN**: Yes, Sir; I think the Indian Budget will come soon after the Lords' Amendments to the Education Bill have been disposed of. If we should be fortunate enough to finish Supply on Wednesday night we would take the Education Bill on Thursday, and possibly we might take the Indian Budget after that or on Friday. I do

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not wish hon. Members, however, to regard this as a pledge, but merely as a contemplated possibility.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I beg to ask whether it is intended to proceed with the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill after 12 o'clock?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Yes, Sir.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: In spite of the pledge that no contentious Bills should be taken?

MR. PICTON: The Chancellor of the Exchequer has certainly lightened the load with regard to the Clergy Discipline Bill. Probably to the first four clauses most people will agree, but it is more than likely that they will be discussed and opposed, and I would suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is worth while to run the risk of this after 12 o'clock in order simply to pass the four clauses referred to.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask when the Scotch Supplementary Education Vote will be taken?

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): Might I point out to the right hon. Gentleman that it would be more convenient, as the Indian Budget has been put off till so late, that it should not come immediately after the discussion of the Lords' Amendments to the Education Bill. In view of an impending famine in India there may be very important matters to be discussed upon the Indian Budget.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: In view of the statement made by the Chief Secretary, I beg to give notice that I shall oppose the discussion of the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill after 12 o'clock, at a time when hon. Members cannot have an opportunity of fully expressing their views, and when no reports can reach Ireland.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): I suppose the Order for the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill will be discharged?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: Yes.

MR. SEXTON: I have heard the statement of the hon. Member for South Tyrone with great surprise, because he allowed the Second Reading to pass without dissent. The hon. Member will have no difficulty in expressing his views

*Mr. Goschen*

after 12 o'clock. I hope the House will not be kept sitting late on Wednesdays.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

\*(5.15.) MR. GOSCHEN: With regard to Wednesday I think we may sit till 6 or half-past 6 o'clock. I am not favourable to the House sitting later than half-past six on Wednesday evenings if it can be avoided. As to the remarks of the hon. Member for Leicester concerning the Clergy Discipline Bill, I cannot believe there will be much opposition to the first four clauses, and it is very desirable that they should be passed. With regard to the Scotch Votes, I will endeavour to meet the views of hon. Gentlemen from Scotland as far as I can, but I cannot give a definite pledge as to the time when they will be taken.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I wish to move to add to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman,

"And that no other business to which notice of Amendment has been placed on the Paper be proceeded with after 12 o'clock."

That is a more moderate demand than has been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. I would remind the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he is already bound by his pledge to prevent any business being taken after 1 o'clock. He is now going to make the House sit till 2 or 3 in the morning. I am really attempting to protect private Members. On the Paper to-day there are 20 private Members' Bills down for consideration, and most of these would not now be on the Paper at all unless they were opposed Bills. Unless my Amendment is agreed to private Members who oppose these Bills will have to stay here till 2 or 3 o'clock every morning in order to say formally "I object." It is a pernicious practice to send Government Bills down from the Lords at this period of the Session; but it is a still more pernicious practice to send down Bills which are not Government Bills. Private Members in all parts of the House have been compelled to abandon their Bills, and now, forsooth, we are to be asked to sit here till 3 or 4 in the morning to consider the

Private Bills of Members of the House of Lords.

Amendment proposed,

To add at the end of the Question, the words "and that no other business as to which notice of any Amendment has been placed on the Paper be proceeded with after midnight."  
—(Mr. Edmund Robertson.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

(5.21.) MR. SCHWANN: Could not the Chancellor of the Exchequer cause these Bills from the Lords to be withdrawn entirely? I specially object to Order No. 39 on the Paper (Chartered Accountants Bill) being forced through in the small hours of the morning. That Bill, which is opposed by accountants throughout the country, was only introduced into the House of Lords about a week ago, and is a sample of a kind of legislation that ought not to be encouraged at this period of the Session.

MR. PICTON: I hope the Government will accept the Amendment. If it be rejected it means that we must take the trouble of stopping here till 3 or 4 or perhaps 5 in the morning in order to say—"I object."

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I will endeavour to arrive at a compromise in the matter. It is because I wish to protect private Members that I hesitated to meet the views of the hon. Member for Dundee. But I will undertake, if it meets the general view, that no Private Bills at all shall be proceeded with after 1 o'clock.

SIR H. DAVEY: As I find there is considerable opposition to the Chartered Accountants Bill I will not proceed with it this Session.

\*MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I would suggest that an exception should be made in favour of four or five private Members' Bills, which have reached almost the last stage.

MR. GOSCHEN: After Supply is finished there may be an opportunity between 12 and 1 o'clock for these Bills to come on. Till Supply is finished, I must adhere to the view I have expressed.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not agree to the suggestion of my hon. Friend. If there is to be a massacre of innocents, let all suffer alike.

(5.25.) SIR W. HARCOURT: It really is not a kindness to private Mem-

bers to keep these Bills in a state of suspended animation. It would be kinder, both to those who are promoting and those who are opposing particular Bills, that the exceptional rule should extend only to Bills which have been brought forward by the Government, and not to private Members' Bills.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): There are 19 Orders of the Day apart from the Government Orders, and as to 16 of them it is absolutely impossible that they can pass this Session. On the other hand, there are three which have reached the Report stage, and I do think the Government might make some exception in their favour.

MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport): I would point out that even if the three Bills referred to by the hon. Member pass this House this Session there is no chance of their passing the other House, and it would be better to give them the "happy despatch."

MR. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin): I think my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby is under a misapprehension. Why should you at this period of the Session deprive private Members of their chance of getting Bills through? I do not see why the private Members' Bills should not be left in the position they were in before. It is quite true that the chance of passing them is a small one, but why should private Members be deprived of that chance?

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): I merely rise for the purpose of stating that I strongly sympathise with the views which the hon. Member has expressed, and perhaps the statement of them will suffice.

(5.30.) Question put, and negatived.

Ordered, That, for the remainder of the Session, Government Business be not interrupted under the provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed.

#### SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

Resolved, "That this House do meet To-morrow, at Eleven of the clock a.m."  
—(The Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

#### FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Chaplin, Bill to amend the Law with respect to the sale of Agricultural

Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Secretary Stanhope.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill, 433.]

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1891-2.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

#### CLASS III.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £438,490, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Expenses of the Prisons in England, Wales, and the Colonies."

(5.32.) MR. PARNELL (Cork): In dealing with this Vote I desire to refer to two questions which are intimately connected with each other. I desire to raise the question of the treatment of political prisoners suffering sentences of penal servitude in the convict establishments of this country. I shall, I think, be able to establish the claim, at all events of some of these men, to be treated as political prisoners suffering imprisonment in consequence of sentences for offences of a political character. And after I have dealt with that branch of the subject, I propose to go on to refer to the case of two prisoners now undergoing, one of them, a long sentence of penal servitude on the charge of treason felony, and the other, John Daly, undergoing a life sentence as a consequence of his conviction on the charge of treason felony. The time has now come when the whole question of the conviction and imprisonment, and continued imprisonment, of persons convicted years ago on charges of treason felony should be considered, with a view to determining whether, both on grounds of public policy and also by reference to the special circumstances of some of these cases, a measure of amnesty might not be extended to many of such prisoners. With regard to the first question, the treatment of political prisoners in convict establishments, it has never been brought before this House yet without results following. The old system of transportation for

political offences was abolished many years ago, and in its place was substituted the punishment of penal servitude in these convict establishments; and with this change in the system of punishment came also a change in dealing with political offenders. That change, to some extent, was also coincident with a further change—the substitution of trials for high treason of accusations of treason felony, under which it was sought to degrade the persons convicted of such an offence from the title of political prisoners to that of an ordinary felon. It was under such circumstances that the Fenian prisoners convicted in 1865 and 1867, and later Mr. Davitt, and Sergeant McCarthy, Corporal Chambers, Clancy, and others were sentenced to long terms of penal servitude. The conditions of their imprisonment were on many occasions brought before the House, with the result that they were liberated—I do not say all at the same time, but one after the other—and from time to time they were liberated as a consequence of the revelations made in the Debates in this House, of the circumstances of their prison treatment. It was stated against the 1865 and 1867 men that they were not political prisoners, because they had been convicted of treason felony. But I think there is no one in these days who will any longer attempt to suggest that men of the capacity of Mr. Davitt, who was convicted of the offence of which the men of 1865 and 1867 were convicted are not entitled to be treated as political prisoners. Yet, if offences committed by these men and Mr. Davitt were repeated to-day, and convictions were obtained, the prisoners would remain subject to the terrible treatment of your prison discipline, and which is meted out to the hardened offenders who are usually found in your convict establishments. I think that is a very great blot on the prison system of England. You will have political prisoners as long as the Irish question remains unsettled. You will always have political prisoners of some kind or other. When the right hon. Gentleman got the Coercion Act, the question of the status of political prisoners was raised from time to time, with the result that there were material ameliorations of the treatment of prisoners, though there were many vain struggles on the part of the Chief Secre-

tary to maintain the prison rules. I shall be asked at the outset whether I compare the aims and objects of the men of 1865 and 1867 with those of the men who were convicted in 1883-4 under the jurisdiction of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. Although their aims and objects may have been similar, I will not compare them. But I claim for the men of 1883-4 that they should be treated as political prisoners, because they were tried and convicted on political offences. I believe it is true that every one of these persons was convicted of treason felony and conspiring to levy war against the Queen. Certainly, in the case of Daly and Egan, the main portion of the evidence against them was in connection with the Irish Republican Brotherhood, dating back as far as 1873. Daly, Egan, and the others in penal servitude were tried for treason felony. They were tried for conspiring to levy war against the Queen and against her authority in her own dominions, and they were convicted of these offences. And this was done by the policy of the then Liberal Administration, in face of the fact that at the time there was the Explosive Substances Act which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, the then Home Secretary, had obtained to give him more stringent powers in dealing with the possession of dynamite, or the causing of explosions with dynamite. Notwithstanding this Bill was passed through its three stages in one night, yet the right hon. Gentleman does not appear to have used it after it was passed into law. On the contrary; when he came to try persons accused of having dynamite in their possession—I believe he never got as far as convicting anybody who had actually caused an explosion—he placed John Daly and Egan under the treason-felony enactments. Why? I suppose we shall have some explanation from him to-night. Looking into the matter, with my own unaided judgment, it appears to me that the right hon. Gentleman took the course of trying them, not as political offenders, not under the Dynamite Act—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order! I do not think the hon. Gentleman is entitled to enter on that subject; it is not under the Vote. The hon. Member is entitled to discuss the treatment of prisoners so far as it relates to the rules. He is also

entitled to discuss the rules so far as they are within the discretion of the Commissioners. He is not entitled to discuss them in connection with an exposition of the law laid down by Act of Parliament, nor will he be entitled to do what he suggested in the second part of his speech, to enter into the considerations on which the sentences should be remitted.

MR. PARNELL: Very well, Sir. What I propose to ask is this: that the Government extend the system of treatment to persons convicted of political offences now in penal servitude prisons that they extended to Mr. Davitt when he was re-arrested in 1881 and sent back to the same prison where John Daly and Egan are now confined. That, I apprehend, is a matter within the competency of the Commissioners—it is an alteration of the system which has no reference to the law. Indeed, Sir, I think the Statute is not concerned in this question of the treatment of penal servitude prisoners at all, because there never have been any Statutes passed for the purpose of regulating the treatment of penal servitude prisoners, who are treated in accordance with the rules framed from time to time by the authorities. The treatment of ordinary prisoners is regulated by rules framed under the provisions of Statutes, but the treatment of penal servitude prisoners is left very much to the discretion of the Home Secretary and to the Commissioners appointed by him. I think I ought to be allowed to point out that these men were tried as political offenders, but that the Statute under which they were undoubtedly arrested was not used against them. I might point out, further, that by being charged with treason-felony they could be transported for life, whereas had they been charged under the Explosive Substances Act they could only have been sent to penal servitude for 14 years. I observe that this is not contradicted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, so that I suppose he accepts my statement. In addition, by not charging these men under the Explosives Act, they were precluded from the right which that Act conferred of giving testimony in their own defence. By being charged with treason-felony and conspiring to levy war upon the Queen, John Daly



was sentenced to penal servitude for life, and he was not allowed to give testimony in his own defence. What I claim is that these men, whose mouths were then closed, are entitled, after the interval of eight or nine years, to be treated as political offenders. I will add this, that if Daly had been tried under the Explosive Substances Act, and for the offence for which he was arrested, and for which he was really punished, he would now be almost entitled, under the penal servitude rules, to receive his liberty as a person on ticket-of-leave. I submit it is a fair argument to use that if, in addition to the considerations I have advanced, there are grave doubts connected with the case of Daly, then there is great reason why these prisoners should receive better and more lenient treatment than that which has yet been dealt out. Daly had been arrested in Birkenhead with dynamite actually on his person. After his arrest a bottle of nitro-glycerine was found in the back garden of Egan's house where Daly was lodging. And Daly admitted on his trial, in order to free Egan from a share in his punishment, that he (Daly) was alone responsible for having placed this bottle of nitro-glycerine there. In fact, the evidence against Daly as regards being in possession of dynamite under circumstances of reasonable suspicion were overwhelming, and we should not have complained, under the circumstances, if he had received his sentence of 14 years' penal servitude after he had been allowed, under the provisions of the Statute, to give testimony in his own defence. But he received a life sentence, and he was not allowed to give testimony in his own defence. Circumstances have transpired since then which throw an entirely new colour, and put an entirely different complexion, upon the case of this unfortunate man. From information received to-day by my hon. Friend Mr. John Redmond, from the lips of Daly himself, there is every reason to believe that Daly was absolutely innocent even of the charge of having dynamite in his possession with the intent to cause an explosion; and that if he had been allowed at the trial in 1884 to state to the Jury—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member is going beyond the limits which I mentioned in entering

*Mr. Parnell*

into the circumstances of the trial, which have nothing to do with the action of the Prison Commissioners. On the Prison Vote he can only discuss the action of the Prison Commissioners in relation to the imprisonment itself.

MR. PARNELL: Well, Sir, I am endeavouring to make my argument as close as possible to the subject of the treatment of the prisoners. Of course, Sir, if you say I cannot bring forward these arguments in favour of Daly's having a more lenient system of prison discipline extended to him, and later on introduce the question of an amnesty, I shall have to bring it before the Home Secretary, and also before the House of Commons itself, on the Appropriation Bill. If you hold that I am not in order in slightly referring to the circumstances of the conviction in order to strengthen my claim for proper treatment for the prisoner pending investigation of his case, I shall not persist.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think that would be going beyond the proper limits of this discussion. The question might possibly be raised on some other Vote, but not upon this.

MR. PARNELL: Well, Sir, I bow to your ruling; but however inconvenient it may be, when the time comes, I shall be compelled to stop the Appropriation Bill and re-open the question on the Committee stage. Keeping myself strictly within the limits of the ruling, I will say that from information I have received to-day, from a statement made by Alderman Manton, which I will venture to read to the House, there is every reason why the stringency of the rules under which Daly is treated should be relaxed pending the re-consideration of the case, which will undoubtedly become necessary. Here is Alderman Manton's letter—

THE CHAIRMAN: It would be quite irregular to enter into an argument for more lenient treatment on the ground that there is a claim for a remission of the sentence. However inconvenient it may be to the hon. Member or the Committee, that is a subject which could not be raised here.

MR. PARNELL: Very well, Sir; in that case I shall simply go on to say that in my judgment it is absolutely necessary that some discrimination should be shown with regard to the

treatment of these men, whose sentences are political, inasmuch as if the offences had not been of a political character the prisoners would be now almost entitled to their release. The right hon. Gentleman may dwell upon the horrors of dynamite, the terrible circumstances that then existed, the panic in this country, and the fear under which many people laboured that they might at any moment become the victims of an explosion. In reply to that, I would say that these explosions were fortunately not attended with any loss of life, and in only one or two instances with injury to person. The political motive being there—whatever the right hon. Gentleman or anybody else may think as to the character of the means used to carry out those explosions—political sentences having been imposed, and the proceedings having been of a political character, these men now, at all events, after this long interval of time are entitled, justly and fairly, for the sake of the honour and credit of this country, to some relaxation of the terrible conditions under which they are working out these sentences of penal servitude for life. With regard to the general question, very strong reasons exist why the whole case of Daly, Egan, and others should be reconsidered with a view of seeing whether absolutely innocent men have not been sent to penal servitude—men who have been convicted of these offences owing to a most disgraceful plot on the part of the Irish police and the Home Office of that day. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed: "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £5,000, part of the Salaries of the Prisons Commissioners.—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

(6.10.) **SIR W. HARCOURT** (Derby): I desire to interpose a few words on the general question before the answer of the Home Secretary is given. All I can say is that if any circumstances which ought to lead to the reconsideration of the sentences or the treatment of any prisoner come up, I certainly should be the last to stand in the way. During my administration of the Home Office I over and over again reconsidered matters when there was any ground for reconsideration. Therefore, on those grounds generally I have

nothing to object to the claim which the hon. Member for Cork or any other person has to bring under consideration any case which demands it. I only rise for the purpose of noticing one or two points which the hon. Member has addressed to me personally. The hon. Member seemed to think that for some reason or other in the case of Daly I preferred to proceed against him for treason-felony instead of under the Explosives Act. It was no part of my business to determine what should be the proper form of indictment. I took the proper course in leaving the form of indictment to the Law Officers of the Crown, who had the facts laid before them. The hon. Member for Cork has rather suggested that the object of these proceedings was to shut the mouth of Daly. But the mouth of Daly was not shut. Daly contented himself with making a statement to the jury, and it was upon the statement of Daly himself—

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The right hon. Gentleman is out of order in entering into a controversy with regard to the circumstances of the trial.

**SIR W. HARCOURT:** Of course, I bow to the ruling of the Chair, but I am bound to make some explanation with reference to the statement made by the hon. Member for Cork, which would otherwise go forth without any explanation. The hon. Member in his speech said that Daly himself admitted the possession of dynamite, and never from first to last, as far as I know, has Daly until this time disputed any of the facts alleged against him. [*Cries of "Oh!"*] It has never come to my knowledge that Daly ever denied the possession of dynamite. [**MR. PARNELL:** He has never had the opportunity until to-day.] In the defence he offered for himself at the trial he made no such denial, nor did he allege anything to the purport that the hon. Member for Cork has suggested. The offence has been spoken of as if it was less serious because fatal consequences have not ensued, but the results of explosions were often cruel if they came short of being fatal. Victims have received injuries from which they have never recovered, and on them at least sentences for life have been passed by those injuries. Then the hon. Member speaks of plots by the police, and I think he said plots by the Home Office also. [**MR.**

PARNELL: Hear, hear!] Well, Sir, all I can do is to meet that with an absolute denial, and I say now, as I have said before in this House, that I shall always bear testimony to the honour, the zeal, and, as far as I know, the absolute integrity of the police, to whose courage and intelligence it was due that much more fatal consequences did not result from these conspiracies and crimes.

(6.18.) MR. J. REDMOND (Wexford, N.): It may be convenient if the Home Secretary will allow me to intervene for a moment. I regret extremely, Mr. Courtney, that your ruling prevents us going into the substance of the case. That ruling has already placed us in some little difficulty, because it is very hard to listen to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby without attempting to reply to it. I confess I do think nothing could be more unfortunate to Daly, from his point of view, than that we should have a fragmentary discussion on one point or another point in his case. When the opportunity comes it will be shown, on the solemn declaration of the Chief Constable of Birmingham, and on the statements of a number of other persons in similar positions, that there was a plot on the part of the agents of the Irish Police. I regret extremely that it is not possible to go fully into the case. The case must be gone into fully, and I hope the occasion will soon come. In anticipation of that occasion and obeying your ruling, Sir, I shall refrain from any further reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. This, however, I desire to say before I sit down: I regret very much that I was not in my place in the House on the last occasion when the case was mentioned, because the Home Secretary apparently made statements it would be difficult to substantiate. The right hon. Gentleman pleaded misapprehension as to the object with which I applied for permission to visit Daly. As I understand, he stated that he did not know from me or anybody else that it was to be a purely professional and legal visit. I wrote to the right hon. Gentleman on the 4th of January stating that I had been engaged on behalf of some friends of Daly's to investigate his case and all the circumstances attending his conviction, that I had had an opportunity of

*Sir W. Harcourt*

visiting him, and had advised him to apply for an order for me to consult with him professionally and privately. I made a similar application myself, and I assured the Home Secretary that such a visit was essential to enable his friends to investigate his case. In reply to that letter, which could have left no misapprehension in the mind of anyone who read it, but clearly showed that my object was to pay a professional and private visit to Daly, I received, almost by return of post, a letter from the Home Office granting me the permission asked for. I accordingly made the long, tiresome, and expensive journey from Dublin to Portland, and on arriving at the prison was told by the Deputy Governor that he and a warder must be present at the interview. In vain I exhibited a copy of my own letter and the reply from the Home Office. I then telegraphed to the Home Office, and I received the following reply:—

"Telegram received; Secretary of State cannot sanction any relaxation of the rules relating to a professional visit to a convicted criminal prisoner."

It was not any relaxation of rule I asked for; it was for permission to pay such a visit; and am I to be told that the Deputy Governor and a warder must be present at such interviews? That was not the defence of the right hon. Gentleman the other night; it was that he was under a misapprehension as to the character of the visit, but that when his misapprehension was removed he sent the necessary order. The probable explanation is that the right hon. Gentleman had not seen my letter and the reply to it; if he had seen them the misapprehension is inexplicable. I received by telegraph the order I asked for on Saturday in Dublin. I again travelled to Portland; I have this day seen Daly, and, after a too hurried interview, have returned to the House. The impression produced on my mind by the statement of the Chief Constable of Birmingham has been intensified by the result of to-day's visit, which has strengthened my conviction of Daly's innocence and my determination to do what I can to bring the truth to light. It is, perhaps, well that a few days should intervene before a full discussion takes place, because the information received is

such as must be investigated. I have no ulterior object in this matter; my object is by investigation to get at the truth and see whether injustice has been done; and I trust that in any further steps to be taken the right hon. Gentleman will not, without serious reason, interpose further obstacles. I can assure him that I will not in the slightest particular abuse any privilege or facilities that are afforded to me. I trust, therefore, he will give me what facilities he can to enable me to inquire fully into what I think I have good reason for believing was a great miscarriage of justice.

(6.30.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I have pleasure in saying that I have very little to add under the limitations imposed by the ruling of the Chair. The facts to which the hon. Member has alluded are not new to me. They were brought before my notice some time ago, and since then I have on two or three occasions gone with all possible minuteness and impartiality into an investigation of every circumstance connected with the conviction of Daly. I have satisfied myself that the suggestions of the hon. Member are entirely groundless, and are little more than the creation of imagination. I have scrutinised most carefully everything that has been done under the direction of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, and I have been able to detect nothing that could call for the slightest censure or blame. I hope that this direct denial will be a sufficient answer to the allegations that have been made by the hon. Member. I will point out that if I had discovered the slightest ground for supposing that there was anything in the nature of a plot against Daly, such a discovery would not have led me to a relaxation of treatment, but to instant release of the prisoner. The hon. Member for Cork contends that the prisoners in question ought to have been convicted under the Explosives Act instead of being convicted for treason-felony, and that they would have then enjoyed the double advantage of giving evidence themselves and of suffering a shorter sentence.

Mr. PARNELL: I was referring to Daly and Egan. They could only have been convicted under Section 4.

Mr. MATTHEWS: Daly and Egan were also guilty under Section 3, and the jury might have found Daly guilty under that section in consequence of his having done acts or having conspired to cause an explosion by means of an explosive substance. The offence under Section 4 was the minor offence of being in possession, contrary to the law, of an explosive substance, and thereby giving rise to reasonable suspicion that he intended to cause an explosion.

Mr. PARNELL: The sentence under Section 3 is limited to 20 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS: The evidence satisfied the jury. I am anxious not to appear to prejudice the case, but it is impossible to read the evidence—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The right hon. Gentleman cannot go into the evidence.

Mr. MATTHEWS: Taking it for granted that there has been a proper conviction, and looking at the character of it, it is impossible to say that the treatment in a convict prison is too severe. The present punishment is itself a relaxation of the old law of treason-felony, under which the prisoners would have forfeited their lives. Modern ideas of greater clemency have brought about the less extreme punishment. Having regard to the Chairman's ruling, there is no other topic which I am entitled to discuss in this case. I would remind the Committee that I have instigated what I endeavoured to make a perfectly independent and impartial inquiry into the treatment of the Irish prisoners in Chatham Prison, and then the prisoners had every opportunity of stating their grievances. As it is evident that the discussion is to be renewed, I will say no more on the present occasion.

(6.38.) COLONEL NOLAN: With regard to what has been said as to the prison treatment administered under the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, I can corroborate what the right hon. Gentleman has said, because I remember that in the case of Michael Davitt a large number of hon. Members thought it very hard that he should be subjected to the treatment of an ordinary prisoner, and the right hon. Gentleman allowed him to be exceptionally treated. I think that in the present case it would be advisable to introduce some relaxation of

the stringency and hardship of the Prison Rules; or, at any rate, that some inquiry might be made into the matter, with a view of seeing whether the rules might not be relaxed. I think that, under the circumstances, we have strong ground for voting for the reduction of the Vote as proposed by the hon. Member for Cork. I would point out that if the hon. Member for Wexford had been allowed to have gone to the prison and seen Daly some months ago, we should have been much better prepared on this subject, and might have challenged the salary of the Home Secretary on the Police Vote; but owing to the fact that the Government refused this, we were not in possession of the necessary materials at the time. I think it must be generally admitted that we are placed in a very unsatisfactory position by the way in which the matter is brought before the Committee. We have seen the hon. Member for Cork called to order before he has really developed his argument. We have also seen the ex-Home Secretary the Member for Derby called to order and then allowed to go into some of the facts against the prisoner, and after this we have seen the present Home Secretary first diving into the subject and then retreating from it and apologising and expressing his regret that he could not go further into it. I am not quite sure that we ought not to bring this question up on all the Votes having any bearing on the subject; but, at any rate, if we cannot fully discuss it on this Vote there is the possibility of doing so on the Appropriation Bill, which I should advise the hon. Member for Cork to look carefully after, because many things are ruled out of order in discussing that Bill, and, therefore, unless he takes the earliest opportunity of securing the necessary discussion on that Bill, it may have to be put on one side. The hon. Member for North Wexford has procured a half-hearted promise from the Home Secretary that he will do everything he can to facilitate an inquiry into this matter, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will afford every possible assistance for the prosecution of that inquiry. I hope we may have some other opportunity before the end of the Session of dealing with this question, so that we may have it thoroughly threshed out,

*Colonel Nolan*

It is possible that we may not have an inquiry before the end of the Session; but if it is refused, the impression left upon the minds of the people will be that this inquiry has been purposely obstructed by the officials.

(6.46.) MR. SEXTON: This question was discussed to some extent last year upon the Home Office Vote, and it is distinctly within my memory that the Home Secretary made a more favourable response than he has given to-day. He did not then come to the unchangeable conclusion at which he has arrived to-day. I regret that the Debate was not raised upon the Vote for the Home Department, because we would then have been able to deal exhaustively with the various considerations in the case. The Home Secretary has the prerogative of clemency, and we would have been able to bring before him evidence such as would have entitled him to ask for the clemency of the Crown. On the Prisons Vote we are limited strictly to the question whether the Commissioners within their discretion have acted properly or improperly. Whether by inadvertence or not I do not know, but the right hon. Gentleman did not refer to the letters sent to him by the hon. Member for North Wexford. The hon. Member has read the letter, which states that he wished to see Daly on professional and legal business. I certainly think the hon. Member was entitled to complain, even with more energetic language than he used, of the treatment which he has received at the hands of the right hon. Gentleman. It is not a light thing for a professional man, who thinks he has permission to see the prisoner, to come across the Irish Sea and across this country to Portland Prison only to find that he will merely be allowed to see the prisoner in the presence of two warders. There has been a want of businesslike arrangement in connection with the whole affair, and I think the Home Secretary should give some explanation. I claim that the hon. Member for North Wexford should be allowed to see the prisoner. Daly and the other men have undeniably suffered grievously in these prisons, because of the prejudice which exists against them in connection with the offence of which they were convicted. No one

who reads the Report of the Commission can fail to become aware of the indignities to which these men are subjected, often being put to disgusting offices in the middle of the night, simply because of their offence. If there is a strong doubt in the case of Daly, there is a stronger doubt in the case of Egan; and if I may venture to discriminate, I do think it is not too much to ask the right hon. Gentleman not to make these men suffer the punishment which is provided for ordinary criminals; at any rate, pending his final decision, their treatment might be as much relaxed as is compatible with the rules. As to the right of interview, the right hon. Gentleman clearly laid down on Friday night that a prisoner may be seen by his legal adviser. I ask him to allow the hon. Member for North Wexford to see the prisoner, even though it be in the sight of, not in the hearing of, a warder. I trust that before the Debate is concluded we shall have an assurance that the hon. Member for North Wexford, without further letter or telegram, mistake or misapprehension, will be entitled to see this prisoner.

(656.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I am very glad that this entire question can be raised on the Appropriation Bill, and that it will not be necessary to deal with it in a piecemeal manner on this Vote. I asked the right hon. Gentleman several questions with regard to the treatment of Daly in Chatham Prison, and the right hon. Gentleman twice laid down that Chatham Prison was the proper prison for Daly, and that he was very well treated in that prison, although he had three times been nearly poisoned.

MR. MATTHEWS: Twice.

MR. T. M. HEALY: He had three excessive doses of belladonna, and if that is not being three times nearly poisoned I do not know what is. The right hon. Gentleman stated to me in the month of May that some suggestion would be made for a separate classification, or some kind of division, at Chatham Prison, but beyond that he would not go. Now I have to ask why it is that John Daly has been removed—I am glad he has been removed; I am not making it a complaint—but why was he removed to Portland? Considering the abominable language proved to have been used by the warders at Chatham, which stands

recorded in the Blue Book, I consider the removal to have been good policy on the part of the Government; but the Committee ought to know why Daly was removed, and the whole circumstances connected with the removal. Then I have to refer to another prisoner whose name appears in the Report of the Visitors to the prison, James McGrath, who has since died, and as to whom I put a question to the right hon. Gentleman earlier in the Session. The case of this prisoner is thus referred to in the Report—

“One of the prisoners, James McGrath, informed us that he was studying Spanish, with a view of getting employment on his liberation as a sailor on the Spanish Main; and he expressed a wish to be supplied with an epitome of navigation in the Spanish language, similar to *Norie's Epitome of Navigation*. We find on inquiry that this prisoner is exceedingly well conducted, having only been punished once during nine years, and we trust that his request will, if possible, be complied with.”

Well, what happened? He was, according to the Report of this most prejudiced Commission—prejudiced against the prisoners—found to be a well-conducted prisoner; and this poor man, in his examination, made no complaint whatever. You find his examination recorded on the 2nd page of the Report. He was asked if he had any statement to make with regard to his treatment during the nine years of his imprisonment, and he replied—

“No, I have got on very well here.”

Then followed questions and answers—

“Has your health been good?—It has been very good. Is there any matter which you wish to bring before us?—Nothing with regard to my treatment, or anything of that sort. Perhaps this might not be the place to make a request for something that I wish to obtain. Would it be out of place here?—We have only power to make recommendations; we have no power to grant anything.—It was with regard to a special book which, perhaps, would hardly be granted to me, that would be possibly out of place here?—We will consider it.”

Then the prisoner went on to say—

“I am a sailor, and have been a sailor all my time, and I have been a good deal about the Spanish Main, and I intend, if I ever get my liberty, to go to South America; I do not want to go to any place where I have been before; I intend to go to Chili or Valparaiso. I had some knowledge of the Spanish language before I began my sentence. Twelve months ago the chaplain kindly allowed me a grammar and a dictionary of the Spanish language. He came to the cell door and handed them to me and spoke very kindly to

me and gave me encouragement. I have been studying it ever since, and I have made some progress with the language. I have not a practical knowledge of it, but I have a good theoretical knowledge of it. That is to say, I could read it fairly, but not speak it; and I wish to get an epitome of navigation in the Spanish language, it would assist me in gaining my living when I leave the prison. The book I would wish to have particularly is a book like Norie's English Epitome with complete mathematical tables. There are various editions, but this is the complete one. He is a standard authority on English Navigation, and I would wish to have a Spanish one just like Norie's."

The Chairman undertook that the request should be laid before the proper authorities, and the prisoner said—

"I will deem it a very great favour, and if I can obtain it it would be a great assistance to me, and would enable me to pass my time in prison. I have been a great deal better since I have taken to the study of this language. I have an object. I was very well treated here, but I had no object, and under the very best circumstances the life of a prisoner is somewhat irksome. I went through my old school career and took up various subjects, but since I have been studying the Spanish language, I have had more of an object in life, and I have been in better health, and I would wish to follow it up."

In the appendix you find the doctor's reference to this prisoner—

H. 700. James McGrath in hospital from August 27, 1885, to September 1, 1885, suffering from bronchial catarrh."

And for this he was treated. This appears to be the only ailment for which he was treated during the whole time of his imprisonment. It will not do for the right hon. Gentleman to say this prisoner reported himself in good health; a man may not be cognisant of his being under the influence of a specific disease, but what I have to complain of is that, when this man was stricken with a mortal illness, his friends were not apprised of the fact. The right hon. Member for Derby, when Home Secretary, laid down the principle that when a prisoner was in a dying condition he ought to be discharged. I remember the release in such circumstances of one of the Scotch prisoners connected with the Glasgow explosion. I saw in the *Times* mention of an inquest on the prisoner, James McGrath. I asked the right hon. Gentleman why it was the man's relatives were not communicated with, why it was not brought to their knowledge

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

that he was dying, so that they might receive his dying words and wishes—not an unreasonable thing to ask. I also ask why it was he was not released when his illness was known to be mortal. Whether the death occurred at Chatham or Portland I do not remember, and newspaper paragraphs do not turn up when you want them; but if the death occurred at Portland, there is, of course, less responsibility upon the doctor, under whose care the prisoner could only have been for a short time; but if the death occurred at Chatham, then a strong responsibility does rest upon the doctor for not taking steps earlier to inform his friends of his illness. I did not know when I asked the right hon. Gentleman the question whether the prisoner was an Irishman or an American, whether he was friendless or whether his friends lived at a great distance, and when the right hon. Gentleman told me that the friends of the dying man had been communicated with, I naturally supposed that they lived at a distance and had not replied. But I have since received a letter from the deceased prisoner's mother contradicting point-blank the right hon. Gentleman's statement. She says that no communication was sent to her, and that she never heard of her son's illness until he was no more. Now, all through this Blue Book these treason-felony prisoners complain that they received treatment over and above in severity the usual prison treatment or punishment, in supererogation, if I may use the expression, as the result of the prejudice against the offences of which they were convicted. But it is not the law or custom in England that a sentence of imprisonment should be enforced to the death of the prisoner, or at all events, when a man is dying he is allowed his liberty and the company of his friends. I maintain that a careful inquiry ought to be instituted into the circumstances of McGrath's death. An inquest was held on the deceased man, and was reported in the *Times*, but prison inquests are often unsatisfactory, the jury being too often composed of contractors, traders, and others having business relations with the prison officials and warders. Then, another case to which I have to call attention is that of another prisoner, J. F. Egan, in relation

to whom there was a pregnant passage in the Report on the treatment of Daly, giving rise to the hope that there would be a special inquiry into the case of this man. It was in relation to this that the hon. Member for North Wexford visited Egan, as he was fully entitled to do within the regulations; but I am informed that every obstacle was thrown in the way when the prisoner began to talk of the circumstances attending his conviction. Now, surely to a prisoner this is an all-important subject of conversation with one who comes from the outside world. If a man is allowed a 20 minutes' interview with a visitor, surely the prisoner may be allowed to occupy the time in conversation upon his own affairs so long as he does not indulge in insulting language towards the officials. Surely it is not necessary for the warder present to interpose and check conversation like a Chairman of Committees. Certainly it is a strong doctrine that when an educated man like the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. J. Redmond) visits a prisoner, the conversation is to be controlled by a warder. A prisoner ought to be allowed to say what he likes during the visit, as long as he does not make an attack on the constituted authorities of the prison, or say anything of an insulting or aggravating character. This brings me to the statement made by Daly with regard to Egan. It must be remembered that at the time Daly was suffering from poison, and he believed he was a dying man, Daly wished to see the man with whom he was convicted, but his request was refused. Supposing a prisoner was believed to be dying from natural causes, and not from poison administered to him by prison officials, would he be denied access to his friends, would his friends be informed of his condition, and would he have an opportunity of making a dying declaration concerning a fellow prisoner whose imprisonment he believed he had caused? Daly, in his statement, said—

"I wished to see Mr. Egan because, as a dying man, I wished to ask his forgiveness for the great wrong I had done him. I wished to say, with my dying breath, almost in the presence of the unknown God, and in the presence of witnesses, that during the time I lived in his house in Birmingham he never, at any time, had my confidence; he had no share in my political sentiments, no more than the child unborn. I deceived him first by saying I changed my name, and took off my beard,

because I wanted to go to Ireland, and that owing to the things that Rossa had said about me in his newspaper in New York, I was afraid I would be arrested. He was constantly saying he would go to the Police Office to ask for an explanation for his house being watched by detectives, I kept him from it by saying from day to day I'd be clearing out. I had several reasons for going to live at his house, amongst them was economy, his beautiful garden, the society of his admirable wife and his own; but, before God, as a dying man, I wanted to say that I had no political reason whatsoever. And I may be here permitted to mention a thing, the truth of which the Birmingham police can ascertain. Mr. Egan sent to his house while I was there two sheet iron pans from Mr. Hill's office or warehouse where he was employed, by the carrier, or one of the carriers of the London and North Western Railway who used to deliver and carry goods to Mr. Hill's warehouse."

Then Daly went into matters which are not relevant to the point now at issue. They can be dealt with on the Appropriation Bill. The fact remains that the prisoner Daly declared, when he believed himself to be dying, that his fellow prisoner was an innocent man. I understand that when he was tried before Sir James Stephen he made a solemn declaration that Mr. Egan was absolutely innocent of the charge made against him. In view of the important statement made by Daly we asked last year for a special inquiry with regard to the case of Egan. I always regarded the case as one of great doubt, and I shall be rejoiced when an opportunity is afforded on the Appropriation Bill of going fully into the matter.

(7.25.) MR. MATTHEWS: I cannot help regretting that the hon. and learned Member has indulged in so many disagreeable suspicions. He says that the Coroner's Jury consisted mainly of contractors to the prison. No intimation of that kind has been made to me, and I think the hon. and learned Gentleman is entirely mistaken. As to McGrath, I may say that a very short time before his death he was in excellent health. In February, 1890, the Report of the Medical Inspector was—

"Health good on reception, and has continued so up to the present time. Only once admitted into hospital for bronchial attack. Free from organic disease. No complaint was made."

On the 17th March, 1891, he was taken into hospital. His illness developed suddenly into acute tuberculosis, and on the 21st April he was considered in



danger. In accordance with one of the prison rules, his friends were immediately communicated with.—[An hon. MEMBER: When was that?—] I take it that the letter was written on the 21st of April. That is not stated in terms, but I assume that was so. In any case, his mother and sister visited him on the 23rd of April, 1891, and he told them he had the best of treatment. He died on the 28th of April of acute tuberculosis.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say why the ordinary rule as to removal was not followed in this case?

MR. MATTHEWS: Probably he was too ill to be removed at all. He was at Chatham, and his mother and sister were at Salford. The Coroner's Jury found that he died from natural causes. I have been asked as to the conversations with Egan. It is an invariable prison rule that complaints as to treatment must be made to the officials, whose duty it is to inquire into them, and, if necessary, to redress the grievances. It would be quite impossible that a prisoner should avail himself of the visits of friends to bring charges against those in authority. Then, I have been asked about the removal of those prisoners to Chatham. As I stated on the 4th of December, 1890, there was absolutely no reason in the interest of the prisoners for removing them from Chatham. The occupants of the cells at Chatham are amongst the best of prisoners, certainly so far as health is concerned. The premises have since been transferred to the Admiralty, and in consequence I am gradually transferring the prisoners there to other prisons. Eight of the prisoners, including Egan and Daly, have been transferred to Portland. There are still some prisoners at Chatham, and they will be removed before long.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Are prisoners when visited allowed to discuss the circumstances of their conviction?

MR. MATTHEWS: My experience is that prisoners always do. Certainly there is nothing inconsistent with the prison rules in their doing so. Of course, no interview has hitherto been allowed in convict prisons except in the sight and hearing of a warder. ["The Times."] I hope hon. Members will do me the honour not to interrupt. At the time of the Special Commission there were cer-

*Mr. Matthews*

tain irregular interviews in local prisons. There were certain Irish convicts who came over here and were received as guests, being brought over to London by order of the Court; they were received as lodgers. With regard to the telegram sent to the hon. Member for Wexford, his message came late in the evening when I was not at the Home Office. A reply was sent that night by the person in charge at the time, who probably did not know much about the matter.

MR. J. REDMOND: My telegram was sent early in the afternoon.

MR. MATTHEWS: It did not reach the Home Office until a late hour.

(7.31.) MR. J. REDMOND: If the right hon. Gentleman will look at the hour at which it was handed in, he will find that it was early in the afternoon. Speaking from memory I should say it was 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The hour at which the reply was sent out will show that the right hon. Gentleman is again in the wrong, and in saying that, of course I do not question his *bona fides*. The answer was handed in at 6.30 p.m., so that it was not late at night.

MR. MATTHEWS: At 6.30 the Public Offices are closed. Then, at the Home Office they had no knowledge of the date at which the hon. Member wished to visit this prisoner.

MR. J. REDMOND: But they were good enough to intimate to me that I could go on any day I chose to select.

MR. MATTHEWS: That shows that the hon. Member's case is even stronger than he has hitherto made out and I repeat my apologies to him. I express my regret that the hon. Member should have suffered any inconvenience. Such a visit to the convict as he asked for was a novelty, and it was only introduced in consequence of the hon. Member's application.

MR. SEXTON: How does it happen that when the right hon. Gentleman came to the conclusion to allow these interviews the prison officials were not informed of it?

MR. MATTHEWS: I cannot tell the hon. Member how it was.

(7.34.) MR. J. BARRY (Wexford, S.): I regret, Mr. Courtney, that under your ruling it is not possible to discuss the case of Daly on this Vote, and I regret it the more because I believe

there are elements in the case which require that we should discuss the matter in the House at the earliest possible date. We are excluded from referring to the case of Daly, but it is admissible to refer to the case of Egan—at least to matters that have occurred since his conviction. About this time last year, Egan, writing to his wife, expressed a wish that I should pay him a visit. He suggested that I should ask for a special visit so that it should not exclude the half-yearly visit granted under the ordinary rules. He generally receives a visit from his wife under those rules. I made the request to have a special visit but it was refused, and after waiting for some time—until an ordinary visit could be made—I went to Chatham and visited Egan. He was extremely anxious to refer to certain circumstances relating to his conviction, and he commenced to make a statement when he was peremptorily stopped by the warder, and a discussion arose as to whether Daly was at liberty to talk on this subject. I was astounded just now to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that it is permitted to discuss with prisoners questions connected with their conviction. Egan had no other object in view in asking for a visit from myself. He had no desire to enter into the question of prison treatment or to say anything about what had occurred in the prison. But at that time certain statements were made by an Alderman in Birmingham and the Chief of Police in that town which cast grave doubt on the validity of the conviction, and it was to those matters that Egan desired to address himself when he was interrupted by the warder. For 15 or 20 minutes the dispute went on, Egan anxious to make his statement, and I equally anxious to hear it. The warder, however, persistently refused to allow him to make his statement, so that as the entire visit was only about 20 minutes the dispute was discontinued, and ordinary topics were discussed for the remainder of the time. My only object in rising now is to make this appeal: that in any further steps that may be taken by the hon. Member for North Wexford no such interference will be allowed on the part of the warders, but that an opportunity will be allowed to Daly and Egan to state their case fully and un-

interruptedly to the gentleman who is permitted to visit them. I also hope the right hon. Gentleman will make some inquiry as to why it was Egan was interrupted in the statement he wished to make to me. It is clear from the law laid down that it is no infringement of the ordinary rules to make such a statement. It is of the gravest importance that this case should be gone into at the earliest possible moment, and it is also important that when entered upon there should be no attempts made by officials or by any authority to interrupt a clear and full statement of the case by the prisoner.

(7.41.) MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): The Committee are now face to face with a very important question in connection with prison discipline. I do not, in consequence of your ruling, Mr. Courtney, propose to go into the case of Daly, but I would lay stress on the point dealt with by the hon. Member who has just sat down, and that is as to the right of prison warders to interfere in conversations between prisoners and their visitors. An important admission has been made. We now know from the Home Secretary that such an important matter as the conviction of a prisoner can be referred to on the occasion of these visits, and we now find from the evidence in the Blue Book that Daly himself, when he thought he was on the point of death, begged to be allowed to make a statement as to the innocence of this unfortunate man Egan. Surely, then, it becomes a matter of very extreme gravity indeed if an ordinary warder can interfere with a man like Egan, when he wishes to put his visitor in possession of certain proofs or circumstances that may help to establish his innocence. We are told by the hon. Member for North Wexford that the warder on his own authority interfered in the hon. Member's conversation with Egan, and stated that the latter could not say anything about his conviction. The warder evidently took that course on his own responsibility, and of course my hon. Friend would have no appeal. The time permitted for the interview—15 or 20 minutes—would not allow of an appeal to the Governor, and very probably, if such an appeal had been allowed, it would have been barren of result. I

am glad we have had the official declaration from the Home Secretary that prisoners are allowed to discuss their convictions with their visitors, for I myself have had personal experience of the rule being construed in the Irish prisons exactly as it was construed at Chatham. It is a very valuable point to have elicited from the right hon. Gentleman, who is an authority on the question of prison discipline, that it is consistent with the prison regulations for a prisoner to speak of circumstances connected with his conviction to visitors. The right hon. Gentleman even said, "What can be more natural than that a prisoner should refer to these things and that prisoners are always talking about them?" This being so, I hope that when the case of these prisoners, Daly and Egan, comes to be ventilated it will prove that advantage has been taken of the right hon. Gentleman's admission. The right hon. Gentleman was unnecessarily severe with the hon. Member for North Longford in reference to Coroners' Juries. My hon. Friend did not wish to imply that juries sitting within the prison walls would be wilfully corrupt, or anything of that kind; but he did seem to imply—and I think the circumstances bear him out—that the people who form these juries are more or less connected with the prisons, or are brought more or less into connection with prison officials, and, therefore, would be likely to make these inquiries more or less in a slipshod manner. That this is the case is known to everybody who lives in the vicinity of a gaol. It is the case in Cork. The people who live near the gaol are the people who have dealings with it—tradesmen and the like—and they are the people who are most likely to be selected as jurymen. And if this is the case in Cork I can quite believe that it is the case in connection with English gaols. Therefore, my hon. Friend is right in saying that the verdict of a Coroner's Jury in one of these prison inquests is a thing to which too much weight should not be attached. With regard to the case of the deceased prisoner McGrath, I regard it as a most pathetic one. He tells his tale to the Commissioners. He says he entered the gaol comparatively in good health. He makes no complaint; we find that he is taken ill on the 17th

*Mr. Flynn*

March; that in a few weeks he develops acute tuberculosis, and that he dies in four weeks. I am not a medical man, and have not much knowledge of medical matters, but I feel sure it will come upon every medical man in the House with surprise to learn that acute tuberculosis could commence and end fatally in four weeks. It seems very strange that the prison doctor was not able to mark the development of the disease, and did not do that which is done in so many cases, namely, certify for the man's removal from prison, in order that he might be taken to spend the last few days of his life with his afflicted mother and family. Speaking as a layman, I must say that it seems to me very much like carelessness that a man should be reported to be healthy when he was taken sick on the 17th March with acute tuberculosis, and died on the 28th April. And what may happen at Chatham may easily happen at Portland. No one can read the Report of the Commissioners without seeing that the majority of these political prisoners have suffered punishment over and above that meted out to ordinary prisoners—even those suffering ordinary terms of penal servitude or life sentences. I grant that the Commissioners try to explain away many awkward charges, but on their own showing there are many circumstances in connection with the treatment of these men that does not reflect credit on the discipline of Chatham Prison. It bears out the contention of these men, to some extent, that our account of the nature of their offence—on account of their being Irish prisoners convicted of a certain class of offence—they were treated with exceptional severity and hardship over and above that meted out to the ordinary prisoners. In the case of one of these prisoners the Prison Rules were not read to him until he had been in the prison for nearly 12 months, although I understand that it is one of the chief regulations that the Prison Rules should be read over to a prisoner as soon after his reception in the prison as possible. Then there is another point that all these prisoners complain of—that they are deprived of the ordinary exercise in the prison yard. Mr. Egan complains of that, and so also does Mr. Daly. The rule says that the prisoners must take

such exercise in the open air as is necessary to their health, and they say that, instead of being allowed to take that exercise, they are put to work of a very trying character, which thoroughly exhausts the frame, and makes the hands a mass of blisters. The men are punished with a severity far greater than the nature of their offences demands. I will not deal with the point the hon. Member for Cork referred to. I draw—no matter what anyone else does—a distinction between political offenders of this kind and those condemned in 1865 and 1867. I believe that the common sense and patriotism of the Irish nation draws that distinction, and does it to-day, and has done it from the time those offences were first committed. But I say that no matter what offence these men may have been convicted of, they should not be punished with greater severity than any of the ordinary prisoners, many of whom are in prison for vile and disgraceful offences against society. I trust that the important points which have been brought before the right hon. Gentleman to-night will receive his attention. We hope the Prison Rules will not be strained against these men, and that they will be allowed to discuss with their visitors the circumstances of their conviction, so that, if possible, they may be able to demonstrate their innocence.

\*(7.54.) MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): I would [point out to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary that according to his statement anybody who happens to be left in the Home Office, after he and the other persons in authority have gone away, are at liberty to send messages to such people as the hon. Member for North Wexford saying that they cannot avail themselves of privileges that they had supposed were given to them. The right hon. Gentleman did not offer an explanation of the circumstances under which the telegram was sent down saying that the hon. Member would not have the privilege for which he asked. It seems to be an extraordinary thing that a doorkeeper or a junior clerk should have the power to send these telegrams.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): May I ask how it was that this man McGrath showed no signs of tuberculosis? I know—and the right hon. Gentleman

will find it in Quain's dictionary, which is in the Library—that acute tuberculosis is sudden, but we also know that the termination is death. If the diagnosis was established as the right hon. Gentleman has pointed out, how was it that the man's mother and relatives were not called in until the man had been dying nearly a month? Quain's dictionary says that acute tuberculosis is absolutely and positively unmistakable. How can the right hon. Gentleman reconcile these points? He cannot. I ask him to consult any fair and conscientious independent medical opinion, and I maintain that his statement will warrant the remarks I have made. I consider that this convict was diabolically treated, and that his treatment was merely due to the fact that he happened to be an Irish political prisoner.

(7.58.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 64; Noes 95.—(Div. List, No. 381.)

Original Question again proposed.

\*(8.8.) MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I desire to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £100, in order that I may draw attention to the great anomalies which exist in the treatment of prisoners in English prisons, and with a view of impressing upon the Home Secretary the desirability of taking steps to exercise the powers he now possesses under the Prisons Act to bring about a better state of things. The questions to which I wish to draw attention may be briefly stated. The questions put by me to the right hon. Gentleman and questions asked in "another place" have elicited the fact that persons committed to prison for the non-payment of fines under the Vaccination Acts or under certain local Acts, such as that at Eastbourne, under which Salvationists are being punished, are subjected to the whole of the disagreeable and odious incidents of ordinary imprisonment; whereas persons committed to prison in respect of exactly the same Acts, who are committed to prison for the non-payment of costs, as opposed to fines, have, under the Prison Rules at present existing, the advantage, such as it is, of being treated under the debtors' rules. I contend that it is within the power of the Home Secretary, under the Prisons

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Acts of 1865 and 1877, to do something, without further delay, to mitigate and alter this state of things. Punishments involving treatment of a degrading nature applied, contrary to public sentiment, to persons convicted of offences of the class I have referred to, are merely a surplussage of cruelty, and alienate public feeling from the law, and, so far from having any deterrent effect on the prisoners, encourage rather a contempt for the law. Where prisoners of this type are associated in the same prison with persons convicted of brutal assaults, dishonest acts, and horrible offences of all kinds, the treatment to which they are subjected, and which is supposed to have a deterrent effect, ceases to be deterrent. Every one knows that it is in the power of the Magistrates in minor cases such as I have already referred to, to order that the persons convicted shall be treated as first-class misdemeanants, and I will draw the attention of the House to a way in which this power is used by the Courts at the present time. I have here a list of the cases in which the treatment of misdemeanants in the first-class was actually given to persons imprisoned for offences which were of a distinctly criminal character. For instance, there were 15 cases of fraudulent bankruptcy, six of libel, and three of serious misdemeanours; there is a case of acting as a solicitor without qualification, and a case of conspiracy to procure indecent photographs, in which the prisoners were treated as first-class misdemeanants. This treatment, I venture to say, was mainly permitted because the prisoners were well-to-do and occupied a good social position, although, in my opinion, the higher the social position of the person offending the less relaxation should there be of the punishment attached to their offences. If anyone will take the trouble to look through the evidence taken by the Vaccination Commission he will find that the persons sent to prison for non-compliance to the Vaccination Act were, to a large extent, persons occupying a respectable position — persons belonging to the middle or lower middle class, including many small tradesmen—while those who were not of this class were well-to-do and respectable mechanics and artizans. One of the witnesses before the Com-

*Mr. Channing*

mittee presided over by Lord Aberdare stated that the prison dress had a degrading effect on such men as he had known in prison—men who were the cream of the working class, who in several instances had been connected with our Sunday schools. He added that the influence exerted on the minds of these men by making them wear the prison dress is such as to make them almost despise the law. The people on whose behalf I urge that better treatment should be meted out are persons deserving of our sympathy. They are persons who, rightly or wrongly, attach a great importance to their own views as to the physical welfare of their children. What I desire to draw the attention of the Home Secretary to is that under the provisions of the existing law he has powers which would go a long way towards modifying the treatment of those who are neither criminals according to the definition of the Act nor according to public opinion. By the exercise of those powers he might do a great deal towards bringing about a more satisfactory state of things. Under the 24th and 25th section of the Act of 1877 he has clearly considerable powers with regard to the administration of prisons and the distribution and classification of the prisoners. Under these powers relating to classification he might get rid of the anomaly of sending persons imprisoned under the Vaccination Acts to prisons where they are associated with criminals of the worst class. It seems to me also that the powers he possesses under the 38th section of the Act, with regard to the framing of rules as to the classification and treatment of prisoners, would cover cases in which fines are imposed for non-compliance with such laws as the Vaccination Acts. I have submitted these points to the Home Secretary, because I wish to press upon him the duty of seriously considering whether some modifications of the Prison Rules may not be made by which the treatment of debtors or first-class misdemeanants might be applied to all cases of non-payment of fines where there has been no moral obliquity or real crime. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, as a Member of a Conservative Ministry, to take a lenient and generous view of this matter. Lord Beaconsfield and his

Ministry passed the Act of 1877, and have great reason to be proud of doing so, for it was a measure conceived in a wise and generous spirit. In that spirit I ask the right hon. Gentleman to regard the question now. In a discussion which took place in this House two years ago on a Bill to mitigate the treatment of prisoners in Ireland, opinions were expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, to which I desire to draw attention. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"Consider a case I heard of only a few hours ago. A respectable woman, wife of an English tradesman, refused to have her child vaccinated, and went to prison. She was forcibly stripped, and put into the bath, was, in fact, treated as if she had been the dirtiest tramp from the streets. . . . So far as I understand the philosophy of punishment at all, these kinds of punishment, which are thought to inflict degradation, need not, and ought not, to form part of the penal system, because the evil of that kind of punishment is this—that the hardened criminal is not punished by it at all."

And at the close of his speech he said—

"Those who have been condemned under the Vaccination Act, and in connection with the Salvation Army, are the class of prisoners who chiefly command our sympathies, and who ought to receive the benefit of any modification which may be made in the law."

There are two further grounds on which I would press this Motion. The Government, by conceding the Royal Commission on Vaccination now sitting, have practically admitted that the people to whom I allude have a case for consideration. The question whether the views for which they are willing to go to prison are right or wrong is really referred to this Commission. Again, public opinion is in many parts of the country so strong that the Guardians have declined to prosecute. I contend, therefore, that a strong case has been made out for the Home Secretary to exercise his powers to the fullest extent in modifying the Prison Rules in the direction I have indicated.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salaries of the Prisons Commissioners."—(*Mr. Channing.*)

(8.31.) MR. MATTHEWS: The hon. Member has treated an interesting subject in an interesting way, but, unfortunately for his argument, the

Home Secretary has not the power which the hon. Member alleges that he possesses. If he will read with a little more care Sections 38 and 39 of the Act of 1877 he will see that the Home Secretary has no power—and I am glad I have no power—to modify the system of treatment laid down in the Schedule of the Act of 1865, which applied to all criminal prisoners. The Home Secretary has power to make rules with regard to prisoners confined for debt, unconvicted prisoners, and misdemeanants of the first division, but he has no power to modify the prison treatment which is applicable under the section to all convicted prisoners alike. Therefore, I cannot help thinking that the whole discussion is to some extent out of order, and I will not, therefore, spend many moments in answering the interesting part of the hon. Member's speech, in which he touched upon the treatment that ought to be awarded to prisoners with whom many people not unnaturally feel a certain sympathy. In the first place, when the hon. Member talks about there being no moral obliquity in this class of offences he indirectly criticises what Parliament has done. Parliament has chosen to say to parents, "You shall have your child vaccinated." Of course, if Parliament is wrong in that view, if it is desirable to have the small-pox, then the omission to vaccinate ought not to be an offence at all; but if it is an injurious thing to society at large that the best means should not be resorted to in order to avert the spread of an epidemic—one of the most disastrous from which Europe has ever suffered—if vaccination is desirable, surely it is impossible to say that there is no moral obliquity in a man choosing to disregard the law laid down by Parliament. Disobedience to a sanitary enactment demands punishment of some sort. If an act is mischievous to the public weal, it can hardly be said that Parliament is wrong in decreeing that it shall be an offence and must be punished. In this case the punishment inflicted is not particularly disagreeable; it is a fine. There is no halo of sympathy attracted around your head when you have paid 5s. or 7s. 6d., but those persons who set themselves against the law of Parliament and determine to disobey the law, do attract

sympathy, and are regarded as martyrs when they refuse to pay the fine and went to prison. If a man chooses, for the sake of martyrdom, to go to prison, the prison should be made disagreeable to him. As to the incidence of that prison treatment I have no control. I have no power to say to A, "You are a good-looking woman; you shall not be forced to take 'skilly'"; or to say to B, "I have a good character of you from your locality, and will not give you the plank bed." I think it would be most undesirable for a Minister to have any such power, for it might lead to lamentable injustice. The provisions as to "skilly" and all the rest of it are most properly laid down by the law. I suppose that when the hon. Member for Northamptonshire comes to be Home Secretary he will inflict no punishment on parents who refuse to have their children vaccinated, or on members of the Salvation Army who infringe the law. But let me remind him it is the duty of the Secretary of State, whatever his personal feelings, to see that the law is applied equally to all.

(8.40.) THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! If the Home Secretary's view is correct that the matter is governed by regulations framed under an Act of Parliament, the discussion is out of order.

(9.12.) MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.): In accordance with your suggested ruling, Sir, I may say a few words on the assumption that the Home Secretary is incorrect in his view of what the law is in regard to Prison Rules. I am bound to say that I think my hon. Friend who introduced this question is entitled—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Gentleman must give some proof of his assumption.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES: I am going to do that, and I regret that the right hon. Gentleman is not here to assent to my proposition. Under the 9th section of the Prisons Act of 1877 powers which were formerly exercised by the Visiting Justices are exercisable by the Prison Commissioners, under the control and subject to the discretion of the Home Secretary.

(9.14.) Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. Matthews

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES: In the absence of the Home Secretary, I was endeavouring to point out that the right hon. Gentleman is incorrect in his view of the effect of the Prisons Act of 1877, and I gather from your ruling, Sir, that I am expected to give some ground for that statement. In the 9th section of that Act it is provided that the Prison Commissioners shall exercise all the powers that were formerly vested in Visiting Justices, and that the Commissioners shall conform to the directions which may from time to time be given to them by the Secretary of State. The Visiting Justices had exercised a large suspensory power with regard to punishments. In 1838 the Marquess of Normanby, who was then Home Secretary, issued a Circular Letter to Visiting Justices pointing out to them that it was within their power to modify the conditions of imprisonment for prisoners charged with political offences. A Return was afterwards issued showing that, in accordance with that Circular, a material change was made in the treatment, as, for instance, in the case of Monmouth prisoners convicted of riotous conduct and certain offences against public order. So there is a *prima facie* case which admits of reply, at any rate, that my hon. Friend is right in his contention. Thanks are due to my hon. Friend for bringing forward this Motion, because quite apart from the vaccination question, in which I must confess I do not take any particular interest, undoubtedly the Government should consider, and should long ago have considered, the desirability of exercising the discretion the law allows in reference to this class of prisoners. It is a curious fact that, with the exception of Spain, this is the only country in the civilised world where different treatment is not meted out to offences of this description as distinguished from ordinary felonies and misdemeanours. In recent times there has been an immense volume of legislation passed in relation to sanitary matters; and for offences against sanitary regulations penalties have been imposed—fines, with the alternative of imprisonment; and, in some cases, imprisonment without the option of fine—for breaches of the sanitary laws. Therefore, it is not at all an unreasonable subject for argument and discussion in this House that a

distinction should be drawn in the treatment of prisoners who are convicted of these offences, offences which they advisedly and conscientiously commit, offences which do not partake of the ordinary sordid character and turpitude attaching to the penal class of felonies and misdemeanours. It would have been more satisfactory if the right hon. Gentleman had given us a statement recognising this. The Chief Secretary for Ireland very properly and justly, though it must be admitted rather tardily, recognised the fact that a distinction should be drawn; and he stands in the same relation to prison management in Ireland as the right hon. Gentleman does towards English prisons. He very properly and wisely, in the case of Mr. W. O'Brien and other offenders against the Criminal Law of the country, made exceptions in their treatment in prison; and I remember that he, speaking at that Table, instanced the fact that vaccination prisoners, with whom I have no particular sympathy, were of the class to whom exceptional treatment should be awarded. But the Home Secretary has approached the subject almost in a tone of levity. He gave as an illustration the case of a pretty woman—or a comely woman—sentenced to imprisonment, to whom the Chairman might extend a relaxation of the ordinary prison discipline. But Parliament, in its wisdom, has vested a discretion in the Home Secretary for the time being, and it is not to be supposed that that Minister would be susceptible to the influence of female charms. The power was formerly vested in the Visiting Justices; and this is not a serious argument in favour of maintaining a hard and fast rule of punishment. I know that this is not the occasion, nor is it expedient to discuss the question at length, and we probably shall have a better opportunity next Session; but I do very much regret that the right hon. Gentleman fails to appreciate the distinction in offences my hon. Friend has drawn. I am sorry there is no indication that an attempt will be made by the Government, either by legislation or by a judicious use of the powers vested in the Home Secretary, to apportion the conditions of punishment to the moral character of the offence. I know of an instance of a gentleman of respectability and

probity, a solicitor and Town Councillor in Wiltshire, who, having conscientious objections to the vaccination of his child—ill-advised objections they may be—he declined to comply with the order and was committed. Is it reasonable that a prisoner of this character and position in life should be treated like an ordinary criminal? I do not think that an adequate answer has been given, and I hope that the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Stuart Wortley) will appreciate the opportunity offered and depart from the *non possumus* attitude of his chief, that he will express some sympathy with a proposal that has not found that amount of physical support to which I think my hon. Friend was entitled.

(9.25.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): I must ask the Committee to remember that I am limited by the ruling from the Chair to the effect that the discussion of Prison Rules relating to discipline trenches on projects of legislation. The Government must adhere to the position that the Executive is not vested with dispensing powers which would enable it to differentiate the treatment of prisoners. Parliament has shown that it is jealous of conferring these powers. In 1865 a comprehensive Act was passed relating to prisons. The rules were expressly scheduled and were made incapable of variation at the discretion of the Executive. Again, in 1877, when the subject was reviewed, Parliament acted with equal caution, because, although a power was given to the Secretary of State to make rules as to differentiation of treatment, those powers were confined to the distinction between convicted and unconvicted prisoners and prisoners who are or who are not classed as debtors. In these circumstances, the alteration of the existing conditions of treatment cannot be discussed on the present Vote. On the general question I must adhere to the position taken by the Home Secretary, which is that experience shows that you cannot devise for a special class of offences which constitute a distinct breach of the law a different treatment from others which would not in effect give the offenders the glories of martyrdom without any of its pains.



\*MR. CHANNING: I cannot accept the interpretation the hon. Gentleman has given of the Acts and the powers given by them. But in any case, however the Acts may be interpreted, I submit that the Home Secretary clearly has the power of issuing a Circular addressed to Magistrates calling their attention to the powers they possess with regard to the treatment of prisoners, and I would still press upon the right hon. Gentleman to consider the expediency of doing so.

(9.30.) MR. PICTON: The Under Secretary has said that certain regulations were framed and scheduled, but we have known cases in which—

THE CHAIRMAN: This is a matter which cannot be discussed under this Vote, nor, indeed, can the suggestion of the hon. Member for Northamptonshire, that the Home Secretary should issue a Circular as to differential treatment.

MR. PICTON: Cannot the exercise of the discretion of the Home Secretary be discussed under this Vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: Only within the limits of the Prisons Act. This Vote refers to the administration of the prisons.

MR. PICTON: It is with regard to the treatment of different classes of prisoners that hardships exist, and upon which there is much feeling in the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not pertinent to this Vote. What can be arraigned is the administration of prisons by the Prison Commissioners, and their action within the limits the law allows them.

MR. PICTON: If I am precluded from discussing the punishment on prisoners convicted of offences against the Vaccination Laws, I confess I am rather at a loss. I can only say that, having the honour to be a Member of the Vaccination Commission, I feel myself under a difficulty, for I have no right here to express an opinion on the general subject, but I may say that evidence already published shows that the exercise of discipline in prisons with regard to prisoners who have been actuated by conscientious motives is irritating to public feeling, and ought to be amended as soon as possible.

\*MR. CHANNING: On the point of order, Sir, may I draw your

attention to the fact that what I was asking the Home Secretary to undertake was to draw the attention of the Magistrates to the discrimination as to treatment of prisoners instituted by the Prison Rules under the Prisons Act, and the desirability of so using their discretion as to bring about a state of things in which the Prisons Act would be administered in the spirit under which those rules were laid down?

(9.35.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 50; Noes 94.—(Div. List, No. 382.)

Original Question again proposed.

\*(9.44.) MR. JOSEPH C. BOLTON (Stirling): I beg to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £2,000, as a protest against the high salaries paid to prison chaplains in England as compared with those paid to chaplains in Scotland and Ireland. The salaries paid to the first-class chaplains in England range from £350 to £450 a year, while the salaries of first-class chaplains in Scotland are only £200 and £300; and the highest salary paid to any chaplain in Ireland is £200 per annum. In England the second-class chaplains begin at £300 and rise to £400, or £200 more than the highest salary paid in Ireland to any chaplain. In England assistant chaplains are paid a salary at the commencement of their services of £250, rising to £300, so it would appear that assistant chaplains in England are considered more efficient public servants than first-class chaplains in Scotland, and, of course, greatly superior to first-class chaplains in Ireland. Some three years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury admitted the necessity of a revision of the salaries paid to chaplains in English prisons, and in a subsequent year he practically admitted the anomaly, and took credit to himself for the possibility of correcting it without adding to the salaries in Scotland and Ireland. I do not know whether he has attempted to revise these salaries and finds it impossible to do so, and I am sorry he is not in his place to give an explanation of the absence of a revision, and in his absence I think it only remains for me to move the Amendment of which I have given notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item D, Pay and Allowances of Officers, be reduced by £2,000, in respect of Salaries of Chaplains."—(*Mr. Joseph C. Bolton.*)

(9.47.) **MR. MATTHEWS:** I admire the extraordinary ingenuity of the hon. Gentleman who, under colour of finding fault with the salaries paid to English chaplains, has practically insinuated that the salaries of chaplains in Scotland ought to be raised. But this is a matter over which I have no control; the hon. Member should address his arguments to the representatives of the Treasury. The hon. Gentleman omitted to explain that the salaries of the chaplains in both countries are based upon the population of the prisons, and until very recently there was no Scotch prison whose population entitled the chaplain to the higher rate of remuneration. The salaries paid in England to first-class chaplains are in respect to prisons where there is a large daily average of prisoners.

**DR. CLARK (Caithness):** Barlinnie Prison shows an average of 740.

**MR. MATTHEWS:** Yes, there the numbers exceed the numbers in English prisons where the remuneration is from £200 to £300, but usually the proportion is the same in both countries for that scale of payment. I might, therefore, rest my defence on that. But upon this Motion for reduction I can only say we do not find that the salaries paid for duties rendered in England are too large. For an increase in the remuneration to Scotch chaplains the hon. Member must address his arguments to the Treasury.

(9.52.) **DR. TANNER:** Under this system of payment by results it is to the interest of chaplains to keep up a large attendance of criminal population in our prisons. Now, I once had the honour of a brief stay in Holloway Prison, and I am bound to say I was fairly comfortable there. During the few weeks of my stay I attended the ministrations of the Protestant clergyman on Sundays, but not once did I have the pleasure of a visit from the chaplain. I do not know if other prisoners were similarly neglected; but, speaking from my own short experience, I may suggest that English chaplains might devote

more attention to the work for which they are well paid.

\*(9.55.) **MR. JOSEPH C. BOLTON:** The right hon. Gentleman is quite right when he assumes that my desire is to raise the salaries of Scotch chaplains, not to reduce the salaries of English chaplains. If the right hon. Gentleman maintains that English chaplains are not overpaid, then he supports my contention that Scotch chaplains are underpaid. It is not in my power to move an increase to the Vote, so I am driven to the usual expedient of moving a reduction when calling attention to the grievance. The right hon. Gentleman has referred to the number of prisoners in English prisons, but he has omitted to mention that in many of these prisons there are also assistant chaplains and Roman Catholic priests assisting in the ministrations to prisoners. It is not very easy for one who does not know all the details to make a correct comparison, but it is perfectly evident from the short statement of the right hon. Gentleman, and from what the Secretary to the Treasury has previously said, that there is an anomaly in the scale of payment which requires remedy. The right hon. Gentleman admits that at Barlinnie Prison the chaplain is underpaid. Under the circumstances, and unless the right hon. Gentleman can give us some promise of revision, I must persist in my Motion.

**MR. MORTON (Peterborough):** If we assume that the Scotch chaplains are properly paid, it follows that the English chaplains are overpaid, and the personal experience of my hon. Friend seems to indicate that in English prisons the clergyman does not always do his duty.

\***MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.):** It was my intention to have brought forward the claims of what I considered an underpaid English chaplain, who, however, has recently died. In voting in support of the Motion of my hon. Friend, I desire to be understood that I do not think that English chaplains are overpaid, but I would like to see an increase of the pay to Scotch chaplains in proportion to their responsible duties.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.):** On the contrary, I shall give my vote for the reduction, in the *bona fide* wish to reduce the salaries of English chaplains. I am much in favour of the voluntary system, not paying sectarian clergymen.

DR. CLARK: If we compare the figures given it will be seen there is a marked distinction in the scale of pay in the two countries in proportion to average number of prisoners. For instance, look at the average in Strangeways Prison—1,181 prisoners and two first-class chaplains.

\*(10.0.) MR. HOZIER (Lanarkshire, S.): I have no wish whatever to reduce the pay of the English chaplains, but I must say I consider the Scotch chaplains are very much underpaid.

\*MR. JOSEPH C. BOLTON: I hope that the Home Secretary will re-consider the matter, and give some assurance that the salaries of the Scotch chaplains will be placed on a more equitable footing. In the case of one English prison where there is a daily average of 224 prisoners, there is a third-class chaplain employed and one Roman Catholic priest. I would ask if the Roman Catholic priest serves any number of prisoners, because if he does I suppose they must be deducted from the 224?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have really nothing to do with the Scotch prisons.

DR. TANNER: Are we to understand that the right hon. Gentleman has nothing to say to these prisoners, and that they are not to be cared for?

MR. MATTHEWS: I say that I have nothing to do with the Scotch prisons.

DR. TANNER: That is not the point. I would again deprecate the anti-religious position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.): Do I understand that the right hon. Gentleman has nothing to do with the Scotch chaplains? I would ask whether there is any responsible Member of the Government who has to do with the Scotch prisons?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is a matter which comes under the Scotch Prisons Vote.

MR. S. T. EVANS (Glamorgan, Mid): The right hon. Gentleman says he has nothing to do with the Scotch prison chaplains, but he cannot say that he has nothing to do with the Welsh prison chaplains. Fortunately, there are not many prisons in the Principality, and there are now fewer than there used to be. But there is one thing about the chaplains—they are all of one

sect. I want to know if the right hon. Gentleman will take into consideration the desirability of selecting Nonconformists in appointing prison chaplains in Wales?

(10.5.) MR. STUART WORTLEY: The prison chaplains in Wales are paid exactly as they are in England.

MR. S. T. EVANS: It is not a matter of pay, but of appointing them from one sect. All the chaplains belong to the Church of England.

MR. T. ELLIS (Merionethshire): I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary will give some answer to my hon. Friend.

MR. MATTHEWS: There is no provision by law for the appointment of any chaplains except those belonging to the Established Church.

MR. S. T. EVANS: And Roman Catholics?

MR. MATTHEWS: They are not chaplains, but Roman Catholic priests, who are appointed to officiate amongst a certain number of prisoners.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Are we to understand that even where the majority of the people do not belong to the Church of England the Home Secretary is obliged to appoint clergymen of the Church of England as prison chaplains?

MR. MORTON: It seems from the Estimates that the right hon. Gentleman has power to appoint a visiting Presbyterian clergyman as well as Roman Catholic priests. If that is the case the right hon. Gentleman can surely appoint a Baptist, Wesleyan, or other Nonconformist chaplain in Wales.

DR. CLARK: If the right hon. Gentleman looks at the Estimates he will find that priests are put down at £200 a year, the salary rising after five years to £250, and after another five years to £300.

DR. TANNER: May I ask whether we are to understand that the overwhelming mass of the prisoners in English gaols belong to the Established Church? The right hon. Gentleman assumes a singularly unfortunate position. If he will only quit his present religious attitude he will, I think, be able to furnish us with some solution of this problem.

(10.8.) The Committee divided :—  
Ayes 56; Noes 97.— (Div. List, No. 383.)

Original Question again proposed.

\*(10.17.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I wish to draw attention to the conditions of service of prison warders. Their usual hours of labour are 12 per day—from 6 o'clock in the morning to 6 in the evening—and every third night they have to remain on duty until 9 or 10, and sometimes until 12. In addition to this, the warder is frequently called on to sleep in the prison in case he is required, and yet he is expected to resume duty at the usual hour in the morning. Then, as to the wages of these men, they are exceedingly low having regard to the nature of the duties. On a man entering the Service he receives 23s. a week, with an increase of £1 a year for five years, when the increment stops, and the only chance he then has of further increase is by promotion. The chances of promotion, however, have during recent years been much lessened, owing, no doubt, to a happy cause—namely, the large diminution of the prison population. Still, that is no reason why some compensation, in some form or other, should not be given to those men for the loss they sustain in this respect. I find that some years ago an assistant warder, on an average, became a head warder at the end of seven years, whereas now the average period is about 15 years. Then, with regard to the quarters provided for the warders—for which they have to pay £9 2s. a year out of their already scanty pay—in some of the prisons they are in a very crowded and insanitary condition. A little while ago there appeared in the public journals a letter from Mr. Pearce Edgcumbe showing the way in which some of the warders are housed—showing that their residences at Portland are almost as bad as slums in the East End of London. Next, as to the question of superannuation. The age of compulsory retirement is 65, and a warder cannot retire on a full pension until he has served for 40 years. The *morale* of a

prison largely depends on the character of the warders, and yet these men are overworked and underpaid, and the houses in which they live, though public property, are frequently in a most insanitary condition. And, besides all this, these men are subjected to a very harsh military discipline. They are harassed by numerous fines for very trifling neglects of duty. In some foreign countries great attention is paid to the culture and recreation of the prison warders, but in England nothing of the kind is done. And there is another point in regard to these warders to which I would desire to call attention. It is a singular instance of the degree to which we are now carrying centralisation in the administration of our prisons. There are some 10 or 12 prisons at the present time which are now administered by a warder instead of a Governor—that is to say, you put a man who is receiving perhaps at the outside £3 a week in charge of a prison with 200 or 300 prisoners. The chaplain and the surgeon are both nominally under the control of the Governor. Now, can the right hon. Gentleman contend for a moment that a person in the position of a warder is capable of exercising control over the chaplain and the surgeon? It is obvious that the chaplain and the surgeon will under such circumstances do pretty much as they like, and it is also obvious that the Acting Governor will have no control nor discretion, but will be practically under the leading strings of the Prison Commissioners. I think that the degree of centralisation to which we have now attained is a matter which demands the serious attention of the public. Along with this centralisation, we also see that ameliorating influences in the prisons have, to a very considerable extent, fallen in the background, and that good influences from the outside are being more and more excluded. However, my main object in rising is to call the attention of the Committee to the circumstances of these warders, and unless I can obtain a satisfactory statement from the Home Secretary, promising some amelioration of their condition I shall persevere in the Amendment I now move, namely, to reduce the Vote by £200 under Sub-head B.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item D, Pay and Allowances of Officers, be reduced by £200 in respect of Pay of Warders."—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

(10.25.) MR. STUART WORTLEY: The claims of the warders to increased pay and improved conditions of service are at present the subject of investigation by a Committee appointed this Session for the express purpose of dealing with their grievances, and until that Committee report it will be premature for me to enter into the matter. The last time the claims of the warders were investigated was in 1883, when a Committee decided that there was no cause for complaint, and did not recommend any increase of pay. As to the quarters of the officers at Portland Prison, the matter was the subject of a question in the House a few weeks ago, and it then appeared that, although some of the quarters are insanitary, those quarters have been vacated, and are now unoccupied. The matter is still receiving attention.

\*MR. PICKERSGILL: The hon. Member has not made any reference to the fact that some 12 prisons are at present under the control not of Governors, as under the old system, but of warders.

MR. STUART WORTLEY: These prisons are only very small establishments, and there may be some where arrangements of the kind referred to have to be made. No doubt the hon. Member is right in suggesting that caution must be used in making these arrangements.

\*MR. PICKERSGILL: The hon. Member says the prisons are small, but some of them contain 150 prisoners. But whether small or large the point is that these places are under the absolute control of men receiving only £3 per week. I ask how is it possible for such men to control the chaplain and surgeon—professional men of education? As to the Committee to which the hon. Member refers, it was appointed, I think, more than six months ago.

MR. STUART WORTLEY: No.

\*MR. PICKERSGILL: How long ago?

MR. STUART WORTLEY: During the present Session.

\*MR. PICKERSGILL: Then, may I ask when it is likely to conclude its labours and present its Report?

MR. STUART WORTLEY: I am told that the Report is actually in proof at the present moment; but it has not yet come in.

Question put, and negatived.

Original Question again proposed.

(10.30.) MR. S. T. EVANS: I wish to call attention to the item of £750 for prison chaplains in Wales, and to move the reduction of the Vote by that amount. I find that, besides Roman Catholic clergymen, a visiting Presbyterian receives a stipend, and I therefore want to know why the Nonconformists should not be allowed to have chaplains? If the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary is bound by Act of Parliament to dispense this favouritism, I think that, at any rate, we have a right to call on the ministers of the Established Church to perform these functions for nothing. I move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £150.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item D, Pay and Allowances of Officers, be reduced by £750, in respect of Pay of Chaplains."—(*Mr. S. T. Evans.*)

MR. T. ELLIS: I support the Amendment. Since the administration of the prisons has been centralised this is the only opportunity we have of calling attention to these anomalies, and this is worse than an anomaly. If the right hon. Gentleman is bound by Act of Parliament to nominate in a Nonconformist country only ministers of the Established Church, then I think the least those clergymen should do is to do their work, so far as prisons are concerned, for very much less pay than they now receive; and considering the little they have to do among the Welsh people, I think they might undertake this prison work for nothing. The same question crops up again in regard to workhouses, but there local opinion has some sort of sway over nominations; but since 1877, since the centralising of prison control, this is the only opportunity we have of challenging the appointments. I hope my hon. Friend will press his Motion to a Division.

(10.35.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 56; Noes 100.—(Div. List, No. 384.)

Original Question again proposed.

(10.44.) MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I have no desire to protract these proceedings in Committee, but there is a meritorious body of public servants whose salaries are included in this Vote, and who claim that they have not been fairly treated. I mean the clerical staff of the prisons. When the prisons were taken over by the Government under the Act of 1877 a very considerable change was necessarily made in the clerical staff, and certain regulations were made by an Order in Council in the year 1879. The Prison Commissioners required that the prison clerks should not enter the Service by open competition, but were to be nominated and to possess certain qualifications not generally required. They were required to be of at least 20 years of age, and Sir Edward DuCane, before the Civil Service Commission, two years ago, specially dwelt on the necessity of having men for the prison clerical staff of somewhat higher qualifications than the ordinary clerks in the Civil Service. So here is a special class of Civil servants with special qualifications; and in the Order in Council to which I have referred these prison clerks were led to expect all the advantage of the Civil Service, rising to salaries of £300 or £400 a year. The prison clerks, instead of realising the prospect the Government set before them, find the path of promotion blocked, and themselves stranded, in middle age or advanced life, at salaries of £150 and £200 instead of £300. There has been a distinct breach of faith on the part of the Government, and in equity these clerks have a strong claim to consideration. For reasons into which I now need not enter, I ceased to be a member of the Civil Service Commission; but if I had remained a member, I should have done my best to bring the case of these clerks before the Commission. As a matter of fact, their case was not presented, though they presented Memorials desiring to be heard. The head of the Department (Sir E. DuCane), under

some misapprehension, informed the Commissioners that the clerks on the staff did not desire to make any personal representation. A short time since, I think in December last, some kind of re-arrangement of the scales of pay was decided upon, with the class called storekeepers at the head of the list, then first-class and second-class clerks. The second-class were to begin at £70, rising to £150; the first-class rising from £155 to £200. The result of the arrangement is that the men who entered the Service at 20 or 21 years of age have to serve 16 years before reaching £200, and then 10 years more, when under the most favourable circumstances conceivable, and which in practice can scarcely be attained, they may reach the maximum of £300. In ordinary civil life there might be a ground for action in this breach of faith, but of course the clerks have no means of recovery or action against the Government. Beyond all cavil, these clerks have been misled; the conditions under which they entered the Service have been falsified. I do hope we shall have from the Government a promise of amelioration of the position of these public servants.

(10.52.) MR. STUART WORTLEY: This subject has been investigated by a Departmental Committee. The proposal made to it was that the two classes, consisting of 43 first-class clerks and 139 second-class clerks, should be merged into one class, so that the majority should receive higher emoluments. This, however, was found impracticable on account of the different-sized prisons that had to be provided for; but the number of clerks of the first-class has been increased to 93, and the number in the second-class had been reduced to 83, and this involves the raising of a proportionate number of salaries from £140 to £190, and from £155 to £200. There has also been an increase in the number of storekeepers, whose position is one of advantage, and of the number of clerks who receive higher pay for taking charge of stores. In this way it is understood that grievances have substantially been met. Experience has shown that, whether owing to the centralisation of the prison system or other

causes, there has been a great decrease in the number of prisons, and, therefore, in that of posts available, but the Government cannot be held to blame on that account. On the other hand, I submit that by improvements in pay and by recent changes the Government have done all that could be expected to meet the claims of these clerks. Under the circumstances, I do not think the Government can be held to blame for not having done their best in the matter.

(11.0.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: I can quite understand how with such officials as the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stuart Wortley) at the head of the Civil Service, feelings of disgust, of impatience, and of a sense of injustice are very rapidly developing, to the damage of the public interest. The hon. Gentleman has not answered one of the points raised. He has not said anything about the clerks who were in the Service when the Government took over the prisons. He fell back on the alteration in the scales of pay, and said the Government had benefited the clerks through that. He told us how they have raised the maximum. It is perfectly true they have. [MR. STUART WORTLEY: And also the numbers; there are more than double.] There the hon. Gentleman is misleading the Committee, or else he does not understand the facts. The Home Secretary never would have given us the answer the Under Secretary has given us. I never heard any man give an answer with regard to a portion of the Public Service so utterly unworthy of a large-minded Administration as that which has just fallen from the hon. Gentleman. I do hope that for the sake of the Civil Service the Home Secretary will keep his subordinate in check and prevent him creating those feelings of dissatisfaction, discontent, and distrust which speeches such as his are calculated to create. Unless the Government have got some better answer to give than the flimsy answer we have just had, I shall be under the necessity of dividing the Committee. I beg to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £1,000 in connection with Item D.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That Item D be reduced by £1,000.—  
(Mr. A. O'Connor.)

Mr. Stuart Wortley

(11.6.) DR. CLARK: I intended to move a reduction of the Vote on other grounds; but we had better take the whole discussion now. Last year I found that first and second-class clerks in England and Scotland had the same salaries. This year I find there has been an increase in the maximum salary of the first-class clerks in English prisons from £190 to £200, and an increase in the maximum salary of the second-class clerks from £130 to £150. Every official in England is paid a higher maximum than in Scotland, and I want to know why the Government have increased the pay of the prison clerks in England and not in Scotland. If the present state of things exists next year we shall certainly take a Division and fight the question out.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I hope we shall have some explanation respecting the increase in the salaries of the English officials. Before the increase took place in November last the Scotch and English clerks were on exactly the same level, and surely we are entitled to know why, when the work of the clerks in both countries is precisely the same, an increase should be given to the clerks in one country and not to those in the other?

MR. MORTON: I hope the right hon. Gentleman is going to give us some answer to the case put forward. I do not profess to thoroughly understand the question, but surely we are entitled to some explanation from the Home Secretary with regard to the charges made by the hon. Member for Donegal (Mr. A. O'Connor). As far as I can understand the Estimates, we amply protect those who receive large salaries, and show little consideration for the men in receipt of small stipends. Such a state of things is to be greatly deprecated.

MR. MATTHEWS: I can only repeat what my hon. Friend has already told the Committee. I do not assert that the condition of these clerks is all that could be desired, but it is not possible to alter the conditions of the Public Service for the sake of one small class. The clerks in the Prison Department are in a position that compares not

unfavourably with that of clerks in other Departments of the Public Service.

(11.12.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: At any rate, no one can object to the tone of the right hon. Gentleman; no one can feel that any disposition of resentment will be enkindled by his words. But the right hon. Gentleman touched very lightly—if, indeed, he touched it at all—the point I wished to deal with. You induced a number of men to enter a particular branch of the Service under distinct representations as to prospects and promotion and pay, and when you got them into the Service you would not allow them to leave that particular branch, and you refused to give them the pay you promised them. The Home Secretary says that his predecessor in office had nothing to do with the matter; but the Order in Council says he had. The fees charged by the Civil Service Commissioners in connection with entry into the Service are fixed after consultation by them with the heads of the Civil Departments. Therefore, in the case of these clerks, I maintain that there has been a gross breach of faith.

(11.17.) MR. WALLACE: There is a very great difference in this House between what may be called logical relevancy and practical relevancy. In the matter of logical relevancy I can see the Home Secretary is right, but in practical relevancy I can see he is wrong. I mean to stick to the practical relevancy in this matter, and I regret that my hon. Friend the Member for Caithness has not announced his intention of taking a Division, for the simple reason that there is no possibility of getting justice to Scotland, or for any community that is smaller than the English community, unless we take ourselves to processes that are more open to practical recommendation than to logical conclusion. I want to know why the English salaries have been increased, while those in Scotland have been allowed to stand still? I think the Scottish Law Officers of the Crown who are present have very feebly stood by the rights and interests of Scotland, when an inequality of this description is presented to the House, and is not dealt with argumentatively by the financial authorities on the Treasury Bench.

(11.20.) DR. CLARK: I did not want to take two Divisions; but if the Government will not answer my question, I shall be compelled to move a reduction of the Vote by £2,190, the amount involved. If we are treated with silent contempt, the only thing we can do is to make ourselves felt. Surely the Home Secretary or one of the Scottish Law Officers can tell us why this increase has been given to England and not to Scotland.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I am sure there is no wish on the part of any occupant of the Government Bench to be discourteous to hon. Gentlemen. We are asked why we have dealt with the case of the English officials only. It is a little discouraging that the moment we attempt to deal with the alleged grievances of one class of officials, a host of other grievances is to be raised. Certain grievances were put forward by English prison officials. According to hon. Gentlemen opposite, we have not satisfied them; we have endeavoured to satisfy them, but we have not, and I regret that that has been the result. Special circumstances were put before us in the case of the English officials. We have not had any special case put forward by the Scotch officials, and the reason why we have not attempted to deal with the case of the Scotch officials is that it has not been brought forward. If they can prove that the same grounds exist for favourably considering their case, as were shown in the case of the English officials, the attention of the Treasury will, no doubt, be given to the matter. I hope hon. Members will see after this intimation that we have not been niggardly in the case of Scotland. I do not wish to shut the door to any claim that may be made. I only repeat that we have only dealt with the special circumstances put before us.

(11.24.) DR. CLARK: I expected such an answer from the Government. Next year if the present state of things is then in existence we shall raise the whole question at length. The lower grade clerks have always been on the same footing as similar officials in England, and by next year we hope the Treasury will have acted fairly all round.

MR. CALDWELL: When the right hon. Gentleman talks about the discourage-



ment to deal with grievances, I should like to point out that 177 persons in England benefit by the augmented salary. In Scotland only 14 would be affected; surely it would be a small matter to raise their salaries to a similar extent.

(11.27.) MR. WALLACE: I understand from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the reason why the English applicants have been more favoured than their Scotch brethren is that they have been more importunate.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: The hon. Gentleman is mistaken. There were special circumstances brought forward in the case of the English prison officials. I do not know whether those special circumstances apply to Scotland.

MR. WALLACE: I understand that if the Scotch officials are able to bring forward certain special circumstances certain particular modifications and certain diversities in connection with their claims they will possibly be as successful as the English officials. I shall be content under the present circumstances to refrain from further opposition to the passing of this Vote.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: If by putting the Committee to the trouble of a Division I could secure anything, I would not hesitate to invite the Home Secretary to walk through the Division Lobby; but as I do not see any chance of securing the object I am aiming at, I ask leave to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £37,133, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Lord Advocate's Department, and other Law Charges, and the Salaries and Expenses of the Courts of Law and Justice in Scotland."

(11.32.) MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I wish to get some information with regard to a legal officer whose position is not so well known to us as that of other legal officers. I refer to the Crown Agent. What are his duties, and is he engaged

*Mr. Caldwell*

in other pursuits outside his office work?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): The duties of the office are of an important character, and it is a permanent office. The gentleman in question acts as solicitor for the Crown in Scotland, and in that capacity has the management of criminal prosecutions. The present holder of the office is Mr. Jamieson, who is well known as one of the most accomplished and experienced men of business in the country. He is engaged, as all his predecessors were, in the conduct of business on his own account; but I am convinced that no public service rendered to Scotland is more valuable than that performed by the Crown Agent.

(11.35.) MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND: I should like to point out that in other public offices steps have been taken to secure that the official has no private practice, and I would suggest it would be better if the Crown Agent were precluded from engaging in private practice. There is an increasing tendency in Scotland to separate public duties from private work; and as I gather that the holder of this office does not change with a change of Government, it becomes all the more easy to provide that he should confine his attention to the duties of the post.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I may point out that the Crown Agent has no power to determine who is to be prosecuted, or what shall take place in that direction. For that the Lord Advocate is responsible. No professional man of such standing would consent to give his entire services for £1,200 a year, and it is quite unnecessary that any such change should be made.

\*(11.38.) MR. CRAWFORD (Leamark, N.E.): I think it right to confirm the observations which have fallen from the Lord Advocate. I have had considerable experience in the administration of the Criminal Law in Scotland. When I was at the Bar, and afterwards when I was Legal Secretary to the Lord Advocate, I was in constant correspondence with the Crown Agent.

The considerations which apply to the office of Procurator Fiscal in the matter of having a private practice do not apply to the Crown Agent. Whereas the Procurator Fiscal, in his local sphere, has a great deal to say in the institution of criminal prosecutions, the Crown Agent has no discretion in the matter at all. The discretion rests with the Lord Advocate and his deputies. The question as to whether the Crown Agent should be allowed to have a private practice has been several times carefully considered. It was considered by Lord Advocate McNeill, afterwards a distinguished Judge and a Member of the other House of Parliament; and again it was considered by my right hon. Friend the Member for Clackmannan; and the decision they both came to, without the slightest hesitation, was that it was so important that the holder of the office should be a man of high position and wide experience that it would be a great pity to appoint a mere permanent official, and not to have the advantage the country now possesses of having for the Crown Agent a man in the foremost rank of his profession. I can conscientiously assure my hon. Friend that there is no ground for adverse criticism on this Vote, and that the services of the Crown Agent are very cheaply obtained.

\*MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): I wish on the sub-head—Law Agent to the Woods and Forests in Scotland—to raise a question as to the alienation of Crown fisheries, and to ask for an assurance that the practice shall not be continued.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That is not relevant to this Vote.

(11.41.) MR. WALLACE: I have no wish to move a substantial reduction in the Vote; but in regard to the offices of Lord Advocate and Solicitor General for Scotland, I must say that the salaries are remarkably small compared with those of the Attorney General and Solicitor General for England. Certainly, the Government get good value for their money in their Law Officers, and I am, therefore, unable to understand the arithmetical principles on which the difference is made. But there is one item in the Vote—a comparatively

trivial one—which I have noticed on previous occasions, and intend to draw attention to every year so long as it appears in the Votes, and that is the Vote for macers and trumpeters. I cannot understand why this Vote is persevered in, and why this money, which might be much better spent in Scotland, is thus wasted. Why should £320 be spent upon trumpeters? It is, to my mind, utterly unpractical, and leads to no beneficial result. The trumpeters are practically useless even in their own Department. They each receive a salary of £16 16s. 4d. a year, and a uniform once in every five years. A man whose uniform lasts five years cannot have very much to do. Let the Lord Advocate conceive what a hat would be like on the ultimate day of the fifth year if it were much used. And what would be the state of the boots at the end of the quinquennial period. I do not wish to deal with other items of garmenture; but it must be assumed that the uniform has to be kept decent in order to maintain the honour of the country. And if it keeps decent for five years it cannot be very much used. With respect to the macers, their functions are altogether formal. They may have some substantial service to perform; but I have never been able to find out what their functions are in the Court of Justiciary. I believe they go on circuit; but surely justice would be as effectively administered without their attendance. I see the whole amount of salaries is £820 a year—£820 spent on wind and macers, under the pretence that it is conducive to the proper administration of justice in Scotland. Might not the money be spent more usefully, say on an Astronomer Royal for Scotland? The Scottish Judiciary would get on very well without these trumpeters and macers. They ought to be abolished, and the money thereby saved devoted to some useful purpose. I rejoice that there should be such difficulty in finding fault with the Scotch Estimates, and I can only say that I desire to purge the almost pure Estimates for Scotland from these absurdities.

(11.50.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I am not sure that the hon. and learned Gentleman quite realises the functions

of the macers. The macer in Scotland is in England the usher, an officer with whom no fault is ever found, and who is necessary for maintaining the order and decorum of the Court. But even in the office of macer, a considerable economy has been effected in recent years, because, while the Court of Justiciary used to have a staff of macers for itself, who only went on circuit, those macers have now to perform their duties in both the Civil and the Justiciary Courts. As for the trumpeters, the hon. Member has himself vindicated the Vote to a large extent, because he has even censured the economy with which the modest state of the establishment is maintained. I objected to them having a uniform only in five years, and, accordingly, I have to defend the Vote against the charge of undue niggardliness which the hon. Member has suggested. But I may remind the hon. Member that even the office of trumpeters has been carefully economised of recent years.

DR. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): Is there any explanation to be given as to the office of election petition appeals?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: There have recently been no election petition appeals, and the item for the officer under that head is not a Vote so much as an Estimate. The sum may not be necessary.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I desire to ask as to the fees received by the Legal Secretary to the Lord Advocate?

(11.56.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: As regards the fees in addition to the salary which the Lord Advocate's Secretary receives, these are mainly for drafting, and they vary from year to year. I cannot say off-hand how much the Secretary receives, this year or last year, because recently the method which I think best has been adopted of having the bills drafted by experts. As regards Advocates Depute, the fees they receive, in addition to their salaries, are fees given in cases where they are merely selected as counsel in appeals to the High Court of Justiciary or suspensions in special cases relating to the decisions given in Courts below. In such cases, the Procurator Fiscal in Edinburgh or

*Mr. J. P. B. Robertson*

elsewhere may employ any counsel they like, and, accordingly, if they employ as their counsel Advocates who are Advocates Depute, the fees are paid to them in the ordinary practice of their profession, although related to quasi-criminal work. Then, as to Procurators Fiscal, there has been a steady tendency in recent years to put them on salary, and in most cases where they are still paid by fees, they are survivals of old appointments.

(12.0.) DR. CLARK: I do not expect we shall get much satisfaction out of the present Lord Advocate in relation to these Crown Agents any more than we have had any satisfaction from previous Lord Advocates. Officials of the same character in England and Ireland are permanent officials, and I think the Crown Agent in Scotland ought to be like the Director of Public Prosecutions in England and the other official of the same kind in Ireland. The salary might be re-arranged and fixed at £1,500 or £1,600 a year. I think the present system is a bad one. We have the Crown Solicitor in Scotland acting for the Crown and for half a dozen landlords. I know he acts for several Dukes. It may be that the Crown Solicitor can in these cases act impartially; but the feeling is that the Crown Agent does, in the interest of his other clients, control several matters in relation to Crown business. I on a previous occasion pointed out how the Solicitor for the Woods and Forests was under suspicion in this respect, and I am sure it is a bad thing that the appointment should be in the private patronage of the Lord Advocate. It is no use taking a Division now, but we must see what can be done under a future Government. The Solicitor should be appointed to give the whole of his time, with a salary proportionate to the work.

(12.5.) MR. CALDWELL: I think we could secure the services of a very superior Law Agent in Scotland for £1,000 a year. It would be for the public interest if the Crown Agent and the Agent for Woods and Forests were made into one official, who should not have private practice and be the agent of a large landowner, and who should be permanently in office; because in connection with criminal procedure in

Scotland, it is important to have continuity of office.

**MR. LABOUCHERE:** The taxpayer is not likely to gain very much from the proposals of Scotch Members. I find that whenever Scotch Members suggest the reduction of one salary they invariably suggest an increase in two or three others. Therefore, I am content with things as they are. I wish to complain of the item of £50 for the trial of Election Petitions. That item has appeared in the Estimates for the last 10 years, and I think that when the Minister in charge of a particular Estimate states that he does not anticipate for a moment that it will be spent during the current year it ought not to appear on the Estimates. The result is, it is transferred to some other item under the head of law charges, or it goes to swell the Budget surplus at the end of the year.

Question put, and agreed to.

3. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £25,354, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices in Her Majesty's General Register House, Edinburgh."

\*(12.9.) **MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH:** I desire to call the attention of the Lord Advocate and the Secretary to the Treasury to the office of Register of Sasines. The matter has been before the Treasury for a number of years. There was great dissatisfaction on the part of many when that office was transferred to the Treasury. The higher officials were satisfied with their old position, but there are a considerable number of most deserving men called engrossing clerks who complain that they have been excluded from the benefits of the Act of 1879. These clerks have been constantly urging their being placed on the same footing as others—that is to say, the commissioned clerks—with powers of getting an increase of salary, and also of being promoted to higher grades. Of a sudden the Secretary for Scotland, no doubt acting on the advice of the Treasury, withdrew all countenance whatever from these

clerks, who consider that they are exceedingly ill-used. Some months ago I put a question to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, asking for the production of the correspondence, and for the Report of an inquiry into the state of the office presided over by the late Lord Lee. The Secretary to the Treasury refused to produce the documents, and I now call upon him to mention what the purport of that Report was as regards these engrossing clerks.

\*(12.12.) **MR. BUCHANAN** (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to support the appeal of my hon. Friend. The condition and salaries of these clerks have been constantly brought forward before the House for many years past. In view of the representations which were made in this House, a Departmental Committee was appointed in 1888. The Report of that Departmental Committee has never been published, but it is understood the Committee reported in favour of the claims of these clerks. A Minute issued by the Scottish Secretary did not grant the claims put forward on the part of the engrossing clerks, though it did those of the commissioned clerks. The clerks naturally feel that if the Departmental Committee did report in favour of their claims, they ought to have some explanation from the Scottish Secretary and the Scottish Office as to the Report of the Departmental Committee, and why the distinction has been made between them and the commissioned clerks. I should also like to have some information from the Secretary to the Treasury or the Lord Advocate with regard to another branch in the Register House—namely, the Minute Book clerks, six in number. It is a small matter. They have presented a Memorial to the Secretary to the Treasury in which they represent that they can now only earn under the re-organisation an average of £130 or £140 instead of from £170 to £190. They think, and with justice, that it was never intended that they should suffer in this way for the re-organisation. It is a small matter; only six men are affected, three of whom have been in the Service since 1868-9. I would urge upon the Government that they should inquire why it is these

clerks are dissatisfied, and what is really their complaint.

(12.15.) MR. WALLACE: I am not generally in favour of any movement the effect of which would be to add to the Estimates, but in this particular case I really wish to have some explanation why these engrossing clerks should not be on the same footing as certain other clerks whose claims have been acknowledged. It is exceedingly difficult to understand the affairs of the Sasines Office; but my hon. Friend has sounded the depths and fathomed the difficulties, and his opinion is that the engrossing clerks ought under Statute to have the same footing as commissioned clerks, and I agree with him. Such documents as have been made public may be quoted in favour of my hon. Friend's contention. In the Treasury Minute of 1881 it is distinctly laid down that the abridgment clerks are to be put on the permanent establishment of the Department. The position of the abridgment clerks includes the engrossing clerks.

(12.22.) MR. JACKSON: It is quite certain that the engrossing clerks are not in the Treasury Minute to which the hon. Member refers. They are simply clerks who are paid by piece-work. They are not on the establishment of the Civil Service, and they are practically in the same position as copyists in other branches of the Civil Service in this country.

\*MR. BUCHANAN: I think we ought to have some further information. Three years ago the Departmental Committee, presided over by the late Lord Lee, reported upon the claims of these gentlemen; and though the Report was never made public, it is commonly asserted, and has never been denied, that the Report was in favour of those claims. The claim of the commissioned clerks has been granted, while that of the engrossing clerks has not been granted, and I want to know upon what ground this distinction has been made. Also, I should be glad to have some reply in relation to that limited class to which I have referred—the Minute Book clerks.

\*(12.26.) MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH: The right hon. Gentleman introduces the word "copyists," a

*Mr. Buchanan*

novelty in the office. The clerks are engaged on work of an important character requiring the greatest care, and though they are paid at so much a page, this is merely carrying out the rule observed prior to the transference to the Treasury. Large fees are exacted for the work, which requires the greatest exactitude. The clerks occupy the same standing as the commissioned clerks, and until 1879 the engrossing clerks were treated as clerks of the Establishment. I feel compelled to take a Division against the Vote.

(12.27.) MR. WALLACE: The treatment to which we are now being subjected by the right hon. Gentleman is most contemptuous. He seems to think we are to accept his *ipse dixit* on a matter of the interpretation of documents. If the right hon. Gentleman is simply going to try to work the matter off in this autocratic fashion, the Scottish Members may have to resort to the proper means of resenting this sort of contemptuous despotism. I have referred to the Minute of 1881 emanating from the Department for which he is officially responsible, and of which he may be considered the judicial expositor, but he gives us no explanation. His reply is: "*Sic volo, sic jubeo; stet pro ratione voluntas.*" The right hon. Gentleman is trying to ride a high horse in a way that is quite inconsistent either with the position of the horse or the rider. I do not believe the right hon. Gentleman knows anything at all about the matter, and we cannot accept his official assertions as truth and gospel. The engrossing clerks, whose circumstances we are now considering, were put on the same footing by the Treasury Minute as the commissioned clerks, and the right hon. Gentleman has given no answer to the question raised by the hon. Member for Inverness-shire and the hon. Member for West Edinburgh as to the declaration of Lord Lee's Commission. If the right hon. Gentleman will not give us an answer such as is suitable to the position which Scotch Members—and especially Scotch Members connected with the Register House in Edinburgh—occupy, probably he will not get this Vote as quickly as he anticipates.

\*(12.32.) **MR. JACKSON**: I am very sorry that the hon. Member should have thought it necessary to address the Committee in the tone he has done. All I want to point out is that the hon. Member has misunderstood the Minute. I say again, that if he will make inquiries he will find that copying clerks were not put on the Establishment by this Minute.

**MR. BUCHANAN**: But the abridgment clerks?

**MR. JACKSON**: They were not the men employed in the copying work. If the hon. Member will look at the Estimate he will find that there is a sum of money taken for copying. The money is paid according to the amount of work done, and I can assure the hon. Member that he is mistaken that the Treasury Minute placed these copyists on the Establishment as the Establishment of the Civil Service. To do that would be to put the clerks in the position of being entitled to pension. These copyists are not entitled to pensions.

**MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH**: As a matter of form, I will move to reduce the Vote by £60.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £25,304, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh.*)

\*(12.35.) **MR. BUCHANAN**: We must press for some information on this matter. As to the Treasury Minute, what took place was this: Six of these engrossing clerks were put on the permanent Civil Establishment; but it must be well-known to the right hon. Gentleman that ever since the Minute was published in 1881 there has been dissatisfaction in the office on the part not merely of the commissioned clerks, but of the engrossing clerks. In 1888 the Government took the very wise step of appointing the Special Committee referred to, the head of which was the very distinguished Judge, Lord Lee. We have never heard it stated to the House what the Report of that Committee was; but it is well known, and has never been denied, that it reported generally in favour of the claim put forward, not merely by the commissioned clerks, but by the engrossing clerks. The Government have carried out the

recommendations of the Report as to the commissioned clerks, but not as to the engrossing clerks; and what we want is a statement of the reasons why that part of the Report has not been carried out. The right hon. Gentleman has studiously avoided saying a word as to the evidence brought before this Committee or what it reported. He cannot be in ignorance on these points, because they have been brought before him in questions, and he must have known when the Vote came up to-night that the question of this Committee and the engrossing clerks would come up on this occasion. I therefore say that the right hon. Gentleman is treating us with less courtesy than we have a right to expect when he refuses to answer the claims put forward by the representatives of the people of Scotland. If we cannot get a further explanation I shall certainly support my hon. Friend in his Motion for the reduction of the Vote.

(12.39.) **MR. WALLACE**: I am perfectly astonished at the immovability of the right hon. Gentleman under the appeal of the hon. Member for West Edinburgh. Nothing could have been put in a more conciliatory manner, or in a way more fitted to evoke a declaration from an official willing to give information to those who have a right to expect information on this matter. The right hon. Gentleman has sailed off again on a simple denial. He tells me that I am wrong in my interpretation of the Treasury Minute, but he does not show me that I am wrong. He merely says so. I say "Yes," and he says "No." Is that fitting discussion in an assembly such as this? I say it is not, and my way of argument is as good as that of the right hon. Gentleman. The thing is reduced to a nursery argument. That is the way children in a nursery argue. The one says it is, and the other says it is not. What satisfaction can be got for the promotion of public business in argumentation of that kind? The right hon. Gentleman has some dim and remote understanding of the history of this matter, because he jumped to a certain particular half-dozen of clerks who are placed in a peculiar position by this Minute.

I understand that, but '6 and 13 are not the same thing. There are 13 abridgment clerks who were put on the Establishment by this Minute, and they include the engrossing clerks; but the right hon. Gentleman can only say "No." Who are the abridgment clerks if they are not the engrossing clerks? Let him bring proof to show that the abridgment clerks are not the engrossing clerks. His mere uninstructed, individual assertion is of no value in this Committee unless proved by appropriate argument. He has been again and once again, and again and once again, and another time in addition challenged to give his opinion on Lord Lee's Committee. He will not say a word about it. I do not believe he knows a word about Lord Lee's Committee. His answer had all the appearance of stolid ignorance. What right has the Financial Secretary to be ignorant of Lord Lee's Committee? It was an important Committee in connection with this subject, and the right hon. Gentleman is bound to have read the correspondence with regard to it. I do not believe he knows who Lord Lee is. Let him acknowledge his ignorance of the whole matter, and we shall be able to deal with him. If he is not ignorant let him tell us whether the abridgment clerks, whose position was secured in the Minute of 1881, are not the very identical engrossing clerks I am now putting forward. I insist upon his telling us whether he has read the correspondence in connection with Lord Lee's Committee or Commission, and whether the deliverance of the Commission was not in favour of that decision?

(12.46.) MR. JACKSON: I am afraid that the hon. Gentleman opposite and I are not discussing the same item, if the hon. Member is correct about his 13 engrossing clerks. The item I refer to is an item of £7,000 for copying.

MR. WALLACE: I did not mention any item.

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Member spoke about 13 engrossing clerks, and, as I understood, went on to assert that they were the same as those to whom I had referred, who come under the head of copying, and for whom a round sum

*Mr. Wallace*

has been taken in the Estimates. I cannot believe that the hon. Member's 13 engrossing clerks get £7,000; therefore, I think he must be mistaken in thinking that these are the same body as those to whom I referred. I think he will find he is mistaken. Reference has been made to a Committee which was appointed, and on which a Treasury Representative sat—and about which he thinks I know very little. Well, I may tell him that I had a good deal to do with that Committee, and had still more to do with it when the Report was made to the Treasury through the Scotch Office, and I was under the impression that the question had been settled to the entire satisfaction of those concerned. There is one point, as to which I have no Papers, and on which I am in some doubt. I am not clear in my mind as to the positions of those who have been described as "Minute Clerks." I cannot from recollection say what their position is, but I will inform myself on the matter, and on Report will give the hon. Member a complete answer.

\*(12.50.) MR. BUCHANAN: I recognise the conciliatory tone of the right hon. Gentleman, especially with regard to the Minute Book Clerks, who are a comparatively small body of men. As to the other branch of the subject, the right hon. Member in his opening remarks adopted a somewhat unworthy argument. He knows whom the clerks are to whom the hon. Member refers. They are the engrossing clerks, who held appointments previous to 1879. He also knows very well that these clerks are 30 in number. Their position is an anomaly owing to the passing of the Lord Clerk Register Act of that year, and to the Treasury Minute, and to the action taken in that Minute. When the right hon. Gentleman tells us that he thought that Lord Lee's Committee had settled the whole matter he must have forgotten that during last Session, and during the present Session, a series of questions were put on the subject.

MR. JACKSON: I have no recollection of any question having been put to me since the Report of the Commission.

**MR. BUCHANAN:** I thought the hon. Member for Inverness-shire said he had put questions. At any rate we have not had information. Why, when the Committee reported generally in favour of these two Departments of clerks, has the Executive Authority sanctioned the Report in regard to one section of them, and not done so in regard to the other?

(12.54.) **MR. JACKSON:** I think it is admitted that the office is over-manned, the number of clerks being in excess of the requirements of the public service. It is part of the arrangement that on consideration of certain improvements in the position of these clerks when vacancies arise, the number shall be reduced. I do not think it would have been possible to have admitted to these ranks a large number of clerks only employed in temporary service in the sense of only being paid according to the amount of work done. The copyists are paid according to the work they do.

**MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH:** The right hon. Gentleman is mistaken in saying that the office is over-manned. By the greater use of printing, the work of the six Minute Book clerks has been lessened, otherwise the general business is larger than ever.

**MR. JACKSON:** There is a note in the Estimates saying that the clerks are to be reduced as vacancies arise.

(12.57.) **MR. WALLACE:** The right hon. Gentleman does not even yet understand the elements of the position. He is arguing this matter as a question of economic administration, but that is not the question at all. The question is one of the historical claims of certain individuals, and the right hon. Gentleman by an instinctive dexterity tries to confuse the historic argument with this question of economic administration. I decline to allow him to confuse the two subjects. The right hon. Gentleman is trying not to bring light into our minds, but to throw dust in our eyes, and I must tell him that that experiment is one which depends for its success very much upon the quality of the dust he throws, and the nature of the eyes he tries to throw it into. I say to him that the engrossing clerks had a certain claim at a particular

date, and they are not to be mixed up with the copyists. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] Hon. Members need not cry "Divide!" This is a matter which must be threshed to a conclusion. Will the right hon. Gentleman tell me whether the conclusion of Lord Lee's Committee was favourable or unfavourable to the clients of the hon. Member for Inverness-shire?

**MR. JACKSON:** I am sorry I did not convey to the hon. Member my meaning. I am willing to admit—if that will satisfy the hon. Gentleman—that I am ignorant on the question of these Minute clerks. I have promised to look into the matter, and, when the Vote comes up on Report to-morrow, to give full and complete information in regard to it. I stated that I had not with me the papers relating to the clerks whom I suppose he speaks of as engrossing clerks. I would assure him that I had no intention of answering him curtly or with any want of courtesy, and I should be sorry if I thought I had.

**MR. WALLACE:** Shall we learn anything as to the Report of Lord Lee's Committee?

**MR. JACKSON:** I have promised to make my statement on these points to-morrow.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

(12.59.) **MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND:** I think that considering the importance of the next Vote, which relates to the Crofter Commission we should now report Progress. I therefore make that Motion.

Motion made, and question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Angus Sutherland.*)

**MR. GOSCHEN:** I would venture to urge hon. Gentlemen not to press the Motion. I rather gather that it is the general feeling of the House that we should sit late to-night to endeavour to make progress.

**MR. HUNTER:** I am in favour of having Scotch business discussed at a proper hour. The Government are entirely responsible for the delay which



has occurred in dealing with the Scotch Estimates. It has of late years been the practice of the Government to take first the business of England and Ireland, and then at the end of the Session when half the Members have left to bring on the Scotch Votes. If the Session is in consequence prolonged the fault is that of the Government, for Scotland is entitled to have more of the time of Parliament for the discussion of its affairs.

MR. GOSCHEN: The hon. Member must bear in mind that this year the Estimates are being taken in their regular order, and that, therefore, his complaint that Scotch Estimates are postponed to the last does not apply. I must protest against his suggestion that we put Scotland in a back place in these matters.

DR. CLARK: I think the right hon. Gentleman might consider this question from another standpoint. On several occasions we have got by ballot a special night for the discussion of these matters, and on each the Government have taken the opportunity away from us. Now this Estimate is to be brought on at 1 o'clock in the morning, and last year it came on at 3 o'clock in the morning. We have some grievances which we want to discuss, and surely it will not be said that this hour in the morning is a convenient time for the purpose. There are only two Scotch Votes left, and I think that under the circumstances the Government might let us have the chance of debating them at a reasonable hour.

(1.4.) MR. SEXTON: We are willing to sit up late, but the question is to what hour does the Government require the sitting prolonged. The Scotch Members may reasonably object to going on with the Scotch Estimates after 1 o'clock. Hitherto the suspension of the 12 o'clock rule has only applied to Supply, but now it has been agreed to for the purpose of enabling other Bills, including some Irish Bills, to be advanced a stage. I shall, in view of the desirability of getting on with those Bills, resist any further progress being made with the Scotch Votes to-night.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I should like to point out that one of the Irish Bills  
*Mr. Hunter*

referred to by the hon. Member for West Belfast is a very contentious measure, and will be resisted in every possible way. I therefore ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bear that in mind.

MR. SEXTON: The Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill must be taken some night, and although it is confronted by the formidable opposition of the hon. Member I hope we shall get it advanced a stage to-night.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): I hope the right hon. Gentleman will listen to the appeal of my hon. Friends. I do not want to bring unnecessary charges against the Government, but it is a curious coincidence that the Scotch Estimates are always brought on at a most inconvenient hour for Scotch Members. The crofter question is one of great importance to the Highlands of Scotland, and surely it ought to be debated at a reasonable hour.

DR. MACDONALD: I may point out that there is a Bill affecting the Highlands and Islands on the Paper. It is put down night after night but no progress is made with it, simply because the Lord Advocate does not feel inclined to give way to our views.

(1.9.) MR. GOSCHEN: It is not the fault of the Government that the Scotch Votes have come on at a late hour. Hoping the House may make some progress with other matters, and in order to prevent wrangling and frequent visits to the Division Lobby, I reluctantly give way to the view of the Scotch Members. I hope, however, that discussion will not be prolonged to an undue length to-morrow.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [24th July] reported.

Resolutions 1 and 2 (see pages 320 and 339) agreed to.

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £391,100, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses connected with the County Courts."

(1.15.) MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): I should like to call the attention of the Home Secretary to the desirability of having a County Court at Grays. There is a population there of 20,000. The place is close to Tilbury Docks, and not long since a deputation of merchants and traders and farmers petitioned the Lord Chancellor for a Court. That Memorial has not even been acknowledged. I hope a County Court will be established at Grays, and I can assure the Government it will entail no expense in the matter of providing buildings, as there are some there suitable for the purpose.

SIR R. WEBSTER: I am surprised to hear my hon. and gallant Friend say that the receipt of the Memorial has not been acknowledged. I know that the question of the County Courts in Essex has been receiving attention at the hands of the Lord Chancellor, and that some suggestion has been made for transferring the Courts. I will take care that the matter is further looked into.

Resolution agreed to.

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £13,047, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Police Courts of London and Sheerness."

\*MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): When this Vote was under Debate the Government promised to state what steps had been taken to secure the attendance of female warders at police stations where women are detained at night time.

MR. MATTHEWS: My hon. Friend the Under Secretary is not in his place. If the Vote is postponed he will give the information to-morrow.

Resolution postponed.

Resolutions 5, 6, and 7 [see pages 354 and 369] agreed to.

Postponed Resolution to be considered to-morrow.

# REDEMPTION OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 426.)

CONSIDERATION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

(1.26.) Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed

to Question [24th July], on Consideration, as Amended.

And which Amendment was, in page 1, line 7, after the word "one," to insert the words "and Section 3." — (Mr. T. M. Healy.)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 1, page 1, line 13, after "case," to insert "holding and district." — (Mr. Macartney.)

MR. T. M. HEALY: I shall not oppose this, but I may point out that it raises a very important contention. The phrase "a full agricultural rent," would include a rent on the tenant's own improvements, and I should prefer to see the words, "a fair rent within the meaning of the said Acts."

MR. MADDEN: The Government cannot accept the Amendment.

Question put, and negatived.

Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 14, to leave out the words "full agricultural rent," and insert the words "fair rent within the meaning of the said Acts." — (Mr. T. M. Healy.)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill," put, and agreed to.

Other Amendments made.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

MR. MACARTNEY: If I do not object to this, I hope the Labourers (Ireland) Act will not be opposed.

MR. GOSCHEN: I am afraid that that not being a Government Bill, cannot be taken after 1 o'clock.

MR. T. M. HEALY: In fairness to the Government, I should like to point out an error of drafting in the second line, which, unless it is altered, will let in the tenants for whom the Bill is not intended.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

## TRAINING COLLEGES (IRELAND) BILL

(No. 391.)

## COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

## Clause 1.

(1.34.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I am reluctantly compelled to move to report Progress. A pledge was given by the First Lord of the Treasury that no contentious measures should be taken after a certain date, yet a measure full of contention is sought to be forced through the House at 2 o'clock in the morning, when no one will have a chance of seeing what passes. The English as well as the Irish people are interested in this Bill, which proposes to hand over a practically unlimited sum of money to Archbishop Walsh and the Roman Catholic Church for the purpose of endowing denominational training colleges. It is not fair, nor just, nor reasonable on the part of the Government to force a Bill of this character through the House at this period of the Session, and at this late hour of the night. If the Chief Secretary desires to pass it, let him put it down so that we may discuss it at a proper hour, when the taxpayers of the country may have a chance of knowing what is being done.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. T. W. Russell.)

(1.37.) MR. SEXTON: I have never heard a more reckless and misleading statement than that made by the hon. Member, who has turned a most astounding somersault. On the Second Reading he said his opposition was only formal.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I absolutely opposed the Second Reading, because the Chief Secretary gave no explanation of the Bill.

MR. SEXTON: The hon. Member said he only wanted an opportunity of making a speech and dividing against the Bill, but he had no desire to prevent its passing. Let me point out money has been already given to this fund by

Parliament. This is a mere tempest in a teacup. The Bill is simply an attempt on the part of the Chief Secretary to apply to Ireland the principles which exist with regard to denominational training colleges in England and Wales. I trust that reasonable men on all sides of the House will assist the Chief Secretary in disposing of a question which has caused great difficulty in Ireland.

(1.43.) COLONEL NOLAN: I think that as this Bill is supported by Irish Members on all sides of the House, it can hardly be called a contentious measure. It has been rendered necessary by the fact that a former Government tried to force on Ireland a system of training teachers which—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That is not relevant to the Motion for reporting Progress.

COLONEL NOLAN: Very well; I will only say I think the hon. Member for South Tyrone ought to be content with taking a Division, and should not then resist the further progress of the Bill.

(1.45.) COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I am opposed to this Bill, and I believe that the vast majority of Irish Protestants are opposed to it. We believe, rightly or wrongly, that this is a Bill in the direction of denominational education in Ireland, to which we are bitterly opposed. We also believe that the Bill will endow the training colleges of the Church of Rome with a very considerable sum of money out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund, and to that also we are bitterly opposed. I resist the Bill on the ground that it is an extremely contentious measure and one which ought to be carefully considered and debated before it is passed. It is impossible to do that at this late hour of the night, and I hope the Government will not press the Bill.

MR. A. SUTHERLAND: After what has happened in this House during the last few months, the hon. Member must have a lot of assurance to say he is opposed to denominational education, for he has been assisting the Government to pass a Denominational Bill through for England. Evidently he does not like to apply to Ireland the principle he is willing to apply to Scotland. As the hon. Member for West Bel-

fast has stated, the system of the denominational training of teachers obtains in England, Scotland, and Wales, and I do not see why its benefits should not be extended to the people of Ireland. I have always opposed the denominational training of teachers, but if it is allowed in England, it should also be allowed in Ireland.

(148.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is true that there is a system of denominational training college teaching in England, but it is not the system which I desire to see adopted in Ireland, where I wish to see a more complete one. Two attacks have been made upon this Bill. One is connected with the conduct of public business. It is said that the Government are violating their pledge with regard to contentious business. But the proposal which this Bill embodies has been before the public, and especially the Irish public, for nine months at least, and the Bill has passed its first and second reading without a protest. Therefore, my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury has naturally considered that it will come under the head of non-contentious business. With regard to the charge that the Government propose to take money out of the Irish Church surplus to endow Roman Catholic Education, nothing of the kind is the case; the Church surplus appears merely as part of the machinery for carrying out the object of the Bill; it will not be one sixpence the poorer at the end of the transaction. The system of giving public money for training colleges is not my system; it was brought into being in 1833 by right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and brought forward in a form in which it is impossible that it can stand. It is open to the House to say it will adhere to the system which has been in operation since 1833, to say "We will put all colleges on an equal footing." All I have attempted to do by this Bill is to carry out a policy that has been urgently pressed upon me. I believe the result of the Bill will be that the Presbyterian colleges will greatly gain instead of losing. At the same time I am bound to admit, from the fact that there is at this period of the Session a large body of Members opposed to the Bill, that it is in their

power to prevent its passing. I earnestly trust that even at this late hour of the night, the policy announced by my hon. Friend opposite will not be pursued, and that he will be content with the protest he has made. If the hon. Gentleman and his friends adopt a different line of conduct it will be impossible to ask the House to sit up night after night into the early hours of the morning to pass this Bill.

(156.) MR. SINCLAIR (Falkirk): The Chief Secretary, by his speech, has opened up a very wide question. It is believed that by this Bill a great blow is going to be struck at the mixed system of education in Ireland, which we who are anxious for the welfare of Irish education desire to see preserved. It will set up denominational training colleges, to which we are opposed. This is not a question which ought to be dealt with at the far end of a Session, and I, therefore, support the Motion to report Progress.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The hon. Member says the Bill will set up denominational training colleges. Does he not know that such training colleges already exist and are supported by the State? Then, how it can be said that this Bill will set them up requires a Falkirk intellect to understand. It appears to me that this Motion is what the late Lord Beaconsfield called a "reconnaissance in force," aimed not at the Bill, but at something very different. The Government having brought in a minimum measure ought not to be intimidated by the hon. Member for Falkirk. We are sitting to a late hour, but this delay will simply prolong the Session. I shall be glad to hear what the Government propose to do.

(20.) MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I do not wish to deal with denominational or mixed education, or to enter into the circumstances in relation to denominationalism in Ireland. My position arises out of the introduction of the Irish Church Temporalities Fund. If that were struck out I should know there is no intention of endowing Roman Catholic institutions out of the money of the disendowed Protestant Church. I feel bound to support the Motion to report Progress for more reasons than

one, and one reason is that I consider such a matter should not be debated in the dark, the discussion should be reported and made public, and the discussion taking place now cannot go before the public in a form giving the impression of what is said. I do not shrink from the discussion, but let the Government put it down for a time when it can be discussed freely and openly, not at 2 o'clock in the morning.

(2.4.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The hon. and learned Member for Longford seems to imagine that he monopolises all the common sense in the House, but we do not appraise the hon. and learned Gentleman at his own value. He has introduced a tone and temper into this discussion no one else sought to import into it. It matters little to me what the opinion of the hon. and learned Gentleman is of my action, and I suppose the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite equally appreciate the compliments of the hon. Member for West Belfast. I address myself to the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman knows as well as any man in the House that I have over and over again expressed my desire that this Bill should be discussed at an hour not only when it can be discussed and the discussion made public, but when Divisions can take place upon it. A discussion now will never go before the public; it will never reach Ireland. ["Oh, oh! All the better for you."] This money is to come out of the Church surplus in the first place; it is to be paid back over 30 years, but that Vote may be stopped any year, and then the endowment of Roman Catholic education will take place out of the Church surplus. I have examined the Bill day after day, and the more I examine it the less I like it, and the same is the case with the people of the North of Ireland. I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in the face of the opposition of Members from Ulster and of English Members, he will insist at such an hour on forcing this Bill down our throats.

(2.10.) MR. SEXTON: The hon. Gentleman is entitled to take what course he pleases, but he cannot expect us to accept his account of the contents

*Mr. Kelly*

of a Bill to which, on a former occasion, he invited the hon. Member for Camberwell to withdraw his opposition.

\*COLONEL SANDYS: I do not often interpose—[*Interruptions*]—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must request hon. Members not to persist in these unseemly interruptions.

\*COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle): I do not often speak on Irish Debates or separate myself from the lead of the Government, but this question has made issues outside the ties of Party allegiance, and as a supporter of the Government I would press upon my right hon. Friend the desirability of acceding to the Motion now before us. This is not a time to discuss a measure of this importance; there should be no suspicion of "hole and corner" work about a measure of this kind. The greatest dissatisfaction will, I am sure, arise in the country when it comes to be understood that Roman Catholic Colleges are practically to be endowed from the funds of the Protestant Church of Ireland, and I am sure the proposition will not redound to the credit of the Government bringing it forward. The Chief Secretary is acting from the highest motives, but I think he misconceives the situation. The Roman Catholic conspiracy is not to be dealt with by throwing out this sop, and I think the right hon. Gentleman does not realise that this species of placebo will fail in its object, but, in any case, the Bill requires that open and full consideration which cannot be given to it now at this late hour and at the end of the Session when so few Members are present.

MR. WALLACE: I am sorry to have to undergo the mortification of agreeing for once with my hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone and differing from our friends from Ireland. Strong anti-denominationalist as I am, I have always protested, and shall continue to protest, against denominational endowment as applied to educational affairs. This Bill seems to me to be an extension of denominational education in a certain part of the Empire, and, therefore, I require more time to consider it. For that reason I shall support the Motion to report Progress.

(2.12.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 27; Noes 68.—(Div. List, No. 385.)

(2.18.) MR. RENTOUL (Down, E.):  
Mr. Courtney, I beg to move that you do  
now leave the Chair.

MR. BYRON REED: I beg to second  
that.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Chairman do now leave the  
Chair."—(Mr. Rentoul.)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I regret my  
hon. Friends think it necessary to  
take the course they appear to be bent  
upon; but, of course, if they do  
insist upon it, it will be impossible  
for the Government to resist. I may  
say that some of the objections to the  
Bill are, as I said before, based on a  
misconception of the provisions of the  
Bill. The Irish Church Surplus Fund  
undoubtedly appears in the Bill. It is  
a Treasury expedient and nothing more,  
and if the excision of that Treasury  
expedient from the Bill would facilitate  
matters I would be prepared to make the  
alteration. I assure my hon. Friends  
that that excision would make no  
difference in the financial result. I  
have said this by leave of the Committee.  
It is impossible to resist against a  
relatively considerable minority, and  
therefore under the circumstances I  
with great reluctance consent to the  
Motion.

COLONEL NOLAN: I should like to  
point out that this is the first occasion  
this Session on which a Bill has been  
opposed by dilatory Motions, and that  
these dilatory Motions have been ex-  
clusively confined to Conservatives and  
Liberal Unionists.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: It is very  
refreshing to hear a condemnation of  
dilatory Motions from below the Gang-  
way; it is a new feature in our Debates  
that I hope the Committee will appre-  
ciate. I take full responsibility for  
opposing this Bill, and I want to know  
what would have been said if any of  
us had attempted to force a Bill  
through at half-past 2 o'clock in  
the morning. Would not torrents  
of abuse have been poured on our  
heads from below the Gangway? I  
oppose the Bill mainly on the ground

that this is an attempt to force the Bill  
down the throats of the House in  
secrecy, and behind the back of the  
country. I intend that the country  
shall know all about it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Perhaps  
my hon. Friend will withdraw the  
Motion, and then I will consent to the  
Motion that the Chairman do report  
Progress.

MR. SEXTON: Before the Motion is  
withdrawn, allow me to say that in my  
judgment the lurid eloquence of the  
hon. Member for South Tyrone is entirely  
misapplied. There has been no secrecy;  
no attempt to force anything. The  
Secretary for Ireland made a most  
reasonable proposal, and hon. Gentlemen  
who appear in opposition to the Bill de-  
clined to discuss it. The hon. Member  
for South Tyrone spoke of something re-  
freshing in the speech of the hon. and  
gallant Gentleman the Member for  
Galway (Colonel Nolan). What is re-  
freshing and instructive is to find out  
how readily the Representatives of a  
certain section of Irishmen, who usually  
are in a great majority here, resort to  
obstruction when once in a way they  
find themselves in a minority. I am not  
ashamed to say, as an opponent of his,  
that the Chief Secretary has acted in a  
manner most creditable to him. The  
few words he has just addressed to  
the Committee were conceived in  
a conciliatory and statesmanlike spirit;  
but conciliation and statesmanship  
are thrown away on those who  
are his opponents now. He en-  
deavoured to get rid of the only colour-  
able reason that could be urged against  
the Bill, namely, that the fund of the Dis-  
established Church was going to be used  
in some measure for the purpose of  
Catholic education. The right hon.  
Gentleman offered to take the Irish  
Church Fund out of the Bill. Let it go  
forth to the country—let it go forth to  
Ireland, Protestants as well as Catholics  
—that a certain number of hon. Gentle-  
men, by dilatory and obstructive tactics,  
have endeavoured to prevent a Protestant  
statesman from applying to Ireland that  
equal treatment of training colleges out  
of Imperial funds, which for 40 years  
has, without question, been applied to the  
whole system of training colleges in Eng-  
land, Scotland, and Wales.

MR. T. M. HEALY : We cannot defeat the Motion that the Chairman do leave the Chair, because the Government, I suppose, will support it, but when the Motion to report Progress is made, we can divide, and for my part I will divide. I may point out that when Local Government for Ireland comes to be discussed the Chief Secretary may find himself in exactly the same predicament as he is in now. I think the Government might have shown a little more firmness on this occasion. In any event, I hope that when the Bill is taken again, it will be taken as the first Order.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

(2.27.) Motion made and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—*(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)*

The Committee divided:—Ayes 79 ; Noes 12.—(Div. List, No. 386.)

MR. SEXTON : May I ask when the Bill will be taken again ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : I shall put the Bill down for to-morrow, but in face of what has happened, it will be quite impossible to take it after 12 o'clock.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again to-morrow.

#### EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

(No. 416.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

(2.35.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) : I beg to move the adjournment of the Debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—*(Mr. Sexton.)*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight) : This is simply a Bill to continue Acts which must be continued ; it is a purely formal Bill, as hon. Gentlemen know, and effective discussion can only take place on the Schedule.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) : But there are many Acts included in this Bill which we object to.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) : We have just decided by a Division that it is too late to go on with business ; and, therefore, I do not think it is respectful to hon. Members to ask them to sit longer. I think that under the circumstances I would be quite justified in moving that the House do now adjourn.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square) : Surely the hon. and gallant Gentleman will see there are several Bills on the Paper which are non-contentious, and which might very properly be taken even at this hour. I trust hon. Gentlemen will allow us to make progress with those Bills, which are not controversial.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) : Where are all the godly men who supported the Government in the last Division ? They have gone home to their beds. We are here, and we are going to remain here ; and with regard to every Bill on the Paper, we will give the Government *fit*a. We have been treated, as we consider, in a most unfair manner in respect to the Training Colleges Bill, because of the objection two or three Orangemen entertain to the Bill. I object to making progress at this hour of the morning with the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, which contains 25 measures that are highly contentious and debatable. If hon. Gentlemen opposite really desire to make progress with legislation they must adopt the principle of give and take.

MR. GOSCHEN : As you, Sir, have to be in the Chair at 3 o'clock, and seeing that it is impossible to make further progress with business to-night, I will not offer any opposition to the Motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—*(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)*—put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Three o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 28th July, 1891.*

## COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:—

1. Brine Pumping (Compensation for Subsidence).
2. Crofters' Common Grazings (Scotland).
3. Tramways (Ireland) Act (1860) Amendment.

## REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR IRELAND.

Lord Mulgrave—Report made from the Lord Chancellor, that the right of Constantine Charles Henry Phipps, Baron Mulgrave, to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

FORGED TRANSFERS (No. 2) BILL.  
(No. 214.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with an Amendment.

## TRUSTS AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 245.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

## REDEMPTION OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>st</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>nd</sup> on Friday next: (The Lord Privy Seal [*E. Cadogan*]).—(No. 280.)

## PRIVATE BILLS

Standing Orders and Table of Fees considered and amended, and to be printed as amended. (No. 281.)

## PRIVATE BILLS—SESSIONAL ORDERS.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH): My Lords, I have to ask the House to suspend the Sessional Order of the day in favour of the Provisional Orders Bills in reference to the Railway Rates and Charges mentioned in the Motion which

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stands in my name on the Paper. The general objects of these Bills are known to your Lordships, and the procedure with regard to them was explained to this House when the Joint Committee was appointed for the consideration of these matters. That procedure has been in accordance with the Act of Parliament passed in 1888, and a prolonged inquiry has, as your Lordships know, been made by the Joint Committee. It has extended over 48 days, and far beyond the time named in this Sessional Order the 26th June. I think I may say that everybody connected with the matter is anxious that these Bills should now become law, and I hope your Lordships will not stand in the way of attaining that result, but will allow the Sessional Order to be suspended for the day, and I beg to move accordingly.

Moved, "That the Sessional Order of the 5th of March last, 'That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a second time after Friday, the 26th day of June next,' be dispensed with."—Agreed to.

A number of Private Bills read 2<sup>nd</sup> accordingly.

HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES BILL.  
(No. 234.)

Amendment reported (according to order): A further Amendment made; and Bill to be read 3<sup>rd</sup> on Thursday next.

## PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 260.)

Commons Amendments to Lords: Amendments and Commons Consequential Amendments, and Commons reasons for disagreeing to certain of the Lords Amendments, considered (according to order).

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN): My Lords, perhaps it might be for the convenience of the House that I should, in a few words, state the course which I propose to take this evening upon these Amendments, and that I should also state the advice which I would venture to give to the House with regard to the Amendments which the other House have inserted in this Bill. I need hardly remind your Lordships that during the passage of this Bill through both Houses of Parliament it has received the most full and anxious

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consideration of both Assemblies, and I think I may be permitted to say that while, on the one hand, noble Lords sitting on both sides of this House have taken the greatest pains and the greatest care with regard to all Amendments upon this Bill, it may also be said that the Members of the other House received the Amendments which we made in the spirit of a sincere desire to amend, without in any way infringing upon the principles of the Amendments we inserted, and, generally speaking, I would venture to advise your Lordships to assent to the Amendments the House of Commons have introduced. Of course, on a subject like the present, which involves conflicting interests, and upon which opposite views would naturally be taken, it is absolutely necessary to say that on the ultimate stage of the Bill we should go on the principle of give and take, and therefore I shall not be wrong in asking your Lordships to agree to the Amendments sent up from the House of Commons. There are one or two points upon which I shall venture to move Amendments which I understand will be accepted in the other House. They are the result of careful consideration and of compromise. I will take the Amendments *seriatim*, and I shall be happy to give any explanation that may be required, or to answer any questions which may be put to me at a later stage when the Amendments come to be moved. Upon one point perhaps I might be allowed to say a word. The noble Lord (the Marquess of Waterford) who has throughout the progress of this Bill evinced so able and intelligent an interest in all that concerns it, has placed an Amendment upon the Notice Paper. I do not like to pass it over in silence, but I will only say now that I trust your Lordships will agree to the Amendments made by the House of Commons. The first Amendment on the Paper has reference to Clause 7, page 7, of the Bill in its present state. It provides for the case of a purchaser who himself pays one-fourth of the money, and proposes that the interest to be paid on the three-fourths advanced shall be £3 17s. 6d. instead of £3 15s., as agreed to in your Lordships' House. I move that the House do agree to this Amendment of the Commons. I believe

*Earl Cadogan*

the noble Marquess has an Amendment upon this point.

Moved, That this House doth agree to the Commons' Amendment, to leave out in Clause A, after Clause 6, "fifteen shillings," and to insert "seventeen shillings and sixpence," and at the end of the clause to add—

"And an annual sum at the rate of two shillings and sixpence for every £100 of the advance shall be paid and applied in the same manner as the county percentage mentioned in Section 4 of this Act."—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: My Lords, I put down an Amendment to the Commons' Amendment in the hope that Her Majesty's Government might accept it. The fact of the matter is that the clause which was introduced in this House, and which would induce the tenants in Ireland to produce a certain amount of money themselves, that is to say, one-fourth, has been emasculated in the other House. Your Lordships agreed when it was put into the Bill that it would be a very great advantage to induce the tenants of Ireland to produce a certain portion of the purchase money themselves, because it would increase the amount of money to be distributed, it would add to the protection which is given in this Bill to the British taxpayer, and I think it is only right that people should be induced if possible to pay, at any rate, something towards the purchase of their holdings. This clause is drawn upon the lines of the provisions introduced into the Act of 1870, and the Act of 1881, following what are called the "Bright" clauses. There was an inducement held out under this clause which was introduced in your Lordships' House for the tenants to produce this one-fourth of the purchase money, and the 5s. per cent., which is called the county percentage, is the inducement to make them do so. In another place, that 5s. has been reduced to 2s. 6d., and I do not think 2s. 6d. per cent. is at all adequate to induce a tenant to produce any portion of his purchase money. He would much rather borrow the whole amount from the Government. Therefore, I put down this Amendment to the Bill as it left the Commons. I ask that if the tenant should provide one-third of the purchase-money he shall be forgiven the 5s. percentage. I hope Her Majesty's Govern-

ment may still see their way to accept this Amendment, and I believe it will be accepted in another place, because really as your Lordships will see it is a very reasonable Amendment. I might say that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary in another place pointed out the great advantage which would result from the Lords' Amendment of the Bill as it stands, and I cannot understand how, after the very strong reasons he gave for maintaining that Amendment, the 5s. was cut down to the 2s. 6d.

Moved as an addition to Clause A, as amended by the Commons—

"And any advance made after the passing of this Act which shall not exceed two-thirds of the price paid for a holding, shall be repaid by an annuity of three pounds fifteen shillings per cent. on the amount of such advance for forty-nine years, and no payment shall be made to the guarantee fund by way of county percentage in respect of any such advance."—(The Lord Tyrone [*M. of Waterford*].)

EARL CADOGAN: I hope the noble Marquess will not persevere with his Amendment. I confess I agree with a great deal which has fallen from him. It is perfectly true that under our former proposal the county percentage was done away with altogether for those who were themselves prepared to pay one-fourth of the purchase-money; but I hope the noble Marquess will not think I am taking refuge under a technicality if I say that his Amendment can hardly be accepted in point of order. The fact is it is not really an Amendment upon the Amendment we are now considering. By the Amendment carried in this House it is provided that any tenant purchasing who paid one-fourth should be excused the county percentage, and should stand at an interest of £2 15s. In the other House of Parliament when that Amendment was discussed a proviso was agreed to, to the effect that he should pay £2 17s. 6d. Now, the Amendment of the noble Marquess is that we should accept that which has been decided in the other House, that is to say, the compromise of £2 17s. 6d., and that in addition we should create another class of purchasers, namely, those prepared to pay one-third, and to them give the privilege of paying only £2 15s. interest. I think my noble Friend will see that is hardly an Amendment upon the former clause of the Bill. It is really the creation of an additional class,

and I am informed it is absolutely impossible to assent to that as an Amendment of the Commons' Amendment. I hope that my noble Friend, therefore, will not think that I am taking refuge under any technicality, but will see that it is absolutely impossible to accept this Amendment.

\*THE EARL OF ARRAN: I should like to say, if the noble Earl does not see his way to accept the Amendment proposed by the noble Marquess, that it would be better to return to the Amendment as originally proposed in this House. It is surely a most useful thing to induce the Irish tenants to put some of their own money into the land instead of leaving it in the bank.

EARL CADOGAN: Does the noble Earl mean to suggest that we are to disagree with the Amendment now before the House? Of course, my duty in the matter is simply to advise the House as to the course which I think it is best to pursue. The noble Lord is asking us to decline a compromise which has been accepted by the Chief Secretary in the other House. That is hardly a course that I ought to recommend to your Lordships, and I hope, therefore, my noble Friend will not persevere in the course he has proposed.

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: After the observations which have been made by the noble Earl I will withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

Commons' Amendment to Lords' Amendment on page 7, agreed to.

Further Commons' Amendments agreed to.

EARL CADOGAN: The next Amendment on the Paper is one which I confess I abandon with some reluctance. It is an Amendment which was proposed by my noble Friend the Marquess of Waterford on Clause 8, page 7, which affected the liability of the tenant after agreement for sale—that is, between the agreement and the completion of the purchase. My noble Friend behind me proposed that during that period the payment of interest should be left to the Land Commission, and that it should not be necessary for the landlord to see to it himself. I can only say that I believe

in this respect the effect of the clause as it left your Lordships' House would have been better than it will be at the present; but at the same time, for the reasons I have before stated, I have to earnestly entreat your Lordships not to insist upon this clause, which has not been agreed to in the other House.

Commons' Amendment, disagreeing to Clause B, agreed to.

EARL CADOGAN: The next Amendment is in Clause 12 of the Bill, on page 12. These are practically verbal Amendments, which constitute a re-casting of that clause, about which there has been so much discussion upon the subject of proportional allocation of the advances. Noble Lords opposite will remember that when this Bill was in Committee my noble Friend the Marquess of Londonderry proposed an additional clause or sub-section qualifying the Apportionment Clause as it came up to us from the other House; but after consideration before the Report stage I ventured to present to your Lordships, in consequence of the remark made as to the bearing of that clause, one instead of it, which I think noble Lords opposite and others thought an Amendment upon that which was proposed by my noble Friend. Since that time the clause has been again discussed in the other House of Parliament, and that discussion has resulted in a third edition, which I hope will, on the whole, make the meaning more plain to those who read it, perhaps, somewhat superficially. There are a large number of Amendments as your Lordships will see, but I think I should meet the convenience of the House if I might be permitted to read the clause as it would stand if the Commons' Amendments were agreed to. It is Sub-section 3 of Clause 10 (b)—

"If the advances applied for (and which appear to the Land Commission likely to be sanctioned) for the purchase of holdings exceeding £50 rental fall short in any year of the proportion of the annual share of the County in the Guarantee Fund ascertained in accordance with Sub-sections 1 and 2 of this section with reference to the class of holdings exceeding £50 valuation, the difference shall be carried to a common fund to be available for the purchase of any holding within the county for the purchase of which advances may be made under this Act."

I do not know whether any noble Lord desires to make a remark upon it, but if

*Earl Cadogan*

it be agreeable to the House I will proceed to put all the Amendments. Most of them are drafting, but the general sense of the Amendment is to be found in the clause as I have just read it.

Moved in Clause 10, page 11, Sub-section 3, Sub-clause (b.), lines 3 and 4, to leave out ("amount so deemed to be allocated") and insert—

("Proportion of the annual share of the county in the guarantee fund ascertained in accordance with sub-sections one and two of this section with reference"); sub-clause (c.), line 4, leave out ("amount so deemed to be allocated") and insert ("proportion of annual share of the county in the guarantee fund ascertained in accordance with sub-sections one and two of this section with reference.")—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I have only this remark to make upon these Amendments so far as I understand them. I believe I raised a good deal of objection to the form of the clause, but they seem to me now to make it perfectly clear.

Commons' Amendment agreed to.

Further Amendments agreed to.

EARL CADOGAN: The next Amendment is in what is now Clause 13, page 13, line 42. The Commons disagree to the Amendment made by the Lords in page 11, line 37, for the following Reason:—

- Because, it is not thought necessary that the Crown should appear in every case by counsel, and alternative amendment approved of, namely, to substitute for ("counsel appearing") the words ("what is offered.")

I move that the Commons' Amendment be agreed to.

LORD HERSCHELL: My Lords, I think it is rather a curious reason this for disagreeing with the Amendment. As the Bill came to us from the other House it provided that the Privy Council, after hearing Counsel appearing on behalf of the Crown, should advise the Lord Lieutenant. This House inserted the words "if any," and that is disagreed to, because it is not thought necessary that the Crown should appear in every case, which is giving the very reason why it was agreed to. We must not look at it too critically; but there would be this objection to it: if the Crown did not wish to appear by Counsel, but desired in some other way to argue the matter, they would be pre-

cluded from doing so; they could only appear by Counsel, and that is probably why the alternative Amendment is put in. I do not understand the statement that one may get something else to be an argument why one should get nothing.

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND:** Is it worth while making the point, because after all they have to submit the value, and the Attorney General has to secure the assistance of a private advocate. It is not, I think, worth while making a distinction between the cases, and, on that account, the point is not worth disputing.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** It would not be worth disputing if some Amendments had not been made already, and the Bill therefore has to go to the other House, otherwise I would not suggest it. But I do not press it if your Lordships are satisfied with the English.

**THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY):** My impression is it is Irish, and, therefore, it is quite in keeping.

**EARL CADOGAN:** I move that the Lords do not insist upon their Amendment.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** First we do not insist upon our own, and then we agree to the Commons.

**THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** I suppose they have amended it. It is put in the strangest way here. It does not say the Amendment is approved of, but that the alternative Amendment is approved. The usual course is to tell us they have made an Amendment. I hope they have, otherwise embarrassment will arise: that is all.

**EARL CADOGAN:** I am informed that the alternative Amendment was made.

Moved, That the Lords do not insist upon their Amendment.—Agreed to.

Moved, That this House doth agree to the Commons' Amendments.—Agreed to.

Further Amendments agreed to.

**EARL CADOGAN:** The next Amendment is in Clause 25, to insert new Clauses F and G. The Commons have disagreed to the clause which is marked

F, giving power to the Land Commission to let or manage their holdings. They disagreed with this because the clause does not make provision for the application of any profit realised in the management of holdings, and because the second part of the clause would place the Land Commission in the position of Judges in their own case, and enable them to vest in themselves the holdings of tenant purchasers. I am bound to say that this is one Amendment with which I sympathise. There was considerable reason in the objections entertained by the other House with reference to this clause. A discussion took place upon it in the other House, and I believe it was then agreed that the clause as passed by your Lordships should be dissented from, and that we should bring in a new clause in substitution for it. Perhaps your Lordships will allow me to read the Amendment I now propose. I move, first, that the House do not insist upon its Amendment.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** I should have thought if you were going to substitute a new clause you would not say you were going to insist upon it, but suggest the new clause in substitution.

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR:** If you send down a new clause you certainly need to insist, otherwise your Amendment is gone.

**EARL CADOGAN:** I have placed upon the Paper notice of an Amendment of a new clause to be substituted for that proposed by the Commons' Amendment. I propose to substitute the following: it will stand as a new Clause 26, page 20, of the Bill as last printed.

Moved, in lieu of Clause F. to which the Commons have disagreed, to insert the following new Clause:—

"Whenever the Land Commission are entitled to cause any holding to be sold under any power of sale, they may, if they think fit, apply to the High Court or (if the rateable value of the holding does not exceed fifty pounds) to the county court of the county in which such holding is situate, for an order to the sheriff to put them in possession of such holding, and it shall be lawful for such court, upon being satisfied that the Land Commission are so entitled, to issue an order accordingly, and such order shall be executed by the sheriff in like manner as a writ for the delivery of possession."—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

Amendment agreed to.

EARL CADOGAN: The next Amendment is marked G, on page 7. It was an Amendment moved by the noble Lord opposite, with reference to the provision that holdings while subject to purchase money should be under conditions especially relating to questions of waste. It dealt with drains and watercourses, and it dealt also with that very important subject which your Lordships discussed, namely, the question of timber, and what has been held to be the practical disafforesting of Ireland. I am afraid it would be impossible for me to advise your Lordships to insist upon the retention of this clause. The House of Commons have given as their reasons that the provisions in that behalf of the Drainage Acts and the rights enforceable under the Common Law are sufficient to secure the proper maintenance of drains and watercourses. I am not quite sure, if my information is correct, that the provisions are sufficient to secure that which was secured by the clause of my noble Friend. I am rather inclined to think not; but, at the same time, I cannot advise your Lordships on that account to retain the clause. I believe that the provisions of the Common Law do not go quite so far as the proposed clause, but that they are practically sufficient to attain the larger part of the objects of my noble Friend. The Commons Reason also states that the proposed sub-head (a) would only have the effect of preventing a purchaser from cutting down timber growing on his holding, and would not operate to protect plantations, which are not included, as a rule, in the land purchased. With regard to the question I have just now alluded to, I may repeat what I have said on a former occasion, that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary has turned his attention to it, with an earnest wish to arrive at a solution of it; but at present he does not see his way to any legislation on the subject. I much regret it, because I deeply sympathise with all that has been said by noble Lords on both sides of the House as to the danger of disafforesting Ireland, and as to the unsatisfactory arrangements with regard to timber.

Moved, "That the Lords do not insist upon their Amendment."—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

\*THE EARL OF ARRAN: I should like to say, with regard to the drainage part of the Amendment, that, of course, if the Common Law is sufficient to ensure drains being kept open, there is no necessity for the clause; but all I can say is, it has not hitherto been sufficient. The drains have not been kept open by the tenants, as far as my knowledge goes. With regard to rejecting the sub-clause A, because it provides only against part of the danger and not the whole, that does not seem a very good reason.

EARL CADOGAN: As I said before, it is with considerable regret that I ask my noble Friend not to persevere with his clause; but, on the whole, I am afraid I must ask the House not to insist upon this Amendment.

Motion agreed to.

Further Amendments agreed to.

EARL CADOGAN: The next is in Clause 23. The other House has left the appointment of Assistant Commissioners in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury, and all they have asked is that before the appointments are made the Land Commissioners shall be consulted upon them. I think this is a compromise which I can safely recommend to your Lordships, and I hope you will adopt it.

Commons' Amendments agreed to.

EARL CADOGAN: Then there is an Amendment of your Lordships in Clause 31 of the present Bill, page 24. Your Lordships may remember there was a provision for an appeal from the decision of a Commissioner, and when the Bill was before this House it was thought provision should also be made for an appeal against the decision of two Commissioners, in case two Commissioners sat on one of those cases. The Commons disagree to the Amendment, and they move a proviso which practically provides that a decision shall always be given by one, and it is, therefore, unnecessary to provide for an appeal from the decision of two Commissioners. They disagree to the Amendments because the object of the proposed Amendments would be better carried out by the insertion at the end of the sub-section of the following:—

"Provided also, that every order made by the Land Commission in carrying the said Acts into effect shall, in the first instance, be made by a Commissioner sitting alone."

I beg to move that the House does not insist upon its Amendment.

Agreed to.

Moved, That this House doth agree to the Commons' Amendment.

Agreed to.

Bill returned to the Commons.

**PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 269.)**

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

**TURBARY (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 265.)  
METALLIFEROUS MINES (ISLE OF MAN) BILL.—(No. 225.)**

**POST OFFICE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 264.)**

House in Committee (according to order); Bills reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3<sup>a</sup> on Thursday next.

**HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.**

First Report from the Select Committee considered (according to order.)

\***THE EARL OF MORLEY:** My Lords, I beg leave to move the Motion which stands in my name. I do not think there is anything special in the Report which renders it necessary for me to say anything, except that it contains the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider questions relating to the general index.

Report agreed to.

**PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION—PEERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.**

**LORD DE MAULEY,** in rising to move—

"That a Peer giving notice of his intention to offer his services to a constituency to represent them in the House of Commons, shall be excused attendance in the House of Lords during the existence of that Parliament,"

said: My Lords, the object of this Motion is to facilitate the transfer of superabundant talent from the one House to the other—

**THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM:** I rise to order. I beg to submit that the Motion of which the noble Lord has given notice is out of order. It in-

volves a large and important constitutional change, which can only be carried out by an Act of Parliament. At present it is entirely incompetent for any Peer, as I conceive, to give notice of his intention to offer his services for the purpose of representing a constituency in the House of Commons; and therefore I think it is contrary to the honour and dignity of this House that we should discuss a Motion which is contrary to the order of the House and to the Rules of Parliament.

**THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY:** My Lords, I do not wish to express any opinion either for or against the Motion of the noble Lord until I have heard what he has to say. I confess I do not see in what way the Motion can be considered to be out of order. It is a Motion, as the noble Lord (the Earl of Feversham) says, of a character which, in its ultimate results, would involve a large constitutional change; but I never heard that it was unusual, either in the other House or in this House, to preface Bills for large constitutional changes by Resolutions. It seems to me, therefore, that the noble Lord is only following the ordinary course in respect of the very considerable change which he desires to introduce.

**LORD DE MAULEY:** My Lords, no one venerates this ancient House more than I do, but we all know that ancient buildings carry within themselves the elements of destruction. I am aware how delicate a subject that is which deals with the customs and privileges of your Lordships' House. Measures have been submitted to us which have been rejected because they were too drastic. The suggestion on the Notice Paper is more modest. It is to transfer superabundant talent from one House to the other. It is not reform which is wanted, but a redistribution of the powers of Parliament. The danger which threatens us is that the constant increase of our numbers will weigh us down, and sooner or later will affect the stability of the House. Every successive Government is bound to accede to claims, irresistible upon a Minister, either as rewards for political services or the recognition of social distinction. The result is that our increasing numbers will soon rival those of the Representatives of the people. The great advance of science, the spread of

political knowledge, has driven men to the front who deserve a large amount of respect and every mark of political recognition. No doubt every appointment to this House is excellent, but the result is the same—an increase of numbers which soon will rival as I have said those of the Representatives of the people. With every fresh addition another man of note is removed from direct contact with the constituencies of the country. It cannot be sound policy that, in a nation of representative institutions, its executive should attract to itself the essence of political talent, and remove it so far from the influence of popular control and popular opinion. But if the policy in a constitutional point of view is doubtful, it falls with severity upon the individual. He may be in the full enjoyment of mental and physical vigour, yet an once, by no voluntary act of his own, but by the accident of birth, he is removed from the scene of his labours to be locked up in this House for life, without the possibility of egress. He may have taken the initiative in measures of great political importance, his name may be associated with the moral and social problems of the day. There is an end to that. At once his active career is closed, and the tenour of his political life is altogether changed. He may act on the lines which gave him celebrity, but the spur to exertion is blunted. He is no longer the representative of the opinions of a section of his fellow countrymen, but a general overlooker of the politics of the kingdom, and the earnestness of zeal is changed for the lukewarmness of duty. Besides, there must exist in every man's heart a feeling of gratitude towards that body of electors who first gave him a start in political life. He may wish to renew that connection, and the link between him and his former constituency ought not to be severed by an impolitic and inexorable law. But if the custom falls with severity upon the older Members of the House, it also affects its younger ones, and indirectly the country. Many a man enters your Lordships' House full of the aspirations which new duties evoke, and determined to take an active part in the business of his country, only to find his enthusiasm damped by the sedative decorum of the House, and his political activity checked by the mono-

*Lord de Mauley*

poly of its Select Committees. I know I may be met with the argument—if so, I admit its validity—that there are some who have never occupied a seat in the House of Commons who yet illumine your Lordships' debates by their eloquence, and display the practical qualities of statecraft. But those are the very qualities that would have recommended them to the electors of the country for a representative position which would have been an honour to the recipient, an honour to the constituency which conferred it. All men have not the good fortune to blaze into notoriety. There is a vast amount of practical talent submerged in your Lordships' House which might be drawn out by the greater activity of the other House—activity which is subdued here by a dead-weight, but which would find its vent in the more heated atmosphere of the House of Commons. Few measures originate in your Lordships' House to call out the latent powers of debate. Measures are sent here after having been threshed out by interminable discussion in the other House, the skeletons picked dry by the criticism of one Assembly served up for the hypercriticism of the other. The constituencies expect that their Parliament, individually and collectively, shall be occupied with the affairs of the nation; and as long as talent lies undeveloped, or in abeyance, it cannot be said to fructify for the benefit of the public. But, after all, it is not on the floor of this House that the business of the country is conducted; it is in the Committee Rooms upstairs; and that Court of Appeal from the decisions of the other House should be comprised of Members skilled in the science of legislation, men of practical experience and adepts in political science; and nowhere can that education be learnt better than in the rough-and-ready training which the House of Commons affords. Everybody with experience of Committees knows how crude are the Bills often sent up to your Lordships' House to be moulded into shape by the refined experience of the Chairmen of Committees; but those Members are learning their business, and even they have their limits. Every one who has served on Committees must have perceived how often the labours of a Chairman have been thwarted by the inexperience of a

political novice, which would not have occurred had his political training begun before he became a Member of this House. I hope I may be excused if in illustration of my argument I cite a personal allusion, one case out of many that might be cited. The Chairmen of Committees in this House, or, at all events, the majority of them, learnt their business in the House of Commons. No business Assembly in the world could have displayed more talent in unravelling the tangled skein of Parliamentary business than has been exhibited by those experienced Chairmen. There is a noble Lord in this House who is simply excellent as a Chairman of Committees. I remember the noble Lord's predecessor—admirable, too, in that position; and, if report can be credited, there is a son of the noble Lord who is now endeavouring conscientiously to obtain an insight into the business of the country. Lord Redesdale told me that at one period of the Session it was utterly impossible to pass the Bills which were showered into this House from the House of Commons; and, at his request, Committee after Committee was appointed and the business was cleared. If it had not been for the practical experience and talents of the Chairmen of those Committees the work of the country would have been at a standstill. There is a noble Lord who has never enjoyed the benefit of a seat in the House of Commons, who has never made Parliamentary duties his study, though his natural abilities are unquestioned, but that noble Lord's name is absent from the Committees; why, I cannot imagine, unless it be referred to that clique in this House who arrogate to themselves the power of selection, and leave in the shade the invaluable knowledge of other Members. But I pass from the question of the legislative knowledge of your Lordships. It is a trite observation that in a country of representative institutions legislation which has not been stamped with the verdict of popular approval is an anomaly, and I cannot understand how it can be derogatory to any man's dignity to seek the highest honour which a constitutional country can offer, namely, the honour of being entrusted with the interests and opinions of his fellow-countrymen. He might enter or

re-enter this House with the satisfaction of feeling that to his merits, and not to an accident, he owed his position in the Legislature of his country. The standard of education rising in the electoral body has created a spirit of criticism which tests the soundness of legislation and the forces which move it. It will become more and more difficult to prove that a custom, however successful in practice, which is not based upon popular support is not an anomaly, and is not consonant to the dictates of reason or the principles of common-sense. Your Lordships' wise prudence has always listened to the voice of public opinion. In deference to that voice, you abolished voting by proxy, and have recognised the advantages of measures for the public benefit. You have one more anomaly to discourage. The legislation of individuals does not receive the stamp of public approval. The most effective method of stifling objections, and of lending a popular character to the discussions in this House, would be to open your doors to the ebb and flow of political services from one House to the other. If this House relies upon its antiquity, it is based upon sand. The passage of political services from one House to the other should be permitted, and when the constituencies perceive the public spirit of its Members in seeking a wider range for the exercise of their duties, this House will grow in the affections, the esteem, and the respect of the country.

Moved to resolve,

"That a Peer giving notice of his intention to offer his services to a constituency to represent them in the House of Commons, shall be excused attendance in the House of Lords during the existence of that Parliament."—*(The Lord de Mauley.)*

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM: My Lords, I do not know whether I am in order, but I wish to make an Amendment that the Motion be not put, because I cannot conceive that it can be according to the practice of Parliament that any Motion should be put to the House that is ineffective or contrary to law; and surely it cannot be in accordance with the dignity of this House.

Moved, "That the Question be not now put."—*(The Earl of Feversham.)*



THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I have tried to find out from the declared Legal Authorities in this House to what extent it is competent for us to debate this Motion. I had hoped that the noble Lord opposite would have given us some light upon this subject; but I am told that if "shall" were read "should," the Motion would be perfectly legitimate, and that if the word "excused" does not mean "prohibited" then that the Motion would also be legitimate. I think in the present case the wisest course for this House to adopt will be to accede to the Motion of my noble Friend behind me (the Earl of Feversham), and move the Previous Question; for though the Motion relates to a constitutional matter of very considerable importance, and if your Lordships think so, worthy, no doubt, of very grave deliberation, I do not think it would be suitable that we should approach it in this very indirect manner. I believe myself that, in fact, the Motion is wholly unnecessary. I imagine that if the noble Lord is himself inclined to offer his services to any constituency, there is no danger of this House inflicting upon him any penalty for absenting himself from the deliberations of this House during the period that he is doing so; and, therefore, a Motion of this kind is unnecessary to enable any noble Lord, who is inclined to do so, to offer his services to a constituency. I do not venture to express any opinion as to what the result of such an offer might be; but, under these circumstances, I think we had better assent to the Motion of my noble Friend who has moved "the Previous Question."

Previous Question put, whether the said Question shall be now put? Resolved in the negative.

#### FORGED TRANSFERS (No. 2) BILL. (No. 214.)

Commons Amendments considered (on Motion), and agreed to.

House adjourned at a quarter before  
Six o'clock, to Thursday next, a  
quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 28th July, 1891.*

The House met at Eleven of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and being returned;—

Mr. Speaker reported the Royal Assent to,—

1. Brine Pumping (Compensation for Subsidence) Act, 1891.
2. Crofters' Common Grazings Regulation Act, 1891.
3. Tramways (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1891.

#### LOCAL TAXATION (ENGLAND) ACCOUNT, 1890-91.

Copy ordered—

"Of Return showing in respect of the financial year ended the 31st day of March 1891 (1) the total amount of the Local Taxation Licences and Probate Duty Grant paid into the Local Taxation (England) Account and the amounts paid out of such Licences and Probate Duty Grant to, or on behalf of, the Council of each Administrative County or County Borough; (2) the amounts paid out of the proceeds of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties to each Police Authority in aid of Police Superannuation Funds; and (3) the amounts paid out of the residue of the proceeds of those Duties to the Council of each Administrative County and County Borough."—(*Mr. Long.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.  
[No. 373.]

#### LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, 1890-91.

Copy ordered—

"Of Return of the Amount received in respect of each Administrative County and County Borough in England and Wales for Local Taxation Licence Duties and Penalties, under the Act, 51 and 52 Vic. c. 41, in the year ended the 31st day of March 1891."—(*Mr. Long.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.  
[No. 374.]

# TRINIDAD (IMMIGRATION OF COOLIES).

Address for—

“Return showing particulars relating to Immigration of Indian and Chinese Coolies into Trinidad since 1871 :—

Coolies introduced :—

British Indians.

Chinese.

Total.

Description :—

Males.

Females.

Total.

Deaths.

Births.

Returned to India.

Now in the Colony.

Number of Coolies sent to gaol for offences against the person.

Number found guilty of murder, and sentenced to death.

Number executed.

Now in gaol for different crimes.

Total expenditure for immigration purposes.

Amount paid by Planters who employ Coolies.

Amount paid from Immigration Revenues, and loans redeemable by Immigration Revenues.

Amount paid from general Revenues.

Number of estates under cultivation.

Number of estates on which Coolies are employed.

Amount of wages paid to the Coolies.”

—(Mr. Alfred Pease.)

# ULTIMUS HÆRES, SCOTLAND (ACCOUNT AND LIST OF ESTATES).

Returns ordered—

“Of Abstract Account of the Receipts and Payments of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Scotland, in the year ended the 31st day of December 1890, in the administration of Estates and Treasure Trove on behalf of the Crown :—

“And, of Alphabetical List of Estates which fell to the Crown as Ultimus Hæres in Scotland, administered by the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the year ended the 31st day of December, 1890.”—(Mr. Jackson.)

Returns presented accordingly ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 375.]

# LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS)

[PAYMENTS].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration, pensions, and allowances that may become payable under any Act of the present Session to transfer the Middlesex Registry of Deeds to the Land Registry, and provide for the conduct of the business thereof (Queen's Recommendation signified), To-morrow.

# FORGED TRANSFERS (No. 2) BILL.

(No. 323.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith ; considered, and agreed to, with an Amendment.

# TRUSTS AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 209.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith ; considered, and agreed to.

# CHILDREN'S LIFE INSURANCE BILL

[LORDS].

Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords, to request that their Lordships will be pleased to communicate to this House, a Copy of the Report from the Select Committee appointed by their Lordships on the Children's Life Insurance Bill, with the Proceedings of the Committee, and Minutes of Evidence.—(Mr. Ritchie.)

# METROPOLITAN HOSPITALS, &c.

Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords, to request that their Lordships will be pleased to communicate to this House, a Copy of the Report from the Select Committee appointed by their Lordships on Metropolitan Hospitals, &c., with the Proceedings of the Committee, and Minutes of Evidence.—(Mr. Ritchie.)

# STATUTE LAW REVISION BILL

[LORDS].—(No. 336.)

Leave given to the Select Committee to make a Special Report ;

Special Report brought up, and read. Bill reported, with Amendments.

Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 376.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 376.]

Bill re-committed to a Committee of the whole House for To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 433.]

# PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) BILL.

(No. 352.)

Lords Amendments to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 434.]

## EAST INDIA (OPIUM LICENCES.)

Address for—

"Return of Copies of the various forms of Opium Licences in use in the East Indies."—  
(*Mr. Henry J. Wilson.*)

## QUESTIONS.

## FAMINE IN THE NORTH WEST PROVINCES OF INDIA.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if there is any foundation for the report from Bombay that a famine is regarded as inevitable in the North West Provinces in consequence of inadequate rainfall; and, if so, what steps are being taken, or will be taken, for the relief of distress?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): The best answer I can give to the hon. Member is to read the following telegram which was received from the Viceroy to-day, and which contains the latest information upon the subject. It is dated the 28th of July, 1891, and is from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State—

"There is an improvement in agricultural prospects and development of monsoon season. There has been good general rainfall throughout the country except in the Madras Carnatic, and Upper Burma, in consequence of which there is no present cause of anxiety in Northern India. Strong monsoon blowing west coast. More rain imminent in Punjab and Rajputana, where fodder famine has been arrested by rain. Crop operations in Northern India generally progressing satisfactorily, and there is no present cause for anxiety in the North West Provinces and Oudh. Rain fell last week in Coimbatore region, slightly improving the condition of affected districts, but has ceased. With development of monsoon in Northern India, locust plague abating. In Northern India prices abating where there has been rain, but information incomplete."

There is thus no apprehension of famine in Northern India. As to the measures taken for the relief of distress, I can as yet add nothing to what I stated yesterday in answer to a question on the subject.

## PROMOTION OF OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

SIR H. HAVELOCK-ALLAN (Durham, S.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the

Secretary of State for India has had under his consideration the advisability of taking some steps to accelerate the present slow rate of promotion of officers of the Indian Staff Corps; if not, whether he will give early consideration to the subject; and whether he is in a position to make any communication to the House as to the views of the Government of India on this matter?

\*SIR J. GORST: The Secretary of State does not at present contemplate taking the initiative in this matter, nor has he received any communication from the Government of India on the subject.

## GRIEVANCES OF PRISON OFFICERS.

SIR J. PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what are the general conclusions arrived at by the Home Office Committee appointed some months ago to consider the grievances of prison officers?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether a Departmental Committee has been sitting upon the question of the sums retained from the salaries of officers of Convict and Local Prisons for their quarters within the prisons; and whether, if so, the Committee is likely soon to make its Report?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): It is not usual to publish the conclusions of a Departmental Committee, but only the decisions which may be arrived at after full consideration, and, if necessary, after consultation with the Treasury. The Report has only reached my hands this morning. I have not, therefore, been able to give it the attention which it will require.

## EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether complaints have reached him as to the ill-treatment of British subjects who have recently emigrated to Brazil; and whether it is a fact that emigration agents in Great Britain and in Ireland have tempted persons to emigrate to Brazil by offers of "free passages" and "free farms" on reaching that country, but that, on arrival,

the emigrants were handed over to coffee planters and exposed to cruel treatment and great privations; if so, whether the Foreign Office will cause inquiry to be made into the system by which emigration to Brazil is stimulated, and into the treatment of the emigrants after arrival in that country?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): Such complaints have been made, and I believe that many such cases have occurred as are described in the second question. All the information in our possession, as well as a statement of the steps taken to warn British subjects against emigrating to Brazil, will be found in the Correspondence which will be in the hands of hon. Members in a day or two.

In answer to a further question by Mr. FLYNN,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: If any particular inquiry is desired by individuals it will certainly be made.

#### THE IRISH POLICE.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the occasion of a public meeting announced to be held in the Commercial Club, Fermoy, County Cork, on 22nd instant, to hear an address from Mr. Michael Condon, of Lancaster, on the present political situation, a policeman, Sergeant Kelly, stood at the entrance door of the club and refused to allow Mr. Condon and Mr. Thomas Barry, P.L.G., to pass into the premises; and, on being asked by Mr. Barry on what authority he was so acting, this policeman replied that he would not answer a "pig head like him"; whether the Constabulary Authorities can state upon whose authority the Committee acted upon this occasion; and upon what grounds did he prevent the entrance of the gentleman named to the premises of the Commercial Club?

**THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND** (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Constabulary authorities report that the constable was on duty. He denies that he refused to allow the persons named to enter the premises, or that he used the language attributed to him.

#### IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL BOOKS.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, owing to the number of complaints made in reference to the reading books in the National schools of Ireland, the Commissioners of National Education have undertaken a revision of these books; and is a new edition of the fourth book printed; and, if so, what is the cause of the delay in issuing the new book?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Commissioners of National Education have reported that the lesson books in the National schools are undergoing a thorough revision. The new edition of the fourth book is not yet printed off, but most of the proof sheets have been received from the printer, and there will be no unnecessary delay in issuing the work.

#### OFFICE OF WORKS CONTRACTS.

MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he is aware that Messrs. Holland & Hannen, contractors for work at the British Museum, have reduced the painters' wages to 7½d. per hour when the contract provided for payment at the rate of 8½d. per hour; and whether, if this is so, he will communicate with Messrs. Holland and Hannen on the subject, with a view to the payment of the rate of wages contemplated when the contract was given them?

**THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS** (Mr. PLUNKET, Dublin University): The hon. Member is, I think, under a misapprehension. The minimum rate of wages for painters under the Government contract with Messrs. Holland & Hannen was 7½d. per hour, not 8½d., as the hon. Member seems to suppose. If, therefore, any painters are employed at 7½d. per hour at the British Museum, that would not be contrary to the terms of the contract, or contrary, as we believe, to the prevailing rates of wages in the trade.

#### ARMY CONTRACTS.

**CAPTAIN GRICE-HUTCHINSON** (Aston Manor): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the firm of Kynoch & Co. (Limited), Aston, have

Government contracts in hand; and, if so, whether the terms of the Resolution of the House, dated 13th February, 1891, in respect of wages are adhered to?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Messrs. Kynoch & Co. do hold Government contracts, and I am informed by the Director of Contracts that they are pledged to pay the current rate of wages in connection therewith.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HYGIENE.

MR. RATHBONE (Carnarvonshire, Arfon): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will use his influence with Sanitary Authorities and other Bodies concerned with the public health to induce them to show what they may have of interest to foreign delegates attending the International Congress of Hygiene, to be held in London next month?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I quite realise the importance of Sanitary Authorities and other Bodies concerned with the public health affording every facility for an inspection of the sanitary works in their districts by the foreign delegates attending the International Congress of Hygiene, and I am quite sure that the authorities and their officers will be glad to render any assistance they can in the matter.

#### THE ALIENS ACT.

LORD H. BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade why no attempt was made, previous to the year 1888, by the Board of Trade to enforce the Alien Act in the Ports of London and Hull; why no attempt was made, previous to the year 1890, to enforce the Act in other ports of the United Kingdom; whether the public statement is correct that there are now upwards of 400 aliens, with every apparent prospect of the number increasing, arriving weekly in the Port of London alone, 90 per cent. of whom appear to be in a perfectly destitute condition; and whether the Government intend to take any stringent and effectual measures to prevent this introduction of indigent foreigners amongst the most emaciated of our poor?

*Captain Grice-Hutchinson*

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): The enforcement of the Alien Acts rests with the Home Secretary and not with the Board of Trade, but the question of their enforcement prior to 1888 was fully gone into by a Committee of this House which sat in 1888-89, and I would refer the noble Lord to the proceedings of that Committee for the information he desires. Since 1890 the Act has been put into operation (at the request of the Board of Trade) at many of the ports of the United Kingdom. The Return lately presented shows that 1,990 aliens, not stated to be *en route* to America, arrived at London during the month of June last, showing an increase of 300 over the arrivals in June, 1890, but the total number of such aliens arriving at all the English ports in June, 1891, was less by 220 than in June, 1890. It does not appear that there is any sufficient reason at present for the adoption of such a course as is suggested in the last paragraph of the hon. Member's question.

#### THE ROYAL ACADEMY COMMISSION.

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the recommendations of the Royal Academy Commission Report, 1863, have been generally carried out; whether especially the recommendation (page ix.)

"That to the 50 professional academicians there should be added 10 members not being artists, subject to the confirmation of the Crown,"

has been carried out; and, if so, who are the 10 lay Members; whether (Report B, page xiv.) the hope expressed in Sir Francis Chantrey's will,

"That the Government will provide a suitable and proper building or accommodation for the preservation and exhibition of the Bequest pictures as the property of the Nation"

has also been carried into effect; and, if so, which is the suitable accommodation; and whether the pictures exhibited in the South Kensington Museum labelled "Lent by the Trustees of the Chantrey Bequest," are recognised as "the property of the Nation"?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I need hardly remind the hon. Member that the Royal

Academy is not a Government Department or under Government control. Speaking generally, I understand that some of the recommendations of the 1863 Commission have been carried out, and some not, and that the proposed addition of 10 lay Academicians falls within the latter class. For further information on the subject I would refer the hon. Member to the Academy's observations upon the Commission's Report, dated March 15, 1864, and presented to Parliament in the same year, and also to their subsequent correspondence with the Office of Works, presented to Parliament in 1866. As regards the hon. Member's last two questions, the hope expressed by Sir Francis Chantrey has not yet been realised. The pictures are merely lent temporarily to the South Kensington Museum by the Trustees, and until suitable buildings or accommodation have been provided, the Trustees may fairly hold that the pictures are not the property of the nation.

#### THE COAL MINES REGULATION ACT.

MR. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to several recent cases in Lanarkshire, in which Section 13 of "The Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887," empowering the men to appoint their own checkweigher, has been evaded by the refusal of owners to accept the man chosen by the workmen, though of good character, and by their threatening to close the pits if his election was adhered to; whether he is aware that it has been held by the Court of Session that such action on the part of owners is not a contravention of the Act or otherwise illegal; and whether he will re-consider his refusal to receive a deputation of two miners, to explain the circumstances of these cases, with a view to an amendment of the law?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am aware of the facts stated in the first two paragraphs, and have had the circumstances of the case under the careful consideration of the Inspectors and of myself. It did not appear to me likely that any further explanation of the circumstances could be given by a deputation of the miners. If the hon. Member thinks otherwise, I do not object to receive a deputation of two of them.

#### SCHOOL INSPECTORS AND POLITICAL MEETINGS.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether he is aware that a strong feeling exists in many parts of the country that it is undesirable that Inspectors of schools should take part in political meetings or entertainments in the districts in which they inspect the schools; and whether the Education Department will, upon such a case being brought under their notice, inform the Inspector that he ought not to attend political meetings in his district?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): By an Order of the Lord President, dated January, 1880, the official staff of the Education Department were prohibited from taking an active part at political meetings in connection with Parliamentary elections, and I am not aware of any instances in which this rule has been violated.

MR. COBB: Does the Order refer to meetings when an election is imminent, or to political meetings generally?

SIR W. HART DYKE: I should say that it refers generally to attendance at political meetings.

#### COLCHESTER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education if he is aware of the large deficiency of accommodation in the elementary schools of Colchester; and if he has taken any steps to secure the additional supply of school places in that borough which has been rendered necessary by the considerable increase of population?

SIR W. HART DYKE: The Inspector of the district made a representation to the Department on the subject a few days ago, and, upon receiving from the Registrar General the exact figures of the recent Census, inquiry will be made into the sufficiency of the present school supply.

#### CATTLE IN THE DUBLIN MARKET.

MR. NOLAN (Louth, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is

what district is, I understand, no the town of Dar' s the telegraph ser that on Sunday evening the telegraph office at Darlington is open only between the hours of 5 and 6, and a telegram handed in at Charing Cross at 6.30 is too late, therefore, to reach Darlington the same evening. Should the residents send me a Memorial in favour of an extension of the hours, I will readily have inquiry made.

#### TELEGRAPH OFFICIALS ACTING AS REPORTERS.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that Mr. T. H. Stockwell, an official in the Telegraph Department of the General Post Office, has been for some time engaged in the business of a newspaper reporter during official hours; whether he is aware that a communication was forwarded to the Permanent Secretary of the Treasury last April by the Institute of Journalists drawing attention to this matter, and enclosing affidavits and letters in proof of the facts alleged; and whether it is the case that Mr. Stockwell continues to carry on the business of a newspaper reporter during official hours, notwithstanding that attention has thus been called to this breach of the regulations; and, if so, whether he proposes to take any steps to ensure the observance of the regulations?

\*MR. RAIKES: I am not aware that Mr. Stockwell has been engaged as a newspaper reporter during official hours. On the contrary, I am assured by that gentleman that he has not carried on such business during official hours, and does not do so now. A representation such as the hon. Member describes has, I am aware, been forwarded to the Treasury by the Institute of Journalists, though I am not aware what claim these gentlemen have to address the Treasury on the subject.

#### COUNTY JUSTICES.

VISCOUNT CURZON (Bucks, Wycombe): I beg to ask the Attorney General whether the estate qualification for the appointment of County Justices must necessarily be in respect of pro-

*Mr. Raikes*

perty held in the county for which it is proposed to appoint such Justices?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): There are, as my noble Friend is probably aware, two qualifications—one the ownership of property, the other occupation. As regards the property qualification, it is not necessary that the property should be situated in the county for which the owner is to act as a Justice of the Peace. As regards the occupation qualification, a property occupied must be situated in the county.

#### THE CRIMEAN VETERANS.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): May I ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is prepared to make any further statement with regard to the proposed allowance to the Crimean veterans; and whether it will be necessary to make any application to the House, by way of Supplementary Estimate or otherwise?

MR. E. STANHOPE: It is not necessary to take any action in the House on the subject. The proposal will only deal with a limited number of cases, and it will be desirable that any very strong cases should be sent to the War Office for consideration. I have it in contemplation to call on the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital to act as umpires in the matter, in preference to deciding on the cases myself.

#### RATING OF MACHINERY (No. 2) BILL.

MR. J. POWELL WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): Will the Rating of Machinery (No. 2) Bill be taken after 1 o'clock?

MR. GOSCHEN: No, Sir.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Public Health (Scotland) Acts Amendment Bill, with Amendments.

That they do agree to certain of the Amendments made by this House to the Amendments made by the Lords to the Purchase of Land and Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill, and to the Consequential Amendments made by this House to the said Bill, without any Amendment, and agree to certain other of the Amendments made by this House to the Amendments made by the Lords

with Amendments, to which they desire the concurrence of this House; and do not insist on their Amendments to which this House has disagreed.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES. 1891-2.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

#### CLASS III.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £6,070, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Expenses of the Establishment of the Crofters' Commission."

(3.50.) DR. CLARK (Caithness): We have been told by the Chief Secretary for Ireland that the Scotch crofters were not rack-rented like the Irish peasants. We have now received a Return of the work of the Crofters' Commission for the last four years, and I find that they have decided 9,340 cases, and have reduced the rents from £50,276 to £35,214, or about one-third. This, I think, conclusively proves that the crofters have been very much rack-rented. During the same period the Commissioners have reduced the amount of arrears from £112,000 to £74,000. There are provisions in the Crofters' Act which empower the Commissioners to increase the holdings; but those provisions appear to have been practically useless, seeing that only in 14 cases have increased holdings been given, and in the principal case the Duke of Sutherland, who was the landlord, was a consenting party. In one instance, the Duke of Sutherland was himself a claimant, and he is now paying rental for the increased holding as a crofter. It is manifest, therefore, that the provisions in the Act in regard to increased holdings, as we told the House when the Bill was under discussion, are worthless. I intend to move the reduction of the Vote on two grounds—first, that the rents fixed are too high; and, secondly, that where the Commissioners do fix a fair rent and reduce the arrears, they still leave too heavy a burden for these unfortunate

crofters to bear. As a rule, after the rent has been reduced, the crofters have the arrears to pay, which means practically a double rent. Let me mention one instance—that of Alexander M'Kie of Taafe. His rent was £5 19s., and it was reduced to £3 5s.; but there were arrears of £11 18s. 6d., and they were only reduced to £10, so that he has still to bear a liability which amounts to more than three years' rent. There are many cases which are much worse, but I have confined myself to the estate of the Duke of Sutherland, who is generally admitted to be as moderately renting a landlord as any in the Highlands. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that he has largely increased his deer forests; seven years ago they comprised 250,000 acres, but 105,000 acres have been added since. I think the result of the inquiry of the Commission has been to show that every landlord in the Highlands—even the Duke of Sutherland—is a rack-renter; and I am afraid that in the case of many of the crofters, if they had their holdings for nothing, they would find it impossible to live. What they really want is more land. The land they have now is either not sufficient in quantity or not good enough in quality to enable them to live decently. The one cry of the crofters is for more land, and the clauses of the Crofters' Act have been practically useless in providing a redress for their grievances. Three or four years ago the hon. Member for Ross-shire (Dr. McDonald) complained that the rack-renting system was still going on; and at that time I argued that the rents then enforced, although they were reduced 50 per cent., would be more than the land was worth. I also expressed the opinion that the crofters were paying from 50 to 100 per cent. more than the large farmers. At that time I got into a controversy with the Convener for Caithness in reference to a croft where the holder, a tailor, had been paying a rent of 2s. 6d. per acre. The land was certainly not worth more, but it was improved by the labour and industry of the crofter and his family; and the consequence was that the total rent was raised to £8 10s. The Commissioners went there and reduced the rent—although the land was so poor that it would not feed a snipe—to £6 10s. I



attacked the Convener of Caithness for his decision; and his defence was that he claimed, in addition, that the land when it was taken had an additional value, because it was capable of being improved, and that, having been improved, the owner was entitled to a fair share of the improvement. I am afraid that this is the result of employing as valuers, factors and big farmers—a class of men in whom the crofters have little confidence indeed, believing that they are the men who have brought them to their present condition. If these crofts had been sold at the time the crofters took charge of them, and before they were converted into decent gardens and pretty little farms, they would have fetched absolutely nothing, notwithstanding this theory of their improvability. All that the landlord could have got would have been the value of the croft in its then condition. I think it is grossly unfair, and savours a little of legal scheming, that these unfortunate men should find themselves rack-rented as the result of their own improvements. I shall reserve to myself the right of moving the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £100.

(4.10.) DR. McDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I do not propose to go into figures, as they have already been put before the Committee by my hon. Friend. The average size of a holding in a crofter district is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and I find that in the cases dealt with by the Commissioners in Ross-shire they have made reductions of rent equal to 40 per cent.; but they have not gone far enough in reducing rents. Whatever blame attaches to the present Government in the matter attaches equally to their predecessors. Why on earth should not persons be employed who are acquainted with the land and know its value? An intelligent crofter knows the value much better than a large farmer or an ordinary factor. The lowest point to which the Commissioners have reduced the rent in cases where the crofters have made the land is 7s. 6d. per acre. I am acquainted with a case in my own county where a man who made every inch of the land himself is compelled to pay a rent of 7s. 6d. an acre. I do not see how anybody can justify a charge of 7s. 6d. for bog-land. I may say frankly that when the Commissioners commenced

*Dr. Clark*

their investigation I did not believe that they would reduce rents as much as they have. The complaint now is not so much in regard to the rent as to the want of land. One-half of my county consists of deer forests, and only in one instance have the Commissioners found it possible to give a piece of land from a deer forest. They themselves report upon the inadequate means which exist for increasing holdings, except by the adoption of a course which they are not authorised by the Act to take. That is a sweeping condemnation of an Act that was supposed to bring so many good and great things in its train. If you take all that has been done by the crofters in the way of improving the land, the reductions of rent are very small indeed. The valuer has been told to take into consideration the improvements effected by the money and labour of the crofter, and in no instance has this been done fully and fairly. I hardly expected the Government to deal fully with matters which the last Government refused to deal with, but I think it would have been better if facilities had been given to the Scotch Members, and so enabled something to be done.

\*(4.15.) MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): By the operation of the Commission considerable reductions of rent have taken place for the benefit of the crofters; but I regret that the Government—though the matter was impressed upon them on more than one occasion—have not seen fit to deal with the question of the extension of holdings by enlarging in this direction the powers of the Crofters Act. It is no secret that the present Crofters' Commission is hampered in every way by their inability to deal comprehensively with the question of the enlargement of the holdings, and until this matter is so taken up, the Highland question will never be satisfactorily solved.

(4.19.) THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): The Vote no doubt raises large possibilities of discussion, but I shall not be expected to deal exhaustively with all the questions that have been touched upon. During the year 1890 there were orders for the enlargement of the holdings of 112 applicants, but, as the applications were heard in batches and the orders were collective, I cannot say what was the

average addition to each holding. Undue importance seems to be attached to the restrictions imposed by the Act on the powers of the Commissioners. It would not be in the public interest that the Commissioners should take any land from a farm that is under 100 acres, which is a farm of useful size. Deer forests are quite open to the action of the Commissioners, subject only to the condition that they must be satisfied that any interference would be more in the interest of the population generally than the maintenance of the *status quo*. When the clauses of the Act are fairly worked, it will be seen that they will confer abundant benefit without any further change in the law. As to the action of the Commissioners, I am not prepared with rebutting proofs to meet some of the sweeping charges that have been made, and it is scarcely possible for the House to sit in review upon questions of valuation, reductions of rent, and sufficiency of additions to holdings. I know, however, from the newspapers that such charges are met by strong representations on the other side; and, on the whole, we must trust to the experience of the Commissioners, whose integrity, good faith, impartiality, and industry have not been impeached. I suppose it will hardly be possible to find men with knowledge and experience enough to be Commissioners who have not been farmers or factors; and crofters will hardly have had experience enough to justify their being selected to make valuations. I will not discuss whether A or B is a landlords' man or a crofters' man; but I believe the Commissioners have been selected on adequate information, while in no instance have they been charged with excessive partiality. As to the assertion that sufficient allowance has not been made for the improvements effected by the crofters in their holdings, I believe that the clause of the Act gives the largest discretion to the Commissioners, because it imposes upon them the duty of considering all the circumstances of the case. Nor have I ever heard of any specific complaints until to-day. With regard to arrears, I admit that men who are burdened with them cannot be expected to be prosperous; but it must be recognised that the reductions made have been enormous. I think it would

be better if attention were called to the advantages conferred by the existing state of things rather than that the minds of those concerned should be directed to exceptional grievances.

(4.32.) MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I have no complaint whatever to make as to the tone in which the right hon. Gentleman has approached this question. He has manifested his usual discretion in refusing to enter upon the discussion of the general policy which has been pursued in the Highlands. The Lord Advocate has, however, admitted the necessity for better provision for an enlargement of holdings. But the right hon. Gentleman did not say that the Government propose to remove the obstacles which exist under the Act to those holdings being enlarged. On the contrary; the Government refuse to have anything to do with it, and instead offer £150,000 to deport the people to America. The enlargements which have been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman as having taken place recently were not due entirely to the Act, many of them having been made in pursuance of a promise given as far back as 1885. But, even when granted, what did they amount to? It is true they benefit 112 individuals, but they only afford grazing for 2½ sheep. The great and burning question in the Highlands is not reduction of rents, but more land. That means that the crofters shall be restored to the lands they occupied 90 years ago. It is said there is no land in Scotland to give the crofters; but if that is so, would such experienced men as the Crofters' Commissioners have recommended that more land should be given to them? The Commission has taken evidence in the Highlands, which forms the best, truest, and finest history of the Highlands that ever was written, because it is a history furnished by the Highlanders themselves. The great and burning question is that of the moorland. When the right hon. Gentleman says there is no more land or moorland to be given, he went in the face of the Report of the Commission, which laid down certain rules under which land could be obtained. The Commissioners are men of great experience, and it is an insult to their intelligence to say that they have advised Her Majesty in favour of

an enlargement of holdings when the land for the purpose does not exist. The land does exist, and can be obtained. In regard to the question of reductions of rent, the Lord Advocate has quoted the section of the Act which says that the landlord or the crofter may apply to the Crofters' Commission to fix the rent to be paid to the landlord by the crofter. The Act also provides that the Commissioners shall consider the circumstances regarding all holdings in the district and the origin of the holdings. The complaints made are that when the people are transferred from the land of their inheritance everything they have in the world is taken from them, and they are settled down in a sterile land. The amount paid when they first settled there was 2d. per acre, and it is now about 7s. 6d. That is one of the circumstances which the Commissioners ought to take into account. If the Commissioners carry out the clause in its strict spirit, then the reductions will be 70 per cent. and more. The Commissioners, again, never give the reasons or grounds on which they form their judgments or decisions. There would be no criticism in this House if the Commissioners would give the grounds upon which they arrived at their judgments. The Lord Advocate has taken great credit to the Crofter Commission for the wiping out of arrears, but I ask what did they do with the arrears? Where there was the slightest possibility of their being paid the Commissioners ordered it to be done. "If you have sons in large towns and sons in America, cannot they help you to pay the rent?" That was the question frequently asked. There are still many rack-rented persons in the Highlands, and the assessors appointed are not always suited to their duties. There is no class in Scotland more bitterly opposed to the interests and actions of the crofters than the large farmers and factors, and yet the assessors are all drawn from this very class. I have the honour of knowing many of these assessors, and the honour of knowing many people who are crofters; and I cannot but point out the injustice of the remark of the Lord Advocate, that the assessors are superior in intelligence to the crofters. I suggest that two valuers might

*Mr. Angus Sutherland*

meet and value each piece of land, and that the second valuer shall be a crofter and a local man with special knowledge. While thoroughly sympathising with the Lord Advocate as to the inexpediency and inadequacy of an occasion like the present for entering into the wider question of the general policy pursued in the Highlands, I hope the Government will take some steps towards making the work of the Crofter Commission more efficient. I have always spoken of this Commission with respect; but I am bound to judge their work by the results. Many of these results are not satisfactory, and it is high time there should be an improvement on the points I have enumerated, and particularly with respect to their not giving the reasons of their decisions. If the grounds of the Commissioners' judgments are stated in the books, I believe there will be no litigation in the future.

(4.48.) *SIR G. CAMPBELL* (Kirkcaldy, &c.): There is a very strong feeling that there has been a total and entire failure to give any material enlargement of agricultural holdings. I do not blame the Commissioners, because I believe they are tied up so tightly in many ways that it is absolutely impossible for them to do more. The Government have tackled the question of the congested districts in Ireland, and I hope that they will now take into consideration the expediency and necessity of applying a similar measure to Scotland. There is much ground for improvement in regard to enlargement of agricultural and mixed holdings. The crofter population is not very large compared with the population of the Irish congested districts, and the Government ought to speedily relieve the difficulties which press upon this small portion of the people of Scotland.

(4.52.) *MR. HUNTER* (Aberdeen, N.): There are still one or two points on which we ought to get some information from the Government before these Votes are passed. We ought to know what is the probable duration of the Crofters' Commission, and to get some explanation of the very heavy increase in the expenses of the Commission. The expenses of the Commission in the first year were £400, but year by year they have increased until last year the

amount expended was little less than £10,000. The Commission altogether has cost on an average £7,000 a year. Looking at the net result of all the sittings of the Commission, I find that against this £7,000 a year which the Commission has cost, the reductions of rent only amounts to £2,600 a year. Therefore, this process of doing justice in the Highlands has the disadvantage of being extremely costly. It would be interesting, under the circumstances, to know whether there is any possibility that the costs will be reduced, or, at all events, during what period it is expected the Commission will require to continue its operations. It strikes me that the experience of the past five years shows that perhaps they have not been on the right tack in dealing with the crofters in the Highlands. I am not sure that it would not be found cheaper by the Imperial Government to buy up land where the crofters are, and, by reducing rents, to enter into competition with certain landlords. At all events, the present condition of things cannot be regarded as entirely satisfactory. Complaints have been made with regard to the amount of the reductions of rent, and my hon. Friend the Member for Sutherland has complained that the Commissioners do not give reasons for their judgments. Undoubtedly, the absence of reasons has the disadvantage of making it extremely difficult for crofters before they apply to the Court to know what would be likely to be the result of the application; but the Commissioners probably exercise a wise discretion, for their own peace of mind, in not giving reasons. The proceedings which have hitherto taken place with regard to enlargement of holdings, if satisfactory to the landlords, have undoubtedly not been so to the crofters. In this year's Report it is stated that certain crofters in Orkney obtained from the Commissioners in November, 1888, an increase of their holdings by 65 acres of arable land and 22 acres of pasture. No sooner had the crofters obtained confirmation of that order than a technical objection was raised as to taking possession, and when that had been satisfied the farmer brought an action for interdiction. The action was fought and won and appealed against, and in all the proceedings the crofters were successful. But they were

not yet at the end of their troubles, for no sooner were these proceedings closed than another interdiction was begun. This also went to the Court of Appeal. The litigation about the transfer of 65 acres of land from the farmer to the crofters was not concluded without an action by the crofters to eject the farmer. The award of the Crofters' Commission was finally confirmed after two years of litigation, and the crofters were put into possession of their land. It would be interesting to know who paid the costs of these proceedings, and how much they amounted to. There must be a serious defect in the Act when it is possible to multiply legal proceedings in this fashion against the poorest of the poor in Scotland. I am not at all satisfied with the provisions of the Act with regard to the enlargement of holdings, and I think that is a matter which the Government would do well to take into consideration. The somewhat scandalous experience of the crofters in Orkney shows that if such litigious proceedings are possible, that portion of the Act must be practically a dead letter.

(5.1.) DR. CLARK: I regret very much that the right hon. Gentleman and the Government will not do anything on this point. The 9,340 cases in which fair rents have been fixed, probably fairly well, meet the grievance as far as rents are concerned; but the people require more land. Applications for increases of holdings have been received from 401 persons, and only 14 of them, representing a value of £389, have been acceded to. The Court of Session has decided that when a lease that was in existence in 1886 expires, it is possible for the Commission to take a portion of the land. I must say for the northern landlords that, with one single exception, they have cheerfully submitted to the decisions of the Commissioners, and in that one case the crofters were put to an expense of £200. The Crown, I am sorry to say, is one of the worst landlords. Unfortunately it holds a lot of property in my county, but it is all in large farms, which are given to the pluralists. I think it would be better if the Crown let its land in farms of £50; or £80, or £100 a year. The land would then be beneficial to the people as a whole, instead of being beneficial merely to a few pluralists. Legislation is par-

ticularly needed in one direction. The intention of those who passed the Act was to make the sub-tenants the landlords. For the first few years the Commissioners recognised the sub-tenants as crofters, and fixed their rents; but a Court then decided that the sub-tenants did not properly come under the Act. I think the Government ought to bring in a Bill to make it clear that this class of men ought to be dealt with under this Act.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is a question outside the scope of the matter before the Committee.

DR. CLARK: I wish merely to say that a number of these people are leaving their holdings, and the landlords have no right to consolidate the holdings. The crofters are being very much burdened in some cases by having to pay off arrears. Some of the valuers have acted in such a way that the rents have been reduced to a very fair figure, but others have taken a view which has left the crofters saddled with very high rents, and I therefore feel compelled to move the reduction of the salaries of these valuers by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Valuers."

Question proposed, "That Item A be reduced by £100."

\*(5.11.) MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I quite agree with the previous speaker that there is a glaring defect in the Crofters Act which prevents the crofters getting more land. The small crofters as a rule have not more than a few acres of land, although there are in the Highlands vast tracts of country in which there is scarcely a house to be seen, and although within human recollection there was a large population there. There is a universal feeling in the Highlands in favour of getting back what are called the ancient homes of the people. The Crofters Act contains machinery for giving the crofters additional land, but it does not work. Of course, if Parliament passed a very stringent Act to enable land to be taken from the present holders at its fair value, and allocated to the crofters, they would have difficulty in getting stock and providing houses for themselves. Some plan might be devised for easing that difficulty and for rest-

*Dr. Clark*

ting the Highland population back to their old homes. I think a relaxation of the Game Laws would facilitate the process.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! An Amendment has been moved with respect to the valuers.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The hon. Member for Caithness will allow me to point out that, while valuers are of great importance in the work of the Commission, their decisions are not final. They are men who are at the disposal of the Commissioners, and there is a power of appeal from their decisions. It is the right of anyone interested in these matters, in cases where there is any doubt about the opinion of the valuers, to take the matter before the Commissioners, who are ultimately responsible.

\*(5.15.) MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I have taken opportunities during the last few years of going down among the crofters just to see what their grievances are, and I know it is a great grievance among them that the valuers are chosen from the ranks of farmers and factors, and that none of them are crofters. Surely the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Advocate might instruct the Commissioners to select some of the valuers from among the crofters themselves, so as to get at both sides of the question.

DR. McDONALD: I do not see why crofters should not be made valuers. There are plenty of intelligent men among the crofters who would be quite capable of acting as valuers. Some such compromise would work very smoothly indeed. I put it to the House, is it fair to charge 7s. 6d. per acre for black moorland, as has been done in plenty of cases? We know that in this country now the desire is to keep the people on the land by granting allotments and so on, but in the Highlands the policy we have been accustomed to is that of emigrating our people.

(5.19.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 66; Noes 102.—(Div. List, No. 387.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £62,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will

come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Expenses of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, and of the Prisons under their control, including the Maintenance of Criminal Lunatics and the Preparation of Judicial Statistics."

\*(5.29.) MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH: I have to complain that an inquiry into prison administration in Scotland, similar to that which has been granted in the case of England, has been refused.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to interpose. Since the refusal in question the matter has been carefully considered, and it may be satisfactory to the hon. Gentleman that I should at once inform him that it has been decided to appoint a small Committee to inquire into the wages, hours, &c., of prison staffs in Scotland, and to take evidence during the autumn.

\*MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH: I am satisfied with the statement of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): The statement of the right hon. Gentleman fairly meets that which I had to bring before the Committee. A paper has been sent out from the convict prison of Peterhead calling attention to the point. I had intended to say that as Scotland contributes at least its fair share to the Imperial Treasury, I think an end should be put to the degradation of Scotch labour by paying officials in Scotland at a lower rate than officials in England. I will not, however, continue the discussion.

\*(5.32.) MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth): I am sorry to find myself obliged to call attention to a case in which there is still continued an act of injustice on a member of a very humble and deserving class of public officers. I refer to the warders and gaol officers in the General Prison at Perth. All I ask is that faith should be kept with public officers, however humble. Under a Treasury Minute it is permissible to grant free quarters in a prison. In the case of Perth there is an abundance of free quarters available, and it has been the practice for a very long time past to give free quarters to the warders there. It, however, occurred to the Treasury, in a moment of that parsimony which is often mistaken for economy, that they might effect a saving

by cutting off the whole of these free quarters in Perth, and, accordingly, they issued an order to the effect that the unfortunate officers should be from that day charged rent. Of course, the men sent a protest and a petition to the Prison Commissioners, and, after a great deal of trouble, somewhat more than one-half of them received redress, and were given back their free quarters and also any rents which had been charged them. But, unfortunately, some of them were left without free quarters. I pressed the cases of these men for some time without effect. Eventually, the Treasury were good enough to refer the matter to one of their own Departmental Committees, which reported that, of the three remaining claims, two should be granted. I feel almost ashamed of pressing the case further, when I have obtained redress for all but one of the men, but I feel bound to make my appeal to Scotch Members and the Committee generally with regard to that one man. I admit that his case differs individually from that of the others, but I say it does not differ in principle. For two years this man had free quarters in another prison, and he was told on going to Perth that he would have free quarters there. He went to Perth, but, after a time, suddenly found himself deprived of free quarters. The principle I lay down is, that when a man has been appointed to an office with a certain salary and emoluments attached, it is the proper and unvarying practice for him to retain them if he gives perfect satisfaction, and it is false economy to endeavour to save money by cutting them down. The Lord Advocate has announced that a Committee is to be appointed to consider generally the scale of wages in Scotland, and I shall be content if the claim of this warder is referred to them.

(5.41.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: This is a purely individual case, and no question of principle whatever is involved. It has been carefully investigated by a strong Committee, and I do not think any other decision could have been arrived at. The hon. Member for Perth, who has shown the greatest perseverance in dealing with this matter, contends that if a man has for any time had given to him free quarters there is an obligation

on us to give him free quarters for all time. I have no doubt at all that the Committee were perfectly right in their decision.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I think this is not a matter which ought to be decided altogether of strict legal right. This man was a warder in Barlinnie Prison, where he had free quarters, and he accepted his appointment in Perth on the footing of getting free quarters there. After he had enjoyed free quarters in Perth for two years he was deprived of them, and thus had to forfeit a considerable portion of his emoluments. Would anyone in an ordinary business transaction take the course the Government has taken? I do not think anyone would.

\*MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH: This seems to me to be a very hard case, and I do not see what harm there can be in allowing this poor man to renew his claim before the Committee that is about to be appointed.

\*MR. C. S. PARKER: I may add that the Prison Commissioners had every right to bind the Government to the terms they promised. They represented the Government in dealing with the officers of the prison, and they acted strictly within the authority given to them by the Treasury Minute. I really hope the Lord Advocate will consider whether the new Committee might not give an independent opinion on the rights of this man. I shall be quite ready to accept their decision.

(5.50.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: There must be an end to matters of this kind. This man's case has been investigated, and I am sorry to say I cannot assent to the hon. Member's proposal.

\*MR. C. S. PARKER: Then I move the reduction of the Vote by £200. I believe the warder's income was reduced by 10 per cent., and £200 will represent a similar reduction of the Commissioners' pay.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £200, part of the Salary of the Prison Commissioners."—(Mr. C. S. Parker.)

(5.53.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 67; Noes 99.—(Div. List, No. 388.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.  
Mr. J. P. B. Robertson

3. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £47,621, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland."

(6.3.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The Irish Estimates are naturally, in some degree, affected by the circumstances of the time. The policy which governs the administration of Ireland is now substantially different from what it was in former and in recent years. There has been a change of tone on the part of the Government, and there has been a change of policy even more important still. We hear no more about Hottentots, or about the people using weapons, and there is nothing at all said about 20 years of coercion or firm government. The Chief Secretary looks upon the Land Bill, and upon the forthcoming measure of Local Government, as important in affecting the condition of Ireland, and I confess, in view of these facts, I am not disposed to look so minutely into the items of this Vote as I would have done in former years. I recognise that the Tory Party have left the policy of coercion, and are now proposing to adopt Home Rule. Under these exceptional, and, perhaps, pregnant circumstances, I must say that the amount of this Vote appears enormous compared with the number of prosecutions. The cost of criminal prosecutions in England, with its 30,000,000 of inhabitants, is £66,000; while in Ireland, with one-seventh the population, the cost is £75,000, or one-sixth greater. When we find the followers of the Chief Secretary glorifying him for the success which he has achieved in Ireland during the four years of his administration, I should expect to find some practical test of the truth of such a boast on the reduction of the Vote which now engages the attention of the Committee. Practically, there is no decrease in the Vote, and there has been no decrease in it in recent years. Why is it, if the Chief Secretary has been so signally successful by means of coercive legislation in suppressing disorder, that there is no corresponding reduction in this amount? The real meaning of what is called success may be a matter of con-

troversy into which I do not dream of entering. I believe the real fact is that the Chief Secretary has failed to apply the Coercion Act to the evicted farmers, and if boycotting and other practices have ceased it is because the resistance to the public will and public interest, which was active some years ago, is active no longer. That is a very different thing from the success of coercive legislation. We all know that the statement of these law charges consists of the operations under the Coercion Act. But the operations under the Coercion Act have so much diminished that practically they may be said to have ceased. Still the amount of this Vote continues undiminished. The right hon. Gentleman, following up his announcement at a public meeting, issued three important proclamations, which were duly published in the *Dublin Gazette* last month. These proclamations touched one part of the Coercion Act and not another. In the first year or two after the passing of the Coercion Act, the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues were very busy in suppressing what they called dangerous associations. Acts which in England and Scotland would not have been considered, were deemed dangerous in Ireland. He had the police watching at windows to see where meetings were held, and the prosecutions in the Coercion Courts and in the High Courts were numerous. Newspaper editors were imprisoned for publishing reports of suppressed meetings, and stalwart constables chased newspaper boys about the streets for selling newspapers containing those reports. Technical pleas were used to prevent a prisoner getting the benefit of a jury, and, whatever the case, one of the gentlemen concerned in the administration of the law had an attendance fee. The right hon. Gentleman keeps in force the Coercion Act, in order that the Lord Lieutenant may have the power at any moment to point to an association which he conceives to be dangerous. I am entitled to ask how it is, these prosecutions having entirely ceased, that we find no corresponding diminution in the law charges? A Government like yours, intruded into a country like ours, always generates, whether the country is troubled or at peace, a large expenditure. The three proclamations did refer to

Section 2 of the Act—a section of which we always think when we refer to that Act, because it establishes the Crimes Courts. We all know that these Crimes Courts were in full swing for a couple of years all over Ireland, and that the Government Counsel (Mr. Carson) made a fabulous income, because he was constantly appearing to prosecute fabricated offences. The proclamations left this section, in its full plenitude, in force only in one county of the 32 counties in Ireland, and in six baronies, which contain the estates of the right hon. Gentleman's friends, Mr. Olphert and Mr. Smith-Barry, and one or two others. Surely, that fact alone constitutes a very great reason for the diminution of this Vote. When this Estimate was drawn up last November, or last March, it must have been known that a change of policy was pending, and I am quite at a loss to know how the Government can present such a large bill when you have Section 2 in force only in one county. The Coercion Act is only continued for two or three small offences. It is discontinued all over Ireland for conspiracy to compel people to do that which they do not want to do by violence and intimidation, or inciting to these offences. All that is at an end. What is left for the Crimes Courts to do? We know that the chief expenditure has been in connection with the prosecutions before these novel tribunals. If the business of these Courts has ceased, the cost ought to be diminished. If there is no song there ought to be no supper. It is a sad reflection that you have in every county in Ireland trial by jury suspended. The ordinary rights of citizens are placed in the hands of servants of the Crown in respect of offences which are practically not committed in the country. I am greatly surprised that the right hon. Gentleman, for the sake of his own reputation, did not make a clean sweep of the Coercion Act by proclamation last month. In the year 1890 there was only one assault on a minister of the law in the whole of Ireland, and there were only four riots in the whole of Ireland. But this year, of the offences in respect of which the Act is continued, there has been none. I am at a loss to understand why the Imperial taxpayers—Englishmen, Irishmen, or Scotchmen—



should be called upon to pay a bill which, notwithstanding these proclamations and the entire absence of offences, is undiminished in amount. Let me look at the various items. I do not complain of the salary of the Attorney General, who is so worthy and amiable that he is deserving a salary whether there is anything to do or not. I find that the fees of the Attorney General and of the Solicitor General for contentious business stand just at the same figure which they did last year. Where does the business come from in respect of which these fees are to be paid? It is unbusinesslike and slovenly to proceed on the basis that the business is the same in extent as that of last year. The fees of counsel are continued, and they are treated with the same benevolence. Mr. Carson last year received £10,700, and this year he receives £10,000. The same thing appears in the other items down to the very end; and these ingenious gentlemen manage to derive the same amount, no matter that the country is wrapped in the slumber of peace. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to give us some explanation.

(6.25.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I will leave it to my right hon. Friend the Attorney General to reply to criticisms on items, but there are one or two points on which I should like to say a word or two. I will not enter into the causes of what all agree to be the present improved condition of Ireland, and will deal only with the general complaint that the Estimates do not appear to keep pace with the improvement. There is, I think, some misconception in the minds of hon. Gentlemen as to the character of the expenditure in the Law Department. It seems to be thought that a large part of the money is spent in prosecutions undertaken under the Crimes Act, and it is therefore asked why the Estimate is not reduced. The explanation is that the great bulk of the expenditure is not in connection with the Crimes Act at all. Even when it is in most active operation, and when the number of prosecutions is at the maximum, the proportion of cases to the number under the ordinary law is relatively small. The number of prosecutions under the Crimes Act certainly

*Mr. Sexton*

bears a very small proportion to the total number; and in Ireland, although not in England, all prosecutions are practically undertaken at the cost of the Government, and the Crown prosecute in almost every criminal case. Therefore, the suspension of the Crimes Act could not have an enormous effect on the total expenditure. It is true that many cases under the Crimes Act can be conducted only by counsel of reputation, whose fees are larger than are fees in ordinary cases. Still, there is a reduction of no less than £2,000 in the estimate of the amount to be spent on prosecutions, a reduction which quite represents the saving in the fees to be paid. I am sorry it is impossible to produce figures to show how much has been spent in previous years in Crimes Act prosecutions, and how much under the operation of the ordinary law. The reason why part of Section 2 of the Crimes Act is still kept in operation is that it seems to me that the offences are eminently such as may be dealt with in a summary manner. I am not prepared to say whether riots are more likely to occur in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught than in Ulster.

MR. SEXTON: I have pointed out that in one year there have been only four riots in all Ireland, and the Constitution ought not to be suspended for a contingency so rare.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I agree in the major proposition of the hon. Member, but do not admit his application of it. I do not admit that to try a rioter in a summary manner before two Magistrates is a suspension of the rights of free-born citizens that anyone can complain of. Indeed, it is on representations from hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway that Sub-section 2 of the Crimes Act is made of perpetual and universal application. It is thought that assaults on the police are a class of offences which ought to be dealt with summarily. With regard to other questions arising on the Vote, my right hon. and learned Friend who has charge of it will be able to answer them.

(6.35.) MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): With characteristic ingenuity the right hon. Gentleman has skilfully evaded the point at issue. If there be a real diminution of crime in Ireland, and if, consequently, there be no necessity for these prosecu-

tions, one would think naturally that this would be shown in a corresponding reduction of the Vote now before the Committee. Ordinary crime is practically non-existent in Ireland; at any rate, it is so largely diminished as to call forth the congratulations of the Judges of Assize. The right hon. Gentleman contends that the bulk of this Vote is not connected with prosecutions before the Crimes Courts, but at one time, under the administration of the right hon. Gentleman, these prosecutions were more numerous than prosecutions under the ordinary law. The right hon. Gentleman is quite erroneous in his statement that the bulk of the Vote has nothing to do with prosecutions under the Coercion Act. I can remember that you could not take up a paper in any part of Munster without reading week after week of these prosecutions for all sorts of offences under the Coercion Act. Counsel were engaged at considerable expense, and to state that a considerable part of this Vote was not for those prosecutions is to state that which is not the fact. The right hon. Gentleman is quite mistaken in what he puts before the Committee. If what he states were correct, we might expect to find a decrease of the Vote, but there is a net increase of £2,000, and we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that the emoluments of these officers are maintained in order to enrich these parasites of the present system of administration in Ireland. The Constabulary Vote is not reduced in any degree, nor is the Vote for Resident Magistrates; and though we are told the country is peaceful, yet we have this enormous Vote for £76,000. I am surprised at the amount which is down here for Crown Solicitors, who, by a section of the Crimes Act, are able to select and pack juries. I find that practice is still continued in Cork and in Dublin. In the latter place the Solicitor General challenged 26 jurymen, all respectable men, and two of them Justices of the Peace. I invite the attention of the Attorney General to this circumstance, and I ask him how long this infamous system of jury-packing is to continue? I also wish to call the attention of the Attorney General for Ireland to a case which I brought under his notice a few months ago. I refer to the case of Captain Rye, who was

sentenced to a term of imprisonment for shooting a neighbour. By the clemency of the Prisons Board, he has been released, and, of course, being a Conservative and a Deputy Lieutenant, he was released before his term of imprisonment expired. But my complaint is not in reference to that; it is in reference to the conduct of the Crown Solicitor at Cork, in allowing to be sworn on the jury a Magistrate named John S. Collins, who, in a letter to the *Cork Constitution*, prejudged the whole case, and condemned the proceedings in the Court of First Instance. Any conduct of that kind is calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the administration of justice. I, for one, am not surprised that this Vote is kept at its present enormous amount, because of the character of the administration. The sufferings of the people at the hands of the Constabulary have been incredible. We know how Father Kennedy was followed by a constable when he went to see a dying woman who had been confined. The officer followed him and looked into the room where the dying woman lay. After that the rev. gentleman brought an action against the police for assault in his own house by the sergeant of police. An impartial jury gave him a verdict for £100 against the constable, and that carried with it costs. Father Kennedy is a man of poor means, yet the policeman was enabled to appeal to the Court of Exchequer, and upon a technical point the verdict was reversed, and Father Kennedy was cast in the costs, though Chief Baron Palles condemned the conduct of the constable as against all law and utterly indefensible. I say it is monstrous that this rev. gentleman should, by these costly appeals, be thus deprived of his costs. Then there was the case of a labouring man who was shot by the police, and who did not get a verdict, on the technical point that he was injured not by a shot, but by falling off the wall. It is most unfair on the part of the Crown to weigh down individuals in this way by putting the money of the State against the purse of private individuals. I do not look forward to any sensible diminution of this Vote as long as these emoluments are kept up as prizes for expectant young barristers.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.): I wish to call attention to the retention in the Commission of the Peace of Mr. Magan, who has been convicted of defrauding to a considerable amount in Wexford. The person to whom I refer induced the tenant to part with his interest in the holding, and by misstating the arrears he succeeded in getting £46 out of the Commissioners, which sum, I believe, Mr. Concannon was compelled to return. I do not desire to press for a vindictive prosecution against this man; but I do say it is disgraceful that he should be allowed to administer justice.

(6.50.) MR. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): We have recently had some controversy in this House with reference to the contribution of Ireland to the Imperial Exchequer; but there was one point on which I can agree with my hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast, namely, that the cost of Ireland is greater than that of any other part of the Empire, and that the specially extravagant part of that cost is mainly under this and other Votes. I know the time of the Chief Secretary has been greatly occupied this Session; but if the right hon. Gentleman can find time—I know he has the skill—he ought to devote himself to the cleansing of this Augean stable, which is a public scandal. It costs twice as much money to convict a man for stealing ducks in Ireland as it does in England. The average cost of prosecutions in England is £9; in Ireland it is over £20. I have one question to ask with reference to the remuneration of the Attorney General for Ireland. Hitherto we had in the Estimates opposite to the £5,000 for the Attorney General for Ireland these words:—"This is personal to the holder of the present office." Why are those words now omitted? I would be the last man to challenge the merits of the Attorney General for Ireland, but this is not a permanent fixing of the salary of the right hon. Gentleman. The Lord Advocate gets only £2,500. What I want is that we should retain on the face of the Estimates an intimation that the Government has not made a final arrangement charging £5,000 on the Estimates for an Attorney General for Ireland. In asking that question I do not wish in any way to say anything disrespectful of the

present holder of the office. All I wish to say is that £5,000 is a high salary to attach to the office.

\*MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider what are the real feelings of the Irish people, and he will find that so long as this large number of *employés* are kept by the Crown there will be a lack of confidence on the part of the people in the administration of the Government. It will be inevitable that the family of each official will contain men expectant of office in the future. The overgrown official class in Ireland, interested in a continuance of the present *régime*, tends to blind outsiders regarding the real feelings of the masses of the people. That is not a desirable state of things, and it is one which will not commend itself to the people of Ireland.

\*(7.0.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. MADDEN, Dublin University): Several questions have been brought under notice to which I will endeavour to reply. In the first place, the hon. Member for Cork has complained of the action of the Crown Solicitor in the case of Captain Rye, the Solicitor having allowed a juror to go into the box who had written a letter prejudging the case. It appears, however, that the letter was written in favour of the prisoner, and that after hearing the evidence the juror who wrote it concurred in a verdict of guilty. It cannot, therefore, be said there was any miscarriage of justice. The fact of the letter having been written was wholly unknown to the Crown Solicitor; of course, if it had been known to him, it would have been improper to allow the writer of it to serve on the jury. Then, in regard to the complaint that a constable in the civil action which has been referred to took the case to the Court of Queen's Bench and succeeded in having the verdict against him set aside on a point of law, surely hon. Gentlemen opposite do not suggest that it is the duty of a constable to submit to a verdict which is erroneous in point of law? With regard to the action which arose out of the alleged firing by the police, the complaint seems to be that the defence was rested upon a purely technical point. But, as a matter of fact, the defence was that the injuries

which the plaintiff complained of were caused not by the firing of the police, but by the plaintiff's falling off a wall on which he was sitting. That appears to be hardly what can be properly described as a technical point. As to the case of Mr. Magan, the hon. Member for Leitrim complains that Mr. Magan has not been prosecuted. I have inquired into the facts, and have come to the conclusion that Mr. Magan and the tenants made a mistake in making their calculations on the assumption that a penal rent was due when, in fact, none was due; but there is not a shred of evidence to show that Mr. Magan and the tenants entered into the criminal conspiracy which the complaint of the hon. Member implies. As to the Irish law charge, every effort has been made, and with considerable success of recent years, to bring that charge down. In 1882-3 the estimate was £118,056, while in the present year it is only £77,621, which, it must be admitted, is a very considerable reduction. In comparing the system of administering Criminal Law in England and Ireland, it must be remembered that in England the bulk of the cases are undertaken by private prosecutors; while in Ireland private prosecutions are almost unknown. After the first hearing the case is usually taken up by the Attorney General.

MR. H. H. FOWLER: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that though they are private prosecutions the costs are defrayed from the public funds?

\*MR. MADDEN: It is true that certain costs of private prosecutors in England are paid out of public moneys, but what is so paid does not cover all the expenses of the prosecution. In Ireland we have a system of local Crown Solicitors which does not exist in England. Before the Committee of 1888 Mr. Justice Wills expressed strong approval of this system and in favour of it being extended to England. In the opinion of that eminent Judge we get good value for the expenditure in Ireland, and, as I have shown the Committee, we are making effort to reduce that expenditure.

(7.14.) MR. HAYDEN: It is impossible for anyone who examines the transactions in relation to Mr. Magan's action to come to any other conclusion than that it was deliberate fraud, and not

merely a mistake. It was only after attention was drawn to this matter inside and outside the House—and overwhelming evidence was brought forward—that the Attorney General took the matter up. I shall take every opportunity of calling attention to the subject.

MR. FLYNN: The right hon. Gentleman says that if there was fraud then the tenants must have been parties to the conspiracy, but remember that all the profit of the transaction would go into the pockets of Mr. Magan; the tenants would get no benefit. With regard to the case of Captain Rye, I can only say it exhibits a most extraordinary state of ignorance of mind on the part of the Crown Solicitor if he was unaware of this letter which has been alluded to. When jurors of a popular complexion in religion and politics are ordered in large numbers to stand by, the amount of knowledge of the jurors' opinions displayed by the Crown Solicitor is very remarkable. Whether John Murphy or Patrick Ryan is a Catholic or Protestant, a moderate or extreme Home Ruler, seems to be known to the Crown Solicitor, and yet the same gentleman is absolutely ignorant of a public letter of Mr. Collins, prejudging a case in which he is called upon to act as juror. He concurred in the verdict no doubt, and I do not maintain that Mr. Collins did not do his duty. My complaint is that in such circumstances this juror should be allowed to act in a case when so many respectable men are directed to stand by. I must not be understood as saying that the sentence upon Captain Rye was too lenient. As marking the manner in which this case has been met by the right hon. Gentleman, I move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £46,621, be granted for the said Service."—(Mr. Flynn.)

(7.20.) MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): In the action of the Government towards Justices of the Peace we have ceased to expect impartiality. In my own case I was knocked off the Commission for doing what I really believed to be my duty, and many of my fellow Magistrates took similar action to mine,

but simply on the other side of politics. I am glad the Attorney General has not had the task of defending the system of jury-packing. In reference to the allegation that Irish juries will not find convictions, I find on hunting up statistics that there is but a difference of 1 per cent. in the proportions of convictions to committals in England and Ireland; in England it is 77 per cent., in Ireland 76 per cent. For reasons I need not now enter into, the Government have not carried out the system of jury-packing in Ireland to the extent they did in previous years. But we cannot forget the remarkable trials at Maryborough, where the system was carried to an extent so scandalous as to draw forth a remarkable protest from an English resident there, who, in a letter to an Irish newspaper, described it as being a perversion and straining of the law by narrow-minded officials. The Government have no doubt changed their tactics somewhat, influenced by public opinion, which has found expression in the result of by-elections. The present Government have, however, done more to endanger the administration of the law than any of their predecessors. They have shown the people that justice is not even-handed, but administered by the tools of the Government; and if a man happens to be a Catholic and a Nationalist, he can have little hope of a fair trial at the hands of the officials of Dublin Castle.

(7.29.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 52; Noes 86.—(Div. List, No. 389.)

Original Question again proposed.

(7.36.) MR. HAYDEN: Would the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to laying on the Table the correspondence in the case of Mr. Percy Magan?

\*MR. MADDEN: If the hon. Member will put a notice on the Paper I shall be happy to consider the matter.

MR. SEXTON: That is not a very satisfactory answer. It is now three years—I rather think four years—since my hon. Friend commenced interrogating the right hon. and learned Gentleman in this House as to the case of this Magistrate. This case is a manifest scandal, and something should be done in regard to it. This man Magan committed a fraud

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upon the Government through the instrumentality of some ignorant tenants whom he induced to make an affidavit. He engendered a fraudulent conspiracy by means of which he took from the coffers of the State money to which he had no right. The thing was discovered and brought to the attention of the Government, and it has been brought before them again and again. They looked into it, and came to the conclusion that though this Magistrate had dishonestly taken money from the State, all that could be done was to endeavour to take that money away from him by civil action. I do not know whether they have done so. The Home Secretary looks very much surprised at this case, and I do not wonder. I think if he found an English Magistrate defrauding the Whitehall Boards of the most moderate sum, the first thing we should hear of would be that Magistrate being chucked off the Bench, and the next thing would be a criminal prosecution. But see how tenderly these gentlemen are dealt with in Ireland. There are two rules of procedure there. If a peasant offends against the law, or a representative of the people makes a speech which is not to the taste of the Government, the treatment meted out to him has nothing of tenderness in it, but a Magistrate who gets money to which he has no right, and who procures a false affidavit and pockets the money, is only submitted to a civil action. I leave the right hon. and learned Gentleman in the presence of the House to the pleasant reflection that the recital of this case must produce. We shall be obliged to continue the discussion of this case on Report unless we are told that the correspondence which has taken place in reference to it will be laid on the Table.

\*(7.41.) MR. MADDEN: I think it right to point out to the hon. Member that there was, in my opinion, no evidence before me that Mr. Magan had obtained money dishonestly; and, therefore, it is hardly right to say that "I contented myself with a civil prosecution." The money was obtained by Mr. Magan under a mistaken view of his rights, but I decline to assent to the view that he obtained it dishonestly. If I had thought so, I should have ordered a criminal

prosecution. As to the correspondence, I do not know what correspondence the hon. Member desires to have.

\***MR. HAYDEN:** I wish to have copies of the letters which passed between the Land Commission and myself, the Attorney General and myself, and the Attorney General and the Land Commission and Mr. Magan.

\***MR. MADDEN:** I shall have no objection to laying that correspondence on the Table if the hon. Member will move it.

**MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.):** Will the right hon. Gentleman also produce the letters to and from the Lord Chancellor?

\***MR. MADDEN:** Yes.

Question put, and agreed to.

4. £81,132, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments in Ireland.

(7.44.) **MR. FLYNN:** There are a few matters here to which I desire to draw the attention of the Attorney General. I want an explanation of what seem curious items under Sub-head "a"—£25 for the master of the Queen's Bench, and £50 to his clerk in connection with Election Petitions, and also £1,700 for writing clerks for the same purpose. Seeing that there have been no Election Petitions in Ireland since that in which my hon. Friend the Member for Derry was successful against his opponent some years ago, I want to know what these charges are for. Then, I find that in connection with salaries in the Court of Bankruptcy in Ireland a sum of £10,074 is charged, which is an increase on the sum allocated last year. I want to ask if the Government could not see their way to bringing about a substantial reduction in the amount of this Vote by devolving a considerable portion of the bankruptcy business upon the local Bankruptcy Courts recently established. These local courts have been established in Belfast and Cork, and have given great satisfaction. I speak from a knowledge of the Court in Cork. Applications have been made to the right hon. Gentleman to extend the sphere of the jurisdiction of that court to Kerry and another adjoining county. Before the establishment of these Courts bankruptcy business in Ireland had grown to be a scandal, an enormous

amount of money from the estates of bankrupts being swallowed up in legal expenses, and the creditors of the bankrupts getting very little, whereas since the establishment of the local court in Cork the condition of things has been very satisfactory. The Chambers of Commerce and Shipping of Cork have sent various Memorials to the Government praying for an extension of the jurisdiction of the local Bankruptcy Courts, and pointing out the satisfactory manner in which they have discharged their business. The expenses of the Court in Dublin are enormous—two Judges costing £4,000, one Registrar, one Clerk, two Registrars at £800, two at £600, first clerks in bankruptcy, a deputy registrar and a number of assistants. Altogether you have 20 officials in connection with the Court, and, as I have said, their salaries amount to the enormous sum of £10,074. My contention is that these large expenses would not be needed if the Government would extend the jurisdiction of the local courts in Cork and Belfast. Of course the Attorney General for Ireland will have some sympathy with the gentlemen belonging to the profession of which he is at once so useful and ornamental a member; but, however that may be, I would ask him to take into consideration the great and important interests at stake and the strongly-expressed desire of the commercial community in Ireland.

\*(7.51.) **MR. MADDEN:** With regard to the first point to which the hon. Member has called attention—the estimated sum for election petitions—I would point out that there is a similar Estimate to this taken for both England and Scotland. It is only a necessary provision made under Statute for the event of there being an election petition. If there were no such petition in the year the money would not be used but would be returned into the Exchequer. As to the second matter the hon. Gentleman has referred to, I think the present Government have given more evidence than any of their predecessors of their appreciation of the importance of localising bankruptcy business in Ireland. The first local Bankruptcy Act was passed by the present Government, and I quite agree with the hon. Member that it is desirable that the

principle of that Act should be extended, so far as this can be safely done. As the hon. Gentleman and the House are aware, there is a Bill at present before the House for that purpose. As far as the principle of that measure is concerned, I agreed on behalf of the Government to the Second Reading. I think the Bill should be amended and safeguarded in matters of detail. I should be out of order in going into that question; but, as a matter of general policy, I may say that the general intention of the Bill is in accordance with the views of Her Majesty's Government. The question of the bankruptcy arrangements of Ireland must engage the attention of the Government before long, and an important element in the consideration of the question will be the extension of the system of local administration in Ireland—a system which was adopted at the instance of the present Government.

(7.55.) Mr. SEXTON: The statement of the right hon. Gentleman is very satisfactory, but I must say his policy lags very far behind it. The Act establishing local Courts of Bankruptcy in Belfast and Cork allows a dual jurisdiction to continue absolutely unchecked by any power placed in the hands of the creditors. I believe that in England it is possible for creditors to secure the local administration of the estate of a debtor. But though the learned Attorney General has referred in terms of pride to the initiation of the system of local Bankruptcy Courts in Ireland, I must tell him that the evils of the old system still prevail there. A creditor may take a debtor away from a local Court, or a roguish debtor may run away from his creditors to Dublin, and in the case of creditors whose interest in the estate is not very large, they, as a rule, will not follow the bankrupt, though if they do the consequence is that the estate gets dissipated. The lawyers do not object to this, because they get higher fees in Dublin, and the Bankruptcy Court in Dublin is well satisfied, as it wants to maintain itself and keep down the local Courts. But credit is injured, creditors are robbed, and the local courts are deprived of what ought to be their proper business. All this Session I have been pressing

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on the right hon. Gentleman to do something to amend the existing state of things, and the Belfast Chamber of Commerce has also been pressing him. We have a Bill before us which, if it were passed, would end the difficulty, because it would leave local cases in local Courts and non-local cases in the Dublin Court, though it would give a majority of a man's creditors power to change a case from one Court to another. That is the English system, and when it is found to suit a practical people like the English, it would, I think, very well suit us in Ireland. I do not know why the right hon. Gentleman has opposed it, unless it be in the interest of the Court in Dublin. All sections of the Irish representation have united in urging the right hon. Gentleman to extend the jurisdiction of the local Courts of Bankruptcy in Ireland, and to put a stop to the existing dual system. I think we have a conclusive case, and one that can only be fairly met by concession. There is another point on which I should like to ask a question. Do the Government propose to secure in the High Court those parts of the Land Department Bill that have been left over? They have plenty of business for next Session, with the promised Local Government Bill (on the lines of the English and Scotch Acts), and the Irish Free Education Bill, which is to include compulsory education, and will, therefore, involve the re-constitution of the Board of Education in Ireland. This Vote includes salaries for the registry of deeds in Dublin. The Government had the good fortune this Session to pass an Act dealing with this registration, and I desire to ask whether they propose to make their work effectual by extending the sphere of the registry to the counties? If they do, is it intended to frame an Estimate for the purpose this year?

(8.3.) Mr. MADDEN: It is the desire of the Government to proceed next Session with the provisions embodied in the Land Department Bill, which will, in their opinion, conduce both to efficiency and economy in the working of the sale and transfer and valuation of land. The Registry of Deeds (Ireland) Bill has been withdrawn, but I hope to re-introduce it next year. As regards the Local Registration of Titles

Bill, I can only say that I hope that it will prove worthy of the confidence with which it has been accepted in all parts of the House, and that no time will be lost in making the necessary preparations for its coming into operation next year.

MR. SEXTON: What about the Bankruptcy Bill?

\*MR. MADDEN: In regard to the Bankruptcy Bill, I may say I do not believe that the Amendments I have placed on the Paper are inconsistent with the general principles of the measure. I cannot, however, on the present occasion go into a detailed discussion of the merits of my Amendments.

\*MR. MORTON: I should like to know how it is that the cost of the trial of election petitions is so much larger in Ireland than it is in England?

\*MR. MADDEN: The charges for election petitions are made in accordance with the system which prevails in Ireland, and I do not think the amount is in any way extravagant.

Vote agreed to.

5. £65,182, to complete the sum for the Irish Land Commission.

(8.8.) MR. FLYNN: I desire to call attention to certain points in connection with this Vote. In the first place, I desire to know on what principle the land valuers are appointed, as much dissatisfaction has been expressed as to the system on which they are chosen. It is a practical axiom that that law is best which is best administered, and the Land Law in Ireland would be a great boon and blessing to the Irish tenants if it were properly administered. But we say with regard both to the Land Commissioners and the land valuers that much of the benefit that would otherwise accrue to the tenants is lost owing to the way in which these appointments are made, and that the tenants have still to complain of unjust and unfair rents owing to the improper appointments that are made, especially in regard to the case of the land valuers. Of course, the reply I shall receive will be that the system gives dissatisfaction, because it is impossible that any valuer can satisfy both landlord and tenant. But what we complain of is that the valuers generally belong to a class who are more or less associated with the

landlord's interest. This we say is most unfair to the tenants, because these valuers cannot be expected to be otherwise than prejudiced in the landlord's favour, and consequently the fixing of fair rents is nothing but, a mockery, a delusion and a snare. I asked a question a short time ago as to the appointment of Robert Martin, and was informed by the Attorney General for Ireland that he had not been appointed as a Court Valuer, but as a Sub-Commissioner. That makes the matter ten times worse, because this person has for many years been a landlord's valuer. He is doubtless a good judge of land and an able man, but it is monstrous to choose a man who has not only been a landlord's valuer, but who being also a landlord himself is naturally inclined to lean more towards the landlord's interests than to those of the tenants. Having been for sometime a land valuer, this gentleman was made a Sub-Commissioner, thus being practically a Judge of the Court. I say that these land valuers and Sub-Commissioners have not dealt as they ought to have done with the tenants' improvements. And this is shown by the fact that when there had been a bad season and a great fall in prices, the Government found it necessary to upset the basis on which the judicial rents were fixed, those judicial rents which were supposed to be as sacred and unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. We know the consternation expressed by the noble Lord at the head of the Government when the idea of touching those judicial rents was first mentioned, and yet in 1887 they were obliged to do it. I say that if the Sub-Commissioners and valuers had been fairly and impartially chosen at first, and some regard had been paid to the tenants' interests, there would have been no necessity for interfering with the judicial rents in the years 1887, 1888, and 1889, because they would have been fairly fixed. I hold the opinion, and it is shared by many others, that if hereafter bad seasons occur, together with a fall in prices, the judicial rents now fixed will again have to be revised and reduced, because even now the valuers and Commissioners are fixing the rents too high. Sufficient evidence has already been brought forward to prove that the landlord's influence is to a large extent the



determining factor in the fixing of the judicial rents. It is one of the misfortunes attaching to legislation in this House, that it is never able to do anything which bears the stamp of finality, and the value of the existing land law has been seriously diminished by the way in which these appointments have been made. Another complaint I have to make in relation to the land valuers is, as to the perfunctory way in which their duties are discharged. I will give an instance. A friend of mine, having an interest in a certain holding which he intended to improve, applied to have a judicial rent fixed, but in the meantime obtained the services of a valuer of his own, who went over the land, and fixed its valuation at figures which my friend kept secret. When the Court valuer went to the holding, he merely took a look round the potato patch and the fields adjacent to the house, got upon his car and drove off. When that gentleman's valuation came to be known, the tenant absolutely declined to accept it, and the result was that no judicial rent was fixed, and the landlord had to allow a much larger reduction of rent than the Court valuer had advised. In another case in County Kerry the land valuer, Mr. T. R. Bateman, swore that the value was £24. It was shown, however, to be only £17, and in cross-examination Mr. Bateman admitted that he only went to the corner of a field here and there on the farm. The fact is that these valuers are practically allowed to do as they like. They go and look at the best part of a farm, and the Sub-Commissioners in fixing the judicial rent are almost invariably swayed by the figures given by the valuers. Under these circumstances I say we are justified in asking the Government on what principle they intend to proceed. Do they intend that the influence of the landlords is to predominate? If these appointments continue to be made in the future as in the past, it will be necessary before very long to have another Land Act, because the Land Act of 1881 will be shorn of its best traditions and be utterly useless to the greater portion of the agricultural community in Ireland. (8.25.)

(8.56.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): When this Vote was discussed last year, I referred to the question of the

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salaries of the Land Purchase Commissioners. Since then those salaries have been placed on the Consolidated Fund, so that in future we are to be deprived of all opportunity of challenging the action of those gentlemen in Supply. Now, the salaries of the Purchase Commissioners are £2,000 a year, while the Fair Rent Commissioners receive £3,000, and I think if the Land Department is to be worked satisfactorily the salaries must be equalised. The state of affairs with regard to this Vote is similar to that which prevailed 10 years ago in regard to the salaries of the Resident Magistrates, who were paid more money than was intended by the Act under which the office was constituted. I think it desirable that the House should retain its power of criticising these salaries. I understand that next year a Bill is to be introduced which will level up the salaries of the Purchase Commissioners and equalise them with those paid to the Fair Rent Commissioners. I should be sorry to do anything to prevent that Bill passing, but we are bound to raise questions with regard to what we deem to be illegal payments. It occurs to me that a very valuable precedent has now been created whereby we may retain the hold we have on the action of the Purchase Commissioners. It may be said we have so often expressed confidence in these gentlemen that we ought not to oppose a Bill for the advancement of their salaries. I should be very sorry to have to oppose a Bill for an equalisation of the salaries, but we are on the eve of a dissolution, and I believe we shall soon have a Liberal Government who will be able to deal with this matter in a manner such as I have suggested. I pity these two gentlemen if they are deprived of £1,000 each during the present year. It will be a grievous hardship if, having been promised this additional £1,000, they do not receive it. But I suppose matters will be so managed that the advancement of the salaries will date from the date when the Land Purchase Act received the Royal Assent. The amalgamation of the two bodies of Commissioners took place in spite of our protests, and as we think against the best interests of the farmers and taxpayers generally; but as it has been effected, of course, we as far as we can

will allow nothing in the nature of inequality between the Commissioners. I now come to the charge for the collection of agricultural statistics. It appears that the taxpayers are paying £1,100 a year to the Land Commissioner for the collection of these statistics. This is an invention and innovation of Mr. Wrench, owing to a complaint three or four years ago of great looseness in the collection of agricultural statistics in Ireland made by the Registrar General's Department. For instance, when men were receiving at their own doors 3d. a stone for potatoes, the prices in the statistics appeared as 9d. and 1s. This arose from the fact that the prices were gathered at some central place, such as Cork or Dublin. In 1887 the Government undertook to revise the rents. For this purpose Mr. Wrench sent down to the fairs a number of people whom he called investigators to ascertain the prices paid for different agricultural produce. I prefer that this matter should not be managed by Mr. Wrench's Department. It was one thing, as long as there was an absolute necessity for it, as I think there was, to some extent, three years ago when Section 30 was in operation. That necessity has now passed away, and I see no reason why a number of shady gentlemen who probably never had any interest in agriculture until this idea occurred to Mr. Wrench, should be retained upon work which I believe to be no longer of permanent value. I look upon their statistics as tinged with the possibility of suspicion, at any rate. If we are to have statistics collected, let us go back to the Registrar General's Office. If the returns of that Office are not accurate there is no suspicion of want of *bona fides* about them, it is simply that the statistics have been taken at the central markets instead of at the peasants' holdings. Another point I desire to bring to the notice of the Government is with regard to the action of the Land Purchase Commissioners in not taking proper precautions as to the Salters' Estate. Two or three years ago the Land Commissioners were much more anxious to effect sales of estates than they are to-day. They have grown cautious, and I think rightly so. Look at the mischief their action has led to in the case of the Salters' Estate. Two hundred and forty-two

tenants have been processed by the Salters' Company for arrears, amounting to £2,353 11s. 2d. I ask what pressure are the Government going to put on the Salters' Company in the matter. The Government hold one-fifth of the entire money, and as far as I can learn, the tenants purchased their holdings under the belief that they would not be called upon to pay the arrears. Subsequently the Salters' Company got the tenants to sign bills in respect of the arrears, with the result that while the Land Purchase Commissioners and the tenants believed that a clear bill of health practically existed between the tenants and landlords, as a matter of fact the outstanding arrears were kept over the tenants' heads. The other day one of the tenants appealed. I am not in a position to say that the question of law decided in that case was the same which was involved in the cases of the other 241 tenants, but I think we may take it that it was so. That acute and able Judge, Judge Holmes, reversed the decree which had been granted by the Recorder of Derry in respect of the old arrears. I take it Judge Holmes must have come to the conclusion that the bargain between the Salters' Company and the tenants involved a practical wiping out of the arrears. Under the circumstances, I trust the Government will approach the Salters' Company to prevent injustice being done. The arrears range from £3 to £17. I have had a little to do with one of the London Companies, and I think they acted with great consideration. I am amazed that a body like the Salters' Company should continue to harry these tenants for such paltry arrears.

\*(9.16.) MR. MADDEN: I think the hon. and learned Gentleman will recognise that it would be impossible for the Government to make any such application of the one-fifth constituting the guarantee deposit as he has suggested; but if I were to go into the question I would be out of order. I pass on, therefore, to the question of the relative position of the Land Purchase Commissioners and the Fair Rent Commissioners. The policy of the Government is embodied in the Land Department Bill, and is not only to amalgamate the two Departments of the Land Commission, but to unite into one great Land Depart-

ment all the Departments engaged in the sale and transfer or valuation of land in Ireland. That policy the Government hope to be able to carry into effect. I entertain a strong hope that the measure which the Government will introduce next Session will be approved by Parliament as a non-contentious measure. I think complete amalgamation and complete equalisation of the position and salaries follows as a necessary consequence of the legislation we have already adopted. With regard to the collection of agricultural statistics I do not gather from the observations of the hon. and learned Gentleman that he doubts the value of statistics of this kind. No one connected with the sale or transfer of land in Ireland, or in the fixing of fair rents, can possibly undervalue the collection of agricultural statistics. I do not quite gather from the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman what practical suggestion he makes. Personally, I think it would be a pity if the collection of the statistics in question by the Land Department were discontinued.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The Registrar General has been collecting these statistics. Are there to be two bodies collecting statistics?

\*MR. MADDEN: I do not in the least attempt to minimise the value of the information collected by the Registrar General, but the hon. and learned Gentleman is aware that the Registrar General has not the machinery at his disposal for the collection of these particular statistics; he has not the means to send men to attend the various farms, and ascertain the prices of the produce sold.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Every newspaper in the country gives what are called market reports, and if such reports were not correct the newspapers would not be bought. In the Dublin papers, of all shades of opinion, reports are given of the prices obtained at the different markets, and no one challenges their accuracy. I strongly object to Mr. Wrench being allowed to boss the collection of these statistics under a system which originally arose out of a state of circumstances very different to the present. I am satisfied that a clerk in the Registrar General's office could day by day gather

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from the newspapers the exact range of prices in the different Irish markets. With regard to the staff of the Land Department, it is only fair to give the Government warning that next year we shall watch closely that staff, and if necessary criticise the various appointments. I do not suppose for a moment that the Chief Secretary intends to cram particular people into the Department and exclude others. He will not take the trouble to do that, but I am afraid others will. I presume that the gentlemen who are likely to be left out in the cold will have voices and pens, and that, therefore, their complaints will reach the proper authorities.

(9.25.) MR. SEXTON: Although the question of the Salters' Estate is outside the scope of the Vote, I do think that the Land Commission, in the exercise of their functions, could interpose. 242 families are threatened with eviction by reason of the demands made upon them. Those demands are in contravention of the rules of the Land Commission and of the spirit of the law. The Salters' Company deceived the Land Commission in the matter of the facts relating to the sales. The London Companies are amenable to public opinion; and if the Land Commission, in the exercise of their functions, were to address to the Salters' Company a public letter detailing the facts and laying emphasis on the circumstance that they procured the sale of the estate by concealment of facts, I imagine it would lead to a cessation of proceedings. I am disposed to agree with my hon. and learned Friend with regard to the collection of agricultural statistics. The Department of the Registrar General is totally impartial as between landlord and tenant, and its statistics would be regarded with more confidence than those collected under the superintendence of Mr. Wrench. My hon. Friend has referred to the question of the salaries of the Commissioners, but it will be time to discuss the larger scheme of amalgamation when we have it actually before us. What we have before us now is the fact that in the Land Purchase Bill the Government have declared equality of position between the five Commissioners. The moment when that equality of position can be exercised has not yet arrived. Equality of position should carry with it

equality of salary, and this from the moment the Act—and I suppose we may practically call it an Act—gives equality of jurisdiction, and, therefore, I would suggest to the Government that in their Department Bill they should give retrospective action to the provision for equality of salaries. I had occasion lately to call attention to a curious transaction in connection with a Land Commissioner, to the fact that Mr. Wrench was formerly agent and also a tenant of Sir Victor Brooke, and that after he became a Land Commissioner he prosecuted proceedings for the purchase of his own farm; and it was only in consequence of the remonstrance of another official that he desisted. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Wrench should be honoured by being made a member of the Congested Districts Board. Someone ought to be appointed who is not connected with the landlord class, and who could really sympathise with the poor tenants of the West. A great deal of the success of the Board will depend upon which member of the Land Commission is placed upon it. I should be glad to know it is still open to consideration whether Mr. Wrench is the most suitable man. The Chief Secretary is nominally a member of the Board, but, of course, he cannot give any constant attention to the proceedings. There are still a very large number of fair-rent cases to be heard, some 30,000 I think, and it is doubtful whether the reductions in the staff have not been larger than the position warrants, having in view the possible increase of cases under the Long Leaseholders Bill, cases in which, the landlords refusing to come to terms of purchase, the tenants will be free to apply for the fixing of fair rents. Between now and the 1st of January, under the Land Purchase Act, the Land Commission and the Treasury will have cast upon them a duty of great importance—that is, what shall be the number of the now-called temporary staff who shall take the position of permanent Civil servants. I hope that in permanently re-organising the staff regard will be had to the desirability of not disturbing the internal economy of the Purchase and Rent Departments more than is absolutely necessary. It is extremely important that the opinions of the Purchase Commissioners in regard

to the retention of officials appointed by themselves should have decisive weight, and that, except in the case of some overwhelming reason to the contrary, regard should be had to seniority and length of service. Of course, I do not mean that incompetence should be retained because it extends over many years' service; but if a man has discharged his duties with diligence and efficiency for, say, 10 years, his claim to be placed upon the permanent staff should be prior to that of a man whose service extends over a shorter period. We shall keep very close attention upon the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman discharges this important engagement; and if he fails to correspond to our expectations, or, at any rate, our hopes, we shall consider it our duty to refer to these matters next Session.

(9.40.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of the various points raised, I take first that referred to by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford. It is perfectly true that the collection of statistics as a whole and on all subjects is rightly left to the Registrar General's Department. But in order to carry out the Bill of 1887 a system was started of collecting on the spot agricultural statistics based upon actual transactions. It will, I think, be admitted that for information so important for Ireland newspaper reports cannot be relied upon. Indeed, that is not done by any Agricultural Department either in England, France, Germany, or Italy. The hon. Member has asked some questions respecting the conduct of Mr. Wrench in the purchase of property that he initiated as the agent of Sir Victor Brooke. It is alleged that Mr. Wrench took a practical interest in the matter, even after he had been made a Land Commissioner. I am informed that, though it is true that Mr. Wrench was consulted by Mr. MacCarthy, the Land Purchase Commissioner responsible for sanctioning the sale, it is not accurate to say that he took any part in the transaction other than answering the questions put to him by Mr. MacCarthy. The hon. Member appears to think that the Government acted partially or rashly in appointing Mr. Wrench a member of the Congested Districts Board for agricultural purposes, but I am somewhat surprised at the criticism after the suggestion thrown

out earlier in Debate by hon. Gentlemen opposite that the Purchase Commissioners should be allowed to proceed as rapidly as possible with their work. As to the appointment of the permanent staff of the Commission, I think it will not be possible for me to escape responsibility in that connection, and the hon. Member may rely I shall do my best, in conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, to consider all the applications, and shall certainly decide in favour of seniority where other things are the same, or anything like the same. The number of men to be appointed will be far less than the number of those who have done good service hitherto, but I can assure the hon. Member that no exception will be made in favour of the recommendations of one set of Commissioners more than another. I will do my best to weigh carefully all recommendations, though I cannot hold out the prospect of satisfying everybody.

(9.50.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I hope the discontinuance of the service of men whose term will expire in August next will not prejudice claims to appointment on the permanent staff.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Oh, no.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I assume that though the tenure of office expires on August 22, the men will be retained while there are fair rent cases to decide?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no ground for thinking that there will be a discontinuance of the services of the gentlemen employed upon fair rent cases; there will, no doubt, be still a large number of cases to dispose of, and the sooner they are disposed of the better.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman adopt the suggestion that the Land Commission should address a remonstrance to the Salters' Company in relation to their demands upon their tenants for arrears, and to the threatened evictions?

MR. MADDEN: I cannot see how in this, a matter between private litigants, it is possible for the Government or the Department to interfere, even if we had facts before us to justify the assumption that the result of the appeal in the one case would govern the 239 other cases.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.): The remarks of the hon. Member have

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

called attention to a point of considerable importance. Undoubtedly the Salters' Company have treated their tenants harshly. I have a letter from one tenant who says he is cast in £346 for costs which he is quite unable to pay. I feel convinced that if attention had been called to the matter by the Land Commission the Salters' Company would not have taken the stringent measures they have taken. I think the Commission might well call the attention of the company to the subject.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Now that the "bitter cry" arises from Liberal Unionism it ought to receive attention.

Vote agreed to.

6. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £84,686, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries, Allowances, Expenses, and Pensions of various County Court Officers, of Divisional Commissioners, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and the Expenses of Revision."

(9.55.) MR. T. M. HEALY: The Chief Secretary, in the course of debate last week stated, in reply to myself, that the Government had, as a matter of fact, reduced the number of Resident Magistrates in Ireland. He stated that, whereas the number during the time of Earl Spencer's administration was 85, it is now 72. That statement requires some explanation, because, looking at the Votes for 1890-91 and for the present year, I find in each case the number given as 74, and the total expenditure £40,450. It will not be disputed that 1890-91 was, for the most part, a period of stringent coercion, so that we may assume that a full staff of Resident Magistrates were employed. But the number still appears to be 74. After our long Debates I will not say more upon this now, but I think the entire question of Resident Magistrates should be looked into. We are a long way from the days when the Duke of Wellington appointed Resident Magistrates as a mode of relieving the local population, and as a protection against the local gentry and Magistrates. In my boyish days I remember the Resident Magistrates, then called Stipendiaries, were regarded as decent

men by the people, and as buffers between the local magistracy and the people. But all that is now changed. I think it only reasonable that the Government should have a staff of Resident Magistrates to deal with the normal crime of the country, but I think we ought to have a Return of the appointments and average salaries of the Resident Magistrates for every 10 years from the date of the institution of that Service under the Act of William IV. If such a Return were granted, we should be able to see the exact condition of the force. The population of Ireland was in those days twice as large as it is now. Faction fighting, which was encouraged by the Castle, and which was enjoyed by Under Secretaries as an amusement and supported like cock-fighting, was in full blast, and the number of murders was in an appalling degree greater than at present, and the police force was not so efficient. You had not so many policemen, or police huts, or police barracks, and the Government had not the railways and the telegraphs they have now. The position of the Resident Magistrates in those days was this: They were out of touch with the Castle, and had to act very much on their own responsibility. They had to be Judge, jury, gallows and all. But now, when all this is changed, though crime is so much reduced, the staff of Resident Magistrates is becoming more and more bloated every year. In view of the claim made by the Chief Secretary, that peace has been restored in Ireland, I think we should be afforded some ground for hoping that the number of these Magistrates will be reduced. I do not say that the men should be turned out into the cold; but when you have 70 or 80 of them, you must have one or two a year dropping off by death or ordinary retirement, and I trust that the Government will come to the conclusion that as vacancies occur they shall not be filled up. In the meantime, I demand that these men should each be tied up to his own venue. It is open to them at present to go from one Licensing Sessions to another to deal with the licences of different men who happen to be out of favour with the Government. They are in the habit of stopping licences in various districts, notwithstanding that the decision in "*Sharpe v. Wakefield*" does not

apply to Ireland. With regard to the Revision Sessions there may, in consequence of political affairs in Ireland, be an increase in the duties thrown upon the County Court Judges, and that is a circumstance which ought to be taken into account in the appointment of the men. Formerly in this regard we only took into account the circumstances of the constituencies of Ulster and Dublin, but now it occurs to me we shall have to consider the circumstances of other parts of the country. Of course, we have the safeguard against an intolerable number of objections, that those who raise them have to use a 3d. stamp in each case, and I question whether, amongst those who would be likely to put forward objections, after the recent elections, there is much money left for 3d. stamps. But however that may be, the claims may be in excess of the normal number; therefore, I would urge upon the Government not to have the County Court Judges overwrought by having too large an amount of business of this kind thrown upon them. Circulars ought to be sent out to those who have duties to perform in connection with the franchise, directing that the claims of all persons entitled to the franchise should, in the first place, be properly attended to. In fully three-fourths of Ireland we have in the past acquiesced in a kind of rustiness on the part of the Revising Authorities; but owing to changed circumstances, we must now urge the necessity of having the claim of every man to be put on the register attended to, and of having every objection to a claim considered. We have complained on former occasions of the class of gentlemen appointed as Revision Officers, and undoubtedly, if you take the case of the appointments made during the past five or six years, you will find that an extraordinary proportion of Tories have been selected. I believe that out of some 26 Revising Barristers probably about six are Liberals and the other 20 are Tories. That is a state of things which is not warranted by the political character of Ireland—not even in Ulster or Dublin, where there is now a greater proportion of Nationalists than Tories. Then, again, it would be more satisfactory, and would preclude the idea of fear, favour, or affection, if the Government were to adopt a rota or some system of chance in the distribution

of the venues in which these gentlemen sit to deal with election matters. And I would point out that as we are likely soon to have a Liberal Administration, it would be a good thing for the present Government to lay down rules for the regulation of the action of their successors.

(10.9.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will myself deal with the earlier part of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down, leaving it to my right hon. and learned Friend to deal with that part which relates to the Revising Barristers. In the earlier part of his speech the hon. and learned Gentleman referred to the question of Resident Magistrates, their number, and the policy of having Resident Magistrates at all. On that point I must remind the Committee that these Magistrates were originally appointed as a great benefit to the community. That was, I think, in 1836. Their number was increased very rapidly until 1855, when the population had not reached the total reduction to which it afterwards fell, but had suffered one of the severest reductions recorded. At that period the number of Resident Magistrates was fixed at 72, and from that time it has never sunk below that level. In 1870, in relation to certain circumstances, a few additional Resident Magistrates were appointed. The Government have, however, for some time past been engaged in reducing the number by the process of not filling up vacancies when they occur, and now, since the present estimate was prepared, the number for the first time for many years past has again sunk to the normal level at which it stood during the 30 or 40 years which preceded the agitation of 1879-80.

MR. SEXTON: What has been the highest number during the administration of the right hon. Gentleman?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In 1882-3 the number reached 85, and certainly it has never been augmented during the time I have been Chief Secretary. I do not say it will be impossible to reduce the number below 72, but I do not think that any cause has been shown for doing so, and I doubt whether it would be expedient. Of course, hon. Gentlemen, naturally enough, look upon Resident Magistrates in the light of particular

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

transactions under particular laws to which they strongly object. I do not wish to go into that point, but probably hon. Gentlemen will admit that, having those laws to administer, the Resident Magistrates have shown impartiality in the administration of them. ["Oh!"] I do not wish to raise controversial matter, but I think if hon. Gentlemen will tax their memories they will find that their objections were rather to the law and the prosecutions which the Attorney General and the Government allowed to take place than to the way in which the law was administered by the Resident Magistrates. I do not think that 72 Resident Magistrates are at all too many for the needs of the country, although whether the number can be reduced or not is a matter to which I will give my careful attention. I certainly think that even if the number could be reduced it could not be reduced to any great extent. Hitherto, I have confined my labour to reducing the number to what has always been recognised as the normal number of Resident Magistrates sanctioned by tradition and, I think, even embodied in Statute.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Why should they go out of their own districts?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think a hard and fast rule could be laid down in regard to that matter. I think that a Resident Magistrate should mainly discharge his functions in his own district, but I do not think it would be a wise proceeding on the part of any Government to say that these paid Magistrates should not go into adjoining districts to try cases, no matter what was going on. I think all must feel that that would be a limitation of the powers of the Executive not at all calculated to advance the cause of the proper administration of justice, and one to which those responsible for the government of the country could hardly be expected to assent.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Why are they sent out of their own districts to attend Licensing Sessions? Licensing Sessions, surely, have nothing to do with the government of the country.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope the holders of licences will not stand in the way of the good government of the country in the future; but I cannot say

that they have done so in the past. The hon. Member knows that in the giving of these licences has centred the warmest Debates which have taken place as to the administration of Ireland. Party feeling has been excited, as the hon. Gentleman knows, and the cases have in many instances been such as could not with advantage have been dealt with by unpaid Magistrates. The hon. Member referred to the statement of the Duke of Wellington when he said, and very properly, that it would be a monstrous thing to leave the administration of the law in Ireland to unpaid Magistrates. I admit that things have greatly changed in Ireland since the time of the Duke of Wellington, but, nevertheless, though a great change has taken place in the difficulties which the Magistracy have to cope with, it would be as wrong now to leave the fortunes and the liberties of the population of the district, possibly a minority, to the unpaid Magistracy as it would have been in the days of the Duke of Wellington. I believe it is absolutely necessary to have a paid Magistracy in Ireland as it is in England and in Scotland, and that, after the controversies of the past 10 years have faded away, people will regard, as they have long regarded, those gentlemen as being the mainstay of justice and liberty in those districts where they have to administer the law.

(10.20.) MR. SEXTON: I cannot sympathise with the highly poetical peroration of the right hon. Gentleman as to the Resident Magistrates being the mainstay of justice and liberty in Ireland. As to the Revising Barristers, I regret that the right hon. Gentleman avoided the question, and that he did not give us an assurance in regard to the next appointments. There has been something of indecency in the way in which the Government have made the appointments in the past. I am not going so far as to say that I do not think a strong Party man could be a good Revising Barrister; but, still, I would invite the Government to give the Liberals and Nationalists a chance when the next appointments are made. With regard to the Resident Magistrates, no doubt they were more numerous in Lord Spencer's day. If I am not mistaken the present number, which is 72 or 74, is

the highest number we have had at any time in the course of the administration of the present Chief Secretary. I am not disposed to lean very much upon the question as to whether the Resident Magistrates should be bound to a county, or whether they should be subject to being moved here and there. I rather think that where you have a class of persons discharging ministerial functions, and in the pay of the State, it might be convenient, under special circumstances, to move them from one place to another. But my objection to the staff of the Resident Magistrates is that it is far too numerous. My hon. and learned Friend has pointed out that when they were first appointed the population of Ireland was far greater, approximately, than it is now, that faction fights were more prevalent, that the general state of society was much more disorderly, and that there was need for a large staff of Resident Magistrates. But I fail to see why we should have 72 or 74 at the present time. The unpaid Magistrates of Ireland are not as illiterate as they used to be. I suppose that in the time of William IV., the unpaid Magistrates of Ireland were about as illiterate a class of men as you could find in any part of the world. Now they are well educated, and the Courts of First Instance in the country are served with a competent body of practitioners. Moreover, I do not think, except on very rare occasions, that the unpaid Justices need any special guidance. The unpaid Magistrates shine at Petty Sessions, whereas of the 74 Resident Magistrates I believe one-half of them have no pretensions to a scholarly or systematic knowledge of the law. I hold that it is nothing short of indecent to allow these Magistrates to turn up in clusters on the local Bench and outvote the unpaid Justices as to what justice shall be meted out to some licensed victualler who has been guilty of a breach of the peace. It does not tend to increase respect for the law to see the unpaid Judiciary overborne by these paid officials. I am at a loss to understand what Resident Magistrates can now find to do. While Irishmen were united upon all questions, they found occupation in breaking up meetings, and so on, but lately they have been rather inclined to "sit on the hedge



and see it out." I think there is an opportunity for economy in reducing their number. There was an attempt made to increase the salaries of these officials, but that attempt fell through; and then, these gentlemen being dismissed from the posts of Resident Magistrates, the Lord Chancellor appointed them to the Commission of the Peace. It is a most objectionable practice that men should go about acting in the capacity of Magistrates in half a dozen counties. I object altogether to the appointment of these Divisional Commissioners. You have got rid of the legal difficulty by giving them Commissions of the Peace from the Lord Chancellor, and you pay them £1,000 each, while Resident Magistrates do not get more than £675. The Divisional Commissioners are an excrescence on the police system, and in my humble judgment it is not only objectionable to pay them high salaries, but it creates discontent among the regular Magistrates. There is a tendency on the part of a Divisional Commissioner to gather round him a kind of staff of a semi-military character, and these men have a tendency to make alarmist reports when there is nothing to report upon. The Government would do well to get rid of Divisional Commissioners—their functions are detrimental to the public interest; and now that you have returned to the ordinary conditions of social life, you should return to the ordinary mode of administration also.

(10.34.) MR. FLYNN: It has been well said you may prove anything with statistics, but it is difficult for the right hon. Gentleman to prove from this Vote the success of his administration in Ireland, because we find that notwithstanding the repeal of the Coercion Act, and the return to law and order, there is still an increase on the Vote of nearly £2,000. The right hon. Gentleman in his touching peroration said that the Irish people would look back with admiration on the manner in which these Magistrates had performed their duty, and he also remarked that perhaps our dislike of the system of Resident Magistrates proceeded more from distrust and dislike of the law than of the men employed in this exceptional work. Well, the law is odious, and it has been made still more odious by the manner of its administra-

*Mr. Sexton*

tion. The administration of the Coercion Act is one of the most disgraceful chapters of English misgovernment in Ireland. So disgraceful has it been that not only the Irish people, but the people of England have expressed an opinion in condemnation of it. There are some questions that go deeply into the consideration of this Vote in relation to these 74 Resident Magistrates. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will inform the Committee why, since 1887, the seniority list has been suppressed? Has it been suppressed in order to cloak the unjust manner in which certain favourites of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary have been appointed to positions of a lucrative character as a reward for the performance of duties under the Coercion Act? Is it a fact that Mr. Horne, who made himself notorious in making out the *Times* case, has been promoted over many Resident Magistrates, and that Mr. Harvey has been promoted over several of his seniors? The notorious Mr. Cecil Roche, though only appointed in 1886, has been advanced over at least 11 senior Magistrates. What is to be the reward of Mr. Shannon for his conduct in relation to the Tipperary trials? Colonel Caddel, although destitute of elementary legal knowledge, is, I understand, to be promoted to the position of Registrar of Petty Sessions. No wonder that in view of these things the position of Resident Magistrate should be coveted by half-pay officers and retired constabulary officers! There is a considerable salary attached to the position, and considerable opportunity of carrying out those despotic notions which naval and military life developes. Will the right hon. Gentleman issue the seniority list which, for reasons we know nothing of, was suppressed four years ago? I had intended to go into the question of the direct connection between Resident Magistrates and Dublin Castle, and to show that these Magistrates take their orders as regularly from Dublin Castle as any Civil Service clerk takes his orders from the head of his Department. That was my intention; but I shall not do so, for we do not on this occasion propose to discuss these Estimates at the length they have been discussed in former years. But I may just

mention that I recently came across a letter to the *Times* from Earl Cowper, in which he states that in Ireland all local matters are really managed through the instrumentality of the Resident Magistrates, and this, I think, is a strong proof of the truth of my contention, coming from one who, having been Viceroy of Ireland, is likely to have knowledge. We know also that Resident Magistrates are the medium of communication between Dublin Castle and the landlord class. We know that Mr. Slack and Colonel Caddell had long interviews with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Smith-Barry's agent, and that at the time when Colonel Caddell was executive officer in Tipperary. Another point often raised in connection with this Vote is the combination in the Resident Magistrate of executive and judicial functions. I referred to this matter on the Vote for the Chief Secretary, but I presume he did not attach much importance to my observations, for he made no reply. We have had many instances of this combination of functions in the person of one Magistrate in one district more or less about the same time. In June last year, Mr. Gardner, Resident Magistrate of Cork, was sitting on the Bench, and he also was in charge of the military and police force called out to suppress public meetings. Then, again, we found Colonel Caddell exercising both functions in Tipperary, and on one occasion counsel objected to Colonel Caddell adjudicating on a charge of groaning at the police because he was in charge of the police on the day in question, and this gentleman oracularly disposed of the objection by the remark—

"On the day of the evictions I was acting ministerially, but in the present instance I am acting judicially; the functions are quite distinct."

Mr. Shannon, too, combined the two functions over and over again, being in charge of the police when making arrests, and occupying a seat on the Bench when the defendants were tried. Another objectionable feature is the manner in which these Resident Magistrates are moved about from place to place. The Act 6 & 7 William IV., under which these Magistrates were originally appointed, was for the express

purpose, as their name implies, of appointing them in certain localities; and the Act of 1874 made no change in that respect. But we know that Mr. Cecil Roche turns up in various counties. One day we find him heading an evicting force in Clare; shortly afterwards we find him sitting clothed in magisterial dignity in Tralee; and a little later we find him in Cork, and a highly indecent instance was that in which he interposed in relation to the trade dispute in Cork City. One of the worst features of the system is the manner in which these so-called "Resident" Magistrates—I suppose on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle—are moved about from one county to another. We have often had to complain of packed juries, and we have equally to complain of packing the Bench. From all parts we have seen the Magistrates assemble—five and seven together—to pack the Bench at the Licensing Sessions at Tipperary and elsewhere. It is a scandal and a disgrace.

(10.59.) MR. P. J. POWER: There is an item in this Vote for the temporary Chairman of the County and City of Waterford, and I take the opportunity of asking the Chief Secretary some information in reference to the removal of Judge Waters, who has made himself obnoxious by his reversal of the decisions of Removable Magistrates. It would be gratifying to me and to my constituents to have some explanation from the Government on this point, so that it may be known that this man has not been superseded because he would not allow himself to be made a Castle hack. The Chief Secretary has, in backing up his supporters whenever cases of this kind have been brought before him, done more to turn law and order in Ireland into a mockery than anything that has been done by Nationalist agitators. If they cannot openly convict Nationalists who may be accused of what they regard as a crime, the Government officials have a ready mode of action. I am reminded of a case in which a number of men were charged with riot. There was not a shred of evidence to substantiate that charge, and it was dismissed, but some of the defendants were ordered to find bail for their future good conduct. And

because they refused to find bail, inasmuch as that would be tantamount to acknowledging that they had been guilty, they were sent to gaol. The record of the present Administration will be that it has backed up its officials, rightly or wrongly, and has always preferred their testimony to that of independent witnesses, thus having done more to bring law and order into disrepute than any number of agitators. The Irish Members would fail in their duty if they allowed this Vote to pass without comment. I therefore move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £79,686, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. P. J. Power.*)

(11.5.) *DR. TANNER* (Cork Co., Mid.): It struck me as highly amusing that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should have appealed to future generations, and said nothing whatever about the past. He seems to ignore the cruelty and oppression perpetrated on our unfortunate people. The hon. Member for North Longford has reminded us that in days gone by the Resident Magistrates were not removable; they were gentlemen then, and were not appointed merely for the purpose of suppressing Irish liberties; they possessed the confidence of the people and made the law respected. Now, however, we see Removable Magistrates brought into Ireland—men like Mr. O'Neill Segrave, who is responsible for the murders of Mitchelstown, and Colonel Caddell, who was brought from Africa at the request of the Prime Minister because he had had some dealings with the Hottentots, and, therefore, was supposed to be able to enforce the noble Lord's behests with regard to the Irish people. From the beginning to the end of the history of the mal-administration of Ireland there is nothing which so stigmatises the conduct of any Government as the appointment of these Removable Magistrates. Mr. Odder was brought from Clare, Mr. Gardner from Cork, Major Waring from another district, and Mr. Constadine and Mr. Bruin from else-

*Mr. P. J. Power*

where, to Tipperary in order to prevent the renewal of licences at that place. The Bench was, in point of fact, deliberately packed by these Removable Magistrates in order to exact vengeance on the tenantry of New Tipperary. As has been stated by my hon. Friends, whenever there is a job to be perpetrated in Ireland, these Magistrates are sent for to Dublin Castle. How does the Chief Secretary explain his own position, and the consultations he has had with these Magistrates at certain times? I have here a cutting from a newspaper which deals with the manner in which these Divisional Magistrates are called for again and again. It speaks of the arrival of the Chief Secretary, and then of consultations at the Castle. There is a consultation between the Lord Chancellor and some of the Divisional Magistrates. Again, we are told that all the Divisional Magistrates were in consultation with the Chief Secretary. These men are summoned to Dublin, and they come up and get their instructions. The result is, there is no such thing as a fair trial by these men. Their office has been instituted for the purpose of abolishing one of the fundamental features of justice—for the purpose of doing away with trial by jury. And here I would observe, if the right hon. Gentleman is right in saying there is no disturbance in Ireland, and that he has reduced Irish agitation to a minimum, why does he not give us back trial by jury, and abandon this abnormal system which is an outrage on justice and on the Irish people? I see it stated in the *Irish Times* that Captain Turner, Captain Walsh, and Mr. Cecil Roche, have been in attendance on the Chief Secretary during the past week. Why was Mr. Cecil Roche wanted in Dublin? Was he brought from Tralee to Cork specially to deal with the trades disputes of the last few days? The accused persons in that case were tried under the Coercion Act; but it was found that the prosecution had gone a little too far, and that course of procedure was dropped and the men tried under the ordinary law and bound over to keep the peace. I see that this year there is a slight reduction in the item of salaries, and I want to know whether these four Divisional Commissioners, who were sent from one place to another,

get anything more than is set down in the Estimate? I am afraid that in connection with many of these Estimates there is not that accuracy which we find in the English Votes. It is utterly ridiculous to give these men the bloated salaries they receive, which are absurd when compared with the payments of officers on active service. Moreover, I wish to know how it is that after the declaration of the Chief Secretary that Ireland is tranquil, and considering that the population has diminished by 500,000 since the right hon. Gentleman was appointed, the Government still intend to maintain the present standing Army in Ireland, and to continue the services of these Removable Magistrates—men who carry out the orders received from Dublin Castle, but who, as regards any other function, are absolutely useless. It can only be to perpetuate a standing system of jobbery, and of outrage on the people of Ireland, and to maintain, at the expense of law and justice, the system of oppression and rack-rents on the part of the landlords against the unfortunate inhabitants of my country.

(11.20.) MR. MORTON: I cannot agree with the action of the Removable Magistrates in Ireland during the past few years, and I am astonished to find that they have cost the Imperial Exchequer something like £50,000 per annum. We have no such charge in England or Wales. For my part, I should like to see these Magistrates elected by the people instead of being appointed by the Government. It is only Magistrates so elected who can give satisfaction to the people. It is not likely that the country can be satisfactorily governed under Magistrates who have not the confidence of the people. As the representative of an English constituency, I heartily concur in what has been said by the Irish Members on this subject, and shall gladly vote for the reduction of the Estimate.

MR. FLYNN: I hope the Chief Secretary will give an answer to the question put to him as to the combination of the executive and judicial functions in one Resident Magistrate in one and the same place.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With regard to the combination of the judicial and executive functions of a Resident Magistrate at the same time and place, I quite feel that, as far as possible, the different functions should be kept separate, and I have done my best to carry this out. Such cases have happened, and it would be too much to say they will never happen again unless two Magistrates are appointed in every district in Ireland—one to exercise judicial and another to exercise executive functions.

DR. TANNER: I should like to know, also, whether these Resident Magistrates are to be assembled in numbers and to outvote the unpaid Magistrates? If this be so, what is the use of appointing local Magistrates at all?

(11.30.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 54; Noes 90.—(Div. List, No. 390.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

7. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £66,084, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioner of Police, the Police Courts, and the Metropolitan Police Establishment of Dublin."

(11.38.) MR. MORTON: On the Vote on Account I raised the question of the cost of these police. I find that the total cost of the Dublin Police is about £150,000 per annum. We were, however, told by the Secretary to the Treasury on the Vote on Account that the money which we were asked to vote from Imperial funds was merely a grant in aid. I have found since that this is very different to a vote in aid. The whole charge of the Dublin Metropolitan Police is put on the Imperial funds, with the exception of a local contribution of nearly £50,000. I object to the Imperial taxpayers being called upon to pay any more to the City of Dublin Police than they do to the police of any other part of the United Kingdom. The people of Dublin should be called upon to manage and to pay for their own police. Moreover, £150,000 appears to be a most extraordinary sum to pay for the police of

a small city like Dublin. The charge is about £50,000 greater than that for the City of London Police, which is the best Police Force in the United Kingdom. I am told the City of Dublin Police are bigger men and are better in a military sense. But I object to the City of Dublin being governed by a military police at my expense. The Dublin police rate produces about £33,000. That comes to about 11d. in the £1. We in London pay a little over 5d. in the £1, and we get a sum equal to about 4d. in the £1 from the Consolidated Fund. Therefore, quite independently of the Imperial grant, the people of Dublin pay a great deal more for their police out of the rates than any other part of the United Kingdom. The payments for licences, pawnbrokers' duties, fines, and so on, bring up the amount of the local contribution to very nearly £50,000. I propose to move a reduction of the Vote as a matter of principle. I am afraid I shall not have all the Representatives of Ireland with me. It is an unfortunate thing—I do not say it is peculiar to Ireland—that Corporations and other similar bodies are only too pleased to get contributions from Imperial Funds. But I put it to the Representatives of Ireland whether, for the sake of getting this money from Imperial funds, they are not sacrificing their liberty and freedom? So anxious are the people of the City of London to preserve their liberty and freedom that they refuse to receive any money whatever from Imperial funds, because they know that if they accepted a contribution from such funds that such aid means Imperial interference. At present the Dublin Corporation have practically nothing to do with the management of their police. The present management of the police is very costly, and the mode of management practically reduces the people of Dublin to the position of a conquered country. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £65,084, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Morton.*)

(11.47.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): We would be very glad to accept *Mr. Morton*

the proposition on condition that we received the Customs and Excise Duties of the Port of Dublin. As long as we have to pay more than our fair share of taxation to the Imperial Exchequer, we do not think we ought to defray the whole cost of the Dublin Police. London receives an enormous subvention from the Imperial Revenue, and, as long as that is so, I think Dublin should receive a considerable subvention.

(11.49.) MR. CALDWELL: Whilst London and Dublin get a large subvention out of Imperial Funds for their police, the whole of Scotland only receives £155,000. Besides the grant for the Dublin police of £100,000, there is a charge of £1,380,000 for the Royal Irish Constabulary. We recognise that the Scotch force is a citizen force, and that therefore they can do with a small subvention. In Ireland circumstances are entirely different. The police there are managed by the Imperial Government, and necessarily the cost of the force is placed upon Imperial funds. But I think when there is a prospect of the introduction of a Local Government Bill for Ireland it is right to express a hope that the police of Ireland will be placed on the same footing as the police in Scotland and in England. [*Interruption.*] The hon. Members who interrupt do not attend the whole evening as we do, but come down at 10 and 11 o'clock and display impatience to get on with business. I do not object to this Vote, because under the existing state of things I think it is a very proper Vote.

(11.53.) MR. SEXTON: The extensive scope of the speech of the hon. Member for Peterborough has been still further widened by the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway. It is quite true that the citizens of Dublin are more heavily taxed than the citizens of any other city in the United Kingdom for the support of the local police force, and yet the Local Authority has no share or control or even influence over the force. It is a fact that if the Corporation of Dublin

want the services of a constable they have to pay for them, although the citizens contribute so largely to the cost of the force. As I said before to-night, I am conscious we are passing through a period of transition. If the Government fulfil their promise to introduce a Local Government Bill next year, we shall have an opportunity of discussing this and kindred questions, but whether we have that opportunity next year or not, I doubt not that in the following year we shall have an opportunity of discussing the question in a more important measure, namely, one granting Home Rule to Ireland. Under such circumstances, I do not think it necessary to discuss now the conditions under which this force is maintained. I think, however, that the force is unnecessarily expensive, because it is trained and framed with the intention of its being a political force, and it is because I believe the force need not be so strong under a native administration, that if my hon. Friend goes to a Division I shall consider it my duty to support him.

MR. MORTON: I think we should have some reply from the Government Bench. If they refuse to reply, we must assume that the force is maintained for political purposes.

(11.57.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 39; Noes 90.—(Div. List, No. 391.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £832,700, be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for 'the Expenses of the Royal Irish Constabulary.'"

\*(12.7.) MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): Desiring to make some observations regarding the anomalous character of the Irish Constabulary—regarding its numbers, its cost, and its constitution—I beg to move a reduction of £500 in the Vote. The House may, perhaps, be weary of the subject, it having been so often and so fully, upon previous occasions, treated by able speakers upon each recurring presentation of the Irish Esti-

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mates. So long as the force is maintained upon its present footing to rule, not to assist the Irish people in ruling themselves, so long will it be our duty to protest. It should startle anyone that the Vote for this force exceeds in amount the collective Votes for Education, Endowed Schools, National Gallery, Queen's Colleges, Reformatory Schools, Supreme Court of Judicature, Land Commission, and County Court Offices in Ireland. It is not against the maintenance of a proper police we contend—such as is necessary in all civilised communities for the upholding of law and order, the suppression of crime, the discountenancing of evil practices. Nor is it against the innate character of the members of the force. I am inclined to believe that in the constitution of the Irish Constabulary there are elements of superiority to the English system. No men make better policemen than ours when restrained under really free institutions, and a popular system of government. My heart has often bled for members of the force in the miserable position in which I have seen them placed by their superiors. We do not deny that they fulfil their duties in many of their civil relations. That they are not restrained with us—that they are held above the people and the freedom of the people—has been proved by a cloud of witnesses and on numberless occasions. I need not now repeat what I said in this regard when we were discussing the Chief Secretary's Vote. I need not again rehearse the story of the police outrages at Tipperary last September which I myself witnessed—and regarding which the evidence of 11 Members of Parliament present on the occasion has been set aside in favour of the evidence of a few constabulary officers and men, the accused and interested parties. I need not rehearse the story of the apparent connivance at the escape to America of Constable Palmer, of Shanballymore, accused of outrageous attacks on the houses of some of the peasantry. I need not again recount the story of how Constables Waters and O'Shea, convicted of fierce assaults on members of the Dublin Police Force, and sentenced by a Dublin Police Magistrate to several months' imprisonment with hard labour,

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were released by order of the Lord Lieutenant after a few days' incarceration. When I consider these cases, when I call to mind the devilish expressions on the faces of men batoning unoffending friends of mine by my side, who had not lifted a finger; when I think of the refusal even of water for the wounded by members of the force, it requires neither a knowledge of the past history of my country nor a wider view of politics to make all the manhood in me rebel against the political system under which we groan. When 11 Members of this House failed in securing justice where they themselves were witnesses, what must our people often suffer in remote districts where there are none to stand between them and an unbending, unsympathetic system of police rule? The most cursory examination of the Estimate should arrest attention. We have demands made upon the Exchequer for the support of a force of 13,000 constabulary to a population of 4,706,000, at a cost of £1,446,000, with its Inspector General, its Deputy Inspector, Assistant Inspectors General, Head Constable Major, its Sergeants, County Inspectors, Divisional Commissioners, and so forth. Here is a sum for "musketry instruction." Here is £11,475 for "servants' allowances to officers." Englishmen should consider whether the influence of such a force so foreign to their traditions is not likely ultimately to affect them when we find an item of £1,206 for "men serving in Great Britain." Here is £3,886 for "Repairs of arms, accoutrements and saddlery"; whilst lower down there is £207 for new "arms," and £800 for "ammunition." And yet this Vote is included in the Civil Service, not Army or Navy Estimates! The charge for medical allowance alone is £14,814, whilst 5,761 men are in receipt of pensions amounting to £305,388 per annum. Ireland has decreased in population since the institution of the Constabulary. It has advanced in education and civilisation; its crime has enormously decreased. It is now, perhaps, one of the most crimeless nations in Europe. In the increasing cost and numbers of the Constabulary we have one of the most startling proofs of the necessities to which Government

*Mr. Webb*

is driven to sustain a system in opposition to the wishes of the people—to sustain a bureaucratic system, the least evil of which is its cost; the worst, that its members create such a false volume of feeling in Ireland that you are blinded to the real desire of the masses of the population. I have drawn the following figures from Parliamentary Papers for the six past Census periods:—In 1841 the force numbered 8,700; 1851, 12,300; 1861, 12,600; 1871, 12,900; 1881, 12,000; 1891, 13,000. In 1841 it cost £426,000; 1851, £573,000; 1861, £697,000; 1871, £918,000; 1881, £1,193,000; 1891, £1,446,000. These figures speak for themselves. In 1841 the total cost per man was £48 14s.; 1851, £46 11s.; 1861, £55 6s.; 1871, £71 3s.; 1881, £99 8s.; 1891, £111 4s. In 1841 it amounted to per inhabitant of Ireland, 1s. 1d.; 1851, 1s. 9d.; 1861, 2s. 5d.; 1871, 3s. 4d.; 1881, 4s. 7d.; 1891, 6s. 1d. In 1841, there was one man to every 939 of the people; in 1851, 1 to every 530; 1861, 1 to 457; 1871, 1 to 418; 1881, 1 to 430; 1891, 1 to 362. These figures do not fully express the anomaly of one member of the constabulary to every 362 of our people, where one to every 939 was considered sufficient 50 years ago. Steam communication, telegraphs, telephones, breech-loaders instead of flintlocks—(doubtless we shall soon have magazine rifles)—make each man a greater force. It is not too much to say that 8,700 men in 1891 would be thrice the power of 8,700 in 1841 for a similar population; yet we have 13,000 men for a little over half the population. An Indian administrator once remarked to me that nothing more struck him in the condition of Ireland than the heavy hand with which it was necessary to hold her as compared to India. He instanced the extent of the Irish as compared to the Indian Civil Service, the numbers of the British Army in Ireland, generally put down as 30,000, one to each 156 of the population, compared to the 73,000 in India, one to 3,400. Even that does not give us a full conception of the relative positions. We must in addition compare the 13,000 constabulary in Ireland, practically a sepoy force, drawn from the people to keep the mass of the people in subjection, one to every 362 of the popu-

lation, with the 145,000 sepoys one to every 1,710 of the Indian people. Ireland, an integral sovereign portion of this great United Kingdom, requiring 30,000 troops, and 13,000 constabulary to keep down 4,706,000 people, whilst all India needs—India, so differing in history, in religion, in climate, in manners and customs, India with her population of 254,000,000—is 70,000 British troops, and 145,000 sepoys. The constabulary, like the sepoys, are officered by men apart from the feelings and traditions of the rank and file, and of the people they are called to rule. The force is not, to any appreciable extent, officered from the ranks. To young men fresh from school and college is confided the most delicate tasks in relation to the government of a sensitive people. When I was about to address my constituents last autumn, I was sent for by such a young officer—with his spiked helmet and silver trappings, his long sword and revolver—to make terms as to the arrangements of the meeting. Such is a common experience of Irish Members. Would we for a moment submit to such indignities were it not that the limbs, or perhaps the lives of our constituents would have to pay the penalty of our independence. Appointments are only obtained through the Chief Secretary and the Inspector General, and everything is done to maintain its military traditions, although military men are, generally speaking, of all others least suited to rule a people in their civic relations. I cannot do better than read from the official handbook the terms of admission of cadets to the Irish Constabulary. They are headed "Regulations under which gentlemen are to be admitted Cadets." This word "gentlemen" is not familiar in relation to admission to other branches of the Civil Service—

"The candidate must be unmarried, and between the ages of 21 and 26 years. If a candidate can show specially qualifying service as an officer in the Army, Navy, or in a Police Force, he may be admitted up to the age of 28."

A note adds—

"The sons of Constabulary officers whose names are on the Inspector General's list of candidates are permitted to enter at the age of 19."

Here we have a preference given to the official and military element of two years under and two years over the normal age.

"The candidate who is placed first by the Civil Service Commissioners will, on his nomination being confirmed by the Lord Lieutenant, be ordered to the Depot. But, previously to his entering on his course of instruction there, some person on his behalf must become answerable to the Commandant of the Depot, that such cadet, in addition to his regulated pay, shall receive a sum at the rate of £50 per annum until his appointment to the office of District Inspector."

It is not every young man seeking public service to whom his parents can guarantee an independent income of £50 a year. In the next provision we shall see the heavy official hand that is held over these young officers—they must live and breathe only at the will of their superiors.

"But cadets, being only in a state of probation, will not be considered as permanently attached to the Force, until they attain the rank of District Inspector, and they are to clearly understand that if, in the interim, His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant should be pleased to dispense with their services, in consequence either of unfavourable reports received of their conduct or proficiency while at the Depot, or of their character and position previous to their joining it, they are not to expect or require any reason to be assigned for their removal from the establishment, on which account it will not be obligatory on a cadet to purchase uniform, or to incur any other expense, consequent on his belonging to the Force."

These published rules do not fully reveal the stringency of the conditions. I take the following from a *Civil Service Handbook*, published annually by Dr. Crawley, the most successful teacher of Civil Service candidates. He says, regarding these cadetships—

"Candidates are selected by competitive examinations conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners from among candidates nominated by the Lord Lieutenant through the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary . . . and the Inspector General's nominations, are confined to candidates already connected with the Force, such as the sons of Royal Irish Constabulary officers, and these candidates compete among themselves for cadetships specially set apart for them."

Here we again have distinct advantages offered to an official class.



"As due regard is paid by the authorities to the claims of each candidate, and priority given to those cases which seem to deserve it, it is impossible to forecast for what particular examination a candidate may be nominated; and between the actual nomination and the competition only six weeks, as a rule, can intervene. The nomination holds good for one examination only, and gives no claim whatever to admission to any future examination."

What possible chance would an outsider have against the friends of officials who are given a power of selection and who can choose the period of examination? Dr. Crawley then gives the salaries of the different grades, and goes on—

"These rates are exclusive of the valuable allowances attached to each class. But officers of ability need not confine their hopes to this scale; they are eligible for the lucrative Staff appointments at Head-quarters, Resident Magistracies, &c. . . . In addition to the social status of the Royal Irish Constabulary, officers being in every way most desirable, their duties are light, their pay respectable, and the prospect of promotion to the highest permanent official posts in Ireland lies before the officers who have shown ability. . . . The majority of the candidates successful last year were graduates in Honours of Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin."

I would ask any English Member cognisant of the system under which the policemen of his country are managed, whether a force officered like the Irish Constabulary is meant to be other than an *imperium in imperio*—a tool in the hands of whatever Party holds rule in Ireland? Is it best constituted to fulfil the often somewhat rough duties of an efficient police force for the maintenance of order and the suppression of crime? If there is one Department of the Public Service in which it would be desirable officers should have an efficient knowledge of the history of the people, it would be amongst officers of the Irish Constabulary. To understand Ireland of to-day we must understand her history. It is, therefore, to be supposed that in the examination in British History for these cadetships we should have searching questions regarding Irish history—such as, "What were the Brehon laws?" "Up to what date did they prevail over most of Ireland?" "What influence, especially regarding land, do they hold at present over the Irish people?" "How was the Union carried?" "Why did the United Irishmen turn from open political agitation to secret armed conspiracy?"

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"How long before the act of Union did the Irish Parliament enfranchise the Catholics?" "How long was it after the Union before the British Parliament admitted Catholics to seats in Parliament and the High Office?" "What were tithes?" "What was the condition of the Irish Corporations?" "Give a history of the Established Church in Ireland, and its effect upon Irish politics?" "Give a history of the land agitation?" "At what date did the Devon Commission report definitely against the Irish land system?" "How long after was it before effectual reform was admitted?" Instead of such questions as these, in the last examination I can find only two references to Ireland—"Give short accounts of Strafford's policy in Ireland," and "Give a short summary of the events which led to the Union with Ireland. What obstacle then stood in the way of Catholic Emancipation?" The 10 others set on the paper are such as "Write short accounts of Egbert, Alfred, Canute. Describe briefly the conspiracies against William I. after his conquest of England. Discuss the policy pursued towards Scotland by Edward I.? What were the grounds of Edward III.'s claim to the throne of France? Under what circumstances did Henry VIII. assume the title of 'Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England?' Describe the rise of the Naval Power of England during Elizabeth's reign. Discuss the administration of Walpole, and compare the conduct of George II. and George III. in constitutional matters? State briefly what you know of any of the following:—The Witenagemot, the Black Death, the Star Chamber, the Lollards, the South Sea Bubble, Odo of Bayeux, Hubert de Burgh, Sacheverell, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Exmouth." Most of the examination papers foreshadow the future belligerent duties of successful aspirants. The passages for dictation relate to military operations; one commences, "Our men had besieged some fortified houses," the next "Next morning the citadel capitulated without striking a blow," &c. The softer duties of the force, the extent to which they may be blazed by entertainments amongst the County families, are perhaps

delicately hinted at in a passage to be translated into French—

"A man must have a very good opinion of himself when he asks people to leave their own fireside, and encounter such a day as this, for the sake of coming to see him. He must think himself a very agreeable fellow. It is the greatest absurdity; it is actually snowing at this moment. The folly of not allowing people to be comfortable at home when they can."

Our liberties are placed at the feet of this force, so officered. For offences of the members of the force against us we must appeal to tribunals of first instance, possessing extensive summary powers, presided over by officers of the force or men in sympathy with them. What a mockery to declare that the higher tribunals of the country are open for redress against the excesses of such an institution? Where could a peasant find the hundreds now necessary for the prosecution of such a suit? And our bitter experience is that even if a decision in the earlier stages is snatched as against the executive, the case will be carried from court to court, supported by the executive with the British Exchequer at its back, until the unfortunate victim of illegality or violence is wearied out. The policy of the Irish Government is that no advantage is to be admitted as against the right divine of their rule in Ireland. It was so a generation ago in the Phoenix Park cases. It was so last September as regards Tipperary, where a peaceable assemblage having been batoned, and the batoned having appealed to the Courts, the constabulary retorted by summoning for assault the victims of their brutality. The officer in charge has since been promoted to a permanent post over us in Dublin Castle. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), in a remarkable speech on this subject last July, quoted the following Bench *dicta* of a Resident Magistrate:—

"The majesty of the law must, at all hazards, be upheld. He had no doubt that either the policeman or the witness for the defendant had committed gross perjury. Judge Gibson had stated in a recent case that a policeman's evidence is more reliable than the evidence of a civilian, and he quite agreed with Judge Gibson."

The removal of the distinguishing numbers on the collars of the constabulary when sent on country duties in

emergencies can be for no other purpose, and has worked to the effect, to prevent their identification in cases where there has been cause for complaints against them. Over and over again instances have been brought before this House, where, even on the demand of Members of Parliament, officers have publicly refused to give opportunities for identification. Only a small proportion of the men, and these only under stringent conditions, are permitted to marry. We have, consequently, many of the evils resulting from large bodies of young men being kept in enforced celibacy. By such a force as the Irish Constabulary, held apart and above the public opinion of the country, the law in Ireland is administered with a harshness and rigidity unknown in other parts of the United Kingdom. It may be Roman or classic; it certainly is not British or Christian. That we should have no control apart from what we can exercise through this House, where we are in a hopeless minority, is entirely against British usage. We can all call to mind the eloquent terms in which, a few days ago, the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fowler) denounced certain portions of the Education Bill because of the deficiency of local control, instancing the case of the Police in England and Scotland, which, although really paid for by Parliament, were entirely under the management of Local Bodies. I do not desire to commit myself to an opinion as to the extent to which it may be wise to maintain Irish local as compared to Irish central control in the future effective management of an Irish Police Force under a liberal re-constitution of our institutions. Against all that I have advanced, it will be urged the necessity shown by practical experience for the maintenance of such a force, by the extent to which they have to be employed. This supposed necessity is the most complete condemnation of your system of government in Ireland. Had you attempted to govern England as you have attempted to govern Ireland—refusing reform, damming up public opinion, —a force ten times larger in proportion to the population, ten times more costly, ten times more objectionable in its constitution would here have been neces-

sary, and such a force you could not have maintained for a day in the face of the indignant public opinion of the country. Yes, Mr. Chairman, the Irish Constabulary is the outcome of the endeavour to suppress the national aspirations of our people, to sustain impossible systems regarding tithe, municipal government, education, and religion, regarding the land tenure upon which the prosperity of the country depends. You have had to acknowledge your mistake in regard to most of these systems. Through untold sufferings to us they have, at length, most of them, gone by the board. The constabulary is maintained to bolster up such as remain. When they go, when the policy of the right hon. the Member for Mid Lothian comes into play, and has borne its fruit, this force, as at present constituted, with all its anomalies, in all its numbers, and with all its cost, will, like many another anachronism in history, be relegated to an evil past.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced £500, part of the Salary of the Inspector General."—(*Mr. Webb.*)

(12.45.) MR. SEXTON: It seems to me that it is too late to proceed with the Vote, considering that we have to meet at 12 o'clock to-morrow. I would propose that this Vote should be postponed, and that we should take the next two Irish Votes. One of these Votes is that relating to Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and I had intended to raise a question on it; but if the right hon. Gentleman will adopt the course I suggest, I will postpone my remarks to the Report stage.

MR. GOSCHEN: If the hon. Member thinks that the course he proposes will facilitate business, and that we may get the postponed Vote within a reasonable time to-morrow, I will consent to report Progress.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If it should not be found possible to conclude the remaining Irish Votes before 6 o'clock to-morrow, so far as we are concerned, we should not mind sitting a little later.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

*Mr. Webb*

8. £56,010, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland.

9. £4,516, to complete the sum for the Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [27th July] reported.

#### CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1891-2.

##### CLASS III.

1. "That a sum, not exceeding £438,490, be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Expenses of the Prisons in England, Wales, and the Colonies."

(12.55.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I wish to refer to the case of James McGrath, upon which I made some observations yesterday. I think I conveyed to the Committee that the relatives of this deceased person had no notice whatever of his having been seized with acute tuberculosis, but in this I was wrong, as is shown in a letter I have received from McGrath's mother. I do not wish it to be supposed that I would not correct an error as soon as I became aware that I had fallen into one. I think, however, that in the case of this man the conduct of the gaol officials was harsh, and that they ought to have given notice to the relatives earlier than they did.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolutions 2 and 3 (see pages 495, 501) agreed to.

#### SUPPLY [24th July] REPORT.

Order read, for further Consideration of Postponed Resolution—

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £13,047, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Police Courts of London and Sheerness."

\*(12.59.) MR. H. J. WILSON: We were promised some information with regard to this Vote.

MR. STUART WORTLEY: There is, I understand, a matron employed at each Court, and the Chief Commissioner has given instructions to the officers in charge of police stations to call in female servants where work has to be done amongst female prisoners.

Resolution agreed to.

WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS  
(SCOTLAND) WORKS BILL.—(No. 396.)

CONSIDERATION.

As amended, further considered.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I beg to move that the Debate be adjourned. I think the hour is too late for us to be justified in attempting to consider the provisions of this important Bill, and the Amendments of which notice has been given. We are not justified in passing legislation of this kind without giving it due consideration.

(1.5.) THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): I hope my hon. Friend will not press his objection.

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! There is no Debate to adjourn. The hon. Member can proceed with his Amendments as he decides to proceed without an application for a grant.

DR. McDONALD: On behalf of my hon. Friend the Member for Caithness-shire, I beg to move to insert in the clause after "gift," the words—

"The County Councils may subscribe to any proposed harbour or pier from the sum granted to them by the first sub-section of the 22nd section of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889."

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put and negatived.

(1.8.) MR. CALDWELL: On Clause 2 I have to move an Amendment with the object of creating special harbour districts, the representatives of which shall have the management and maintenance of special harbour or local works.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 30, after the word "contained," to insert the words—" (2.) Upon requisition to that effect made in writing by not fewer than ten inhabitants of the district,

the county council of any of the counties before named shall be bound to meet after twenty-one clear days' notice, and shall consider the propriety of forming part of their county into a special harbour or local works district, and the resolution of the county council at such meeting shall be published in one or more newspapers circulating in the district; and the production of such newspaper, or a certificate under the hand of the convener or vice convener of the county, or acting clerk of the county council (whose signature need not be proved), shall be sufficient evidence of such resolution; and, within twenty-one days after the date of such resolution, it shall be competent for any person interested to appeal against the resolution to the sheriff, and the sheriff, not being a sheriff substitute resident within the district, may either approve or disapprove of such resolution, and if he disapproves thereof he may either find that no special harbour or local works district should be formed, or may enlarge or limit the special district as defined by the resolution of the county council, or may find that a special harbour or local works district should be formed and may define the limits thereof; and the decision of the sheriff shall be binding upon the county council, and shall be final except where it is pronounced by a sheriff substitute, in which case it may be appealed to the sheriff."—(Mr. Caldwell.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: May I ask whether the Amendment is in order, having regard to the fact that it is merely part of a composite Amendment, part of which will impose a burden upon the people, which, as I understand, can only be done in Committee.

MR. CALDWELL: The Amendment has a substantive operation apart from the question of taxation.

MR. SPEAKER: The Amendment is in order.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The whole pith of the hon. Gentleman's proposal originally was to restrict the rating to the district primarily interested. That Motion is now thrown overboard, and the result of this Amendment will be that, whereas the county is to bear a rate of a penny in the £1 for the maintenance of harbours, their administration is to be put in the hands of a small district. That is a preposterous proposition.

(1.10.) The House divided:—Ayes 30; Noes 68.—(Div. List, No. 392.)

(1.25.) MR. CALDWELL: I have now to move an Amendment to the

effect that the plans of proposed harbours shall be prepared at the cost of the county. The Bill provides that this expense shall be borne by the persons locally interested, but I contend that, as the Government have refused to create special harbour districts, and there is no similar body on which this charge can legally be imposed, it should be borne by the county.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 30, after the word "contained," to insert the words "(3.) The district committee, acting under 'The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889,' may, subject to regulations to be from time to time made with the consent of the county council, appoint a sub-committee for the construction, management, and maintenance of the harbour or local works, and such sub-committee shall in part consist of persons, whether members of the district committee or not, who are resident within the special district."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

DR. McDONALD: I cannot understand why the Lord Advocate should oppose this Amendment.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: If the object of the Amendment is to secure the competence of the County Council to appoint a sub-committee for the purpose of managing the works, that is already secured, and without any provision in this Bill at all, because under the Local Government Act the County Council have absolute power to do so. If the hon. Gentleman means to go over the old question of rating, that has been already decided, and I should be abusing the Forms of the House if I used this Amendment as an opportunity of discussing it.

(1.30.) DR. McDONALD: Without the Amendment the Bill will be utterly useless in the poorer districts of the Highlands, as the people there cannot afford the cost of preparing the plans.

The House divided:—Ayes 27; Noes 66.—(Div. List, No. 393.)

MR. J. PARKER SMITH (Lanark, Partick): I have to move an Amendment to Clause 2, to provide that the amount of free labour, or labour at a reduced wage, promised by the inhabitants shall be ascertained by the County Council before resolving to proceed with an application for a grant.

*Mr. Caldwell*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 11, after "obtained" insert, "The amount of free labour or labour at a reduced wage promised by the inhabitants."—(*Mr. J. Parker Smith.*)

Amendment agreed to.

(1.37.) DR. McDONALD: On behalf of my hon. Friend the Member for Caithness, I move to insert in the clause, after "gift," the words—

"The County Councils may subscribe to any proposed harbour or pier from the sum granted to them by the 1st sub-section of the 22nd section of 'The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1889.'"

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 14, after the word "gift," to insert the words, "The County Councils may subscribe to any proposed harbour or pier from the sum granted to them by the 1st sub-section of the 22nd section of 'The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889.'"—(*Dr. McDonald.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I retain the opinion I intimated in Committee, that the money should be made available under the general obligation to meet any deficiencies.

Question put, and negatived.

On Sub-section 4, which provides that if the Secretary for Scotland, after inquiry, entertains the application, he shall require the County Council to procure from the persons locally interested, and at the expense of such persons, plans and sections, with relative specifications of the proposed works and an estimate of the cost,

(1.40.) MR. CALDWELL: I beg to move the omission of the words "from the persons locally interested, and at the expense of such persons."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 17, to leave out from the word "procure," to the word "plans," in line 18.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The Government object to putting a burden of this kind on the rates.

The House divided:—Ayes 65; Noes 23.—(Div. List, No. 394.)

(1.46.) MR. CALDWELL: I now rise to move my last Amendment. Its

object is to provide that power should be given to the Board of Trade to reduce the rates whenever an income equivalent to 4 per cent. should have been reached instead of one of 10 per cent. as provided in the Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 7, to leave out the word "ten" and insert the word "four."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the Bill."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (*Mr. GOSCHEN*, St. George's, Hanover Square): May I point out that the 10 per cent. goes to the benefit of the ratepayers, and not to the benefit of the Government?

MR. J. PARKER SMITH: I beg to support the Amendment. The effect of the Bill will be that the country at large will make a profit out of individual piers which are intended for the benefit of fishermen.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: This proposal has been placed in the Bill to save the localities the expense of applying for Provisional Orders. The harbours are being constructed with Government money, and the provision is that the Board of Trade shall interpose in cases where the rates levied exceed the interest at the rate of 10 per cent. There is nothing to prevent the Local Authority reducing the rates without the intervention of the Board of Trade.

(1.56.) The House divided:—Ayes 63; Noes 25.—(*Div. List, No. 395.*)

(2.4.) Other Amendments made.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I beg to move that the Bill be now read the third time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

MR. CALDWELL: I beg to move that the Debate be now adjourned. The Report stage of the Bill has been taken when many Scotch Members were away, and I think an opportunity should be afforded of considering the Bill in all its bearings before the Third Reading is taken.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

MR. GOSCHEN: The Bill is one which is asked for by Scotland, and I

am sure that if the Scotch Members were here they would object to any postponement. Without the Bill the £50,000 cannot be spent, and I am persuaded the majority of the Representatives of Scotland would be extremely sorry to lose a Bill which is a generous attempt on the part of the House to deal with the subject. I trust the House will be prepared to read the Bill a third time.

(2.6.) The House divided:—Ayes 22; Noes 66.—(*Div. List, No. 396.*)

Original Question again proposed.

(2.15.) MR. J. PARKER SMITH: In a few words, I wish to say what I think are the drawbacks and disadvantages of the Bill. I am afraid that the Bill will not meet the particular case it is intended to meet, namely, the case of small places, the people of which are not able to help themselves. The Commissioners recommended that facilities should be given to small and poor communities to erect boat slips and the like, by the sending down of foremen and supplying cement and other material. I doubt whether the Bill will operate in the very cases where it is most required. It will no doubt meet the case of people who have made themselves unpleasant, and who have broken the law, like the people of the Lews. I regret that the Government have not seen their way to accept suggestions which would, I believe, have done something to avoid such a state of things. The Bill will do good, but it might have been amended so as to do a great deal more good.

DR. TANNER: At this hour of the morning it is ridiculous to ask us to transact the business of the country, and, therefore, I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

\*MR. SPEAKER: I decline to put the Motion of the hon. Gentleman.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

#### EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL (No. 416)

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

## PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.—(No. 417.)

## SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
“That the Bill be now read a second time.”

(2.20.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): This Bill contains a provision which I have not the smallest doubt will by and bye be thrown in our faces as a great evidence of the generosity of England towards Ireland I refer to the remission of loans in respect to the Ulster Canal. £120,000 has been advanced at various times to the Ulster Canal Company, and now you propose to remit the debt. £120,000 is a large sum, and I object very strongly to its being written off. What have the Government done to recover the amount? Have they put anybody in gaol? Have they tried to make anybody bankrupt? There are many remedies that might have been tried. Surely the resources of civilisation are not exhausted. The Government are very sparing in their dealings with bog tenants, but when they come to deal with a Canal Company they are suddenly animated by the most generous feelings. My mind travels back to the time when you lent £2,250,000 sterling to the Irish parsons, a loan which you also wiped off. A Bill of this kind ought certainly not to be passed *sub silentio*. Then there is a clause in the Bill with regard to the Arklow Harbour. As I understand, the people of Arklow have charged themselves by resolution with liability in respect to the loan for deepening the harbour. You propose by this Bill to validify that resolution. It appears to me that the proper way would be to provide that the resolution should be repassed, and that thereupon the resolution should be valid with regard to the future.

(2.25.) THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): With regard to the writing off of the Ulster Canal Debt, I may point out that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer commenced the Local Loans Fund this debt was not taken as an asset. The hon. and learned Gentleman wants to know what steps have been taken to recover the amount. I believe previous Governments took

every step they could in order to recover the amount. They even went the length of taking possession of the property, and I am afraid that led to expenditure enlarging their loss, rather than the recovering part of the original loan. Inasmuch as this is an asset which cannot be realised, I think it is desirable the debt should be written off and disposed of. As to the Arklow Harbour, I have to say that one portion of the main pier had been constructed. The works had been, in a technical sense, completed, and handed over by the Board of Works to the Local Commissioners. The Arklow Harbour Act gave power to the Town Commissioners to charge the town in respect of harbour works, but it has been thought desirable to make a notification in this Bill of the steps taken.

(2.30.) COLONEL NOLAN: I do not think the Government could do anything else but write off the debt of £120,000 owing by the Ulster Canal Company. The Commissioners, of whom I was one, pointed out that the canal was absolutely useless.

\*MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I think I have a right to claim that this Bill ought not to be proceeded with to-night. We have received solemn promises from the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer that contentious business would not be taken at such times as the present. This Bill was highly contentious. Moreover, I charge the Government with attempting to deceive us. The title of the Bill is Public Works Loans Bill, and one reading that title would have thought it was a Bill to authorise the granting of loans. But by one of its provisions, as shown by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, it remits a loan. Inasmuch as we have had no explanation of the Bill, and that there is an attempt to force it through the House at an unseemly hour, I beg to move that it be read a second time this day three months.

No hon. Member rising to second the Amendment,

The Question was put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY)  
BILL.—(No. 407.)

COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 5.

(2.35.) MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name. The words "Council Chamber" appeared in the Bill of last year, but were struck out on my initiative. In view of the fact that we are now on the eve of an election, I do not think it wise that the present County Council should be given power to spend a large sum of money in a new Council Chamber.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, lines 8 and 9, to leave out "a Council Chamber and offices," and insert "offices, but not including a Council Chamber."  
—(Mr. Kelly.)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendment; to be read the third time to-morrow.

JUDICATURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL  
[LORDS].—(No. 403.)

Read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS)  
BILL [LORDS].—(No. 428.)

SECOND READING.

(2.39.) Order for Second Reading read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): The object of this Bill is to carry out important alterations and Amendments in consequence of the Middlesex Registry being abolished and transferred to the Land Registry Office. It will provide for the fees, which at present go to the Middlesex Registry Office, going to the Treasury. The Bill has been considered by the Incorporated Law Society, and there is nothing in it except that which will enable an economy to be effected in carrying out the business of the registry. I move that the Bill be read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(The Attorney General.)

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): What are the relations between this Bill and the measure introduced earlier in the Session?

SIR R. WEBSTER: A temporary Bill was passed to enable the office to be carried on pending the passing of this measure.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

CLERGY DISCIPLINE (IMMORALITY)  
BILL [LORDS].—(No. 293.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

(2.45.) MR. S. T. EVANS (Glamorgan, Mid): I desire to ask whether the Government intend to proceed with this Bill or not? I would remind the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General that there are at least five notices of Motion on the Paper against the Bill already, and that there is very strong objection taken to it. It is too bad to keep Members up till 3 o'clock in the morning to oppose the Bill. I can assure the hon. and learned Member that it is a contentious Bill, and therefore comes within the pledge given by the Leader of the House, and ought not to be proceeded with at this period of the Session.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): As I understand the matter, there is a strong feeling in the House that that part of the measure should be passed which will deprive clergymen of the Established Church convicted of crimes of the power of performing their spiritual duties. I do not think that any pledge has been broken by the Bill being kept on the Paper.

MR. S. T. EVANS: May I put a question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer?

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

\*MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I have stopped here to oppose the Bill.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The Second Reading is not proposed now.

Second Reading deferred till to-morrow.



## PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [REMISSION AND GRANT.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it is expedient to authorise the remission of certain Loans made by the Exchequer Bill Loan Commissioners and the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to the Ulster Canal Company, and also of authorising a Grant, not exceeding £3,500, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, to the Arklow Harbour Commissioners, pursuant to any Act of the present Session to grant money for the purpose of Local Loans, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

(2.49.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): No doubt the Ulster Canal, dealt with in this Resolution, is in a derelict way, but the right hon. Gentleman opposite will remember how badly we were treated when the Ulster Canal Bill was going through. He will remember that the result of that treatment has been that we have been deprived of anything like an explanation as to how the Government treated the Ulster Canal Company. As I understand it, the Government took hold of this canal in return for £120,000 they had lost, and they now hand it over to someone else not only without this £120,000, but with an offer of £5,000 or £6,000 in addition. We are entitled to know what transactions have taken place in regard to this matter. I would suggest that in order to keep a grip on those to whom the canal is to be transferred (I forget the name of the company) the Government should hold this loan of £120,000 over them *in terrorem*. At any rate, I should like some information as to the position of this matter.

SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY—(*Mr. Jackson, Leeds, N.*): I do not know whether this is relevant to the Resolution before the House, the object of which is merely to authorise the allocation of funds to the purposes of a Bill. I would point out that the debt it is proposed to remit is not owing by the body to whom the Ulster Canal is handed over, therefore I do not see in what way the one matter is connected with the other. When we release the persons who originally borrowed the £120,000, we shall not have more powers over the canal than we have at

present under the arrangement we have entered into. I shall be happy on a future occasion to give the hon. Member the information he desires.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It would not be fair to keep the House until a late hour on this Resolution, but when the Bill gets into Committee I will raise the point in detail.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would not be in order to do that in Committee. The canal has been sold to a company, and they have nothing to do with the debt of the old company.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg respectfully to say that I will look into the Act on that point.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

FOREIGN MARRIAGES BILL.—(No. 408.)  
COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

(2.50.) DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): May I ask the Attorney General to be good enough to give us a short explanation of the Bill.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): The Bill is simply to supplement the Act of last year by removing certain difficulties which have arisen in its working.

DR. TANNER: Does the Bill apply to Malta?

SIR R. WEBSTER: It will not apply to Malta, because there is no Consulate there.

Clause 1, and remaining clauses, agreed to.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

## LUNACY BILL [LORDS].—(No. 430.)

Read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

## ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Jackson.*)—put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at five minutes before  
Three o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 29th July, 1891.

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS BILL  
[LORDS].—(No. 431.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (CONTINUATION SCHOOLS) BILL.—(No. 31.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

## FIRE BRIGADES (EXEMPTION FROM JURY SERVICES) BILL.—(No. 284.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

RATING OF MACHINERY (No. 2) BILL.  
(No. 18.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

## WILD BIRDS PROTECTION ACT (1880) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 213.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

## HOP SUBSTITUTES BILL.—(No. 141.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

## PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 371.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to, with an Amendment. [Special Entry.]

## RETURNING OFFICERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 290.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

TRAINING COLLEGES (IRELAND)  
[LOANS].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by

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Parliament, of any annuity that may be created for the repayment of any Loan made by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland under any Act of the present Session relating to Expenditure by Training Colleges in Ireland (Queen's Recommendation signified), to-morrow.

FACORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.  
(No. 315.)

Lords Amendments to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 435.]

## PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 410.)

Lords Amendments to Commons Amendments to Lords Amendments to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 436.]

## MARKETS AND FAIRS (WEIGHING OF CATTLE) BILL.—(No. 353.)

Lords Amendments to be considered upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 438.]

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES,  
1891-2.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

## CLASS III.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £832,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Expenses of the Royal Irish Constabulary."

(12.25.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I would invite every Unionist who is confident in the success of the administration of the Chief Secretary to examine this Vote. He will discover from it that in proportion as we become poorer in Ireland—and we have become more poor from year to year—the cost of the police increases; that in proportion to the decrease of the population the more it costs to manage us; and that the fewer there are of us in the country the more police we require. My hon. Friend the Member for Waterford (Mr. Webb), in the careful and weighty speech which he delivered last night, reminded the Committee of various facts

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An Asterisk at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

by Contract with H.M.'s Government.

which, if they are fully brought to the knowledge of the public, will, I think, tend to surprise, if not to shock, the public mind. Very few people in this country are really aware of the light which the cost of the Royal Irish Constabulary really throws upon the optimist speeches of the Unionists as to the pretence of giving popular suffrage and a secret vote to a people, and yet continuing to govern them against their will. My hon. Friend reminded us of the condition of this force at the time it was constituted by Sir Robert Peel. Fifty years ago, when O'Connell was conducting the Repeal agitation, in the midst of great excitement, you had a state of circumstances in active operation, which produced political agitation and social unrest. At that time the population of Ireland was double its present number, and the Police Force was only 8,000 strong and its cost only £400,000 a year. The Police Force now, relatively to what it was in 1841, has trebled, and the cost has absolutely quadrupled. If you compare the population and cost now with what they were in 1841 you will find that the cost is eight times as much as it was. I admit that you may have achieved considerable success in governing yourselves for your own purposes, and that you may have been successful colonists; but so far as Ireland is concerned, after 20 generations of English rule, there is no more deplorable or scandalous failure on the part of one people ruling another in the whole history of the world than that presented by English rule in Ireland. You are not the only race whose destiny it is to govern another race. France has its colonies, as also have Spain, Germany, and to some extent Russia, whose rule you have been in the habit of condemning in unmeasured terms. I say nothing of the Chief Secretary personally. The right hon. Gentleman is the heir to a system, but I am bound to say that he took very kindly to it. It certainly did not appear to do much violence to his nature to take up the police system in Ireland and to exaggerate its worst features. I hope that the experience which has now been gained, and the knowledge driven home to the public mind of the country, will have conclusively shown what the effect

*Mr. Sexton*

of the system has been. It has been made by this time pretty clear that the present system of government in Ireland and its chief instrument—the Constabulary—are inappropriate to the circumstances of the country. I said that the Chief Secretary has taken kindly to the administration of affairs in Ireland. We have had to complain of previous Ministers, but in my 11 years' experience in this House I can recollect no Minister who has carried the system to such extreme lengths as the right hon. Gentleman. The ill success which has attended English Government in Ireland lies in the fact that the English Parliament have deliberately chosen to hold and govern Ireland, not for the good of the people, but for the good of the garrison—of the faction they have planted there, and in whom they concentrate all social influence and political power. Nobody has carried to such lengths as the right hon. Gentleman the evils of the police system by rewarding those members of the Force who have been most violent, most insolent, and most unscrupulous. From first to last, in his five years' administration, the right hon. Gentleman has opposed a blunt refusal to all demands made by Members of this House for inquiry into the conduct of members of the Police Force which have been made by Representatives of the people. I claim that, when a Representative of the Irish people asks for an inquiry and declares his ability to tender evidence, the Minister ought to grant that inquiry. The rule of the right hon. Gentleman may have been simple and convenient for a time, but it is a rule which must inevitably involve serious results, and results which will be felt by the Party to which he belongs before long. The refusal to inquire into every case of misconduct charged against the police is unjust to the Force itself. The doubt which exists as to the identity of an offender discredits the entire Force, and tends to exasperate the feeling of the people. If an inquiry were granted, the character of the Force would not suffer, and if, during the past five years, the right hon. Gentleman had acceded to our demands for inquiry, I am sure the result would not have been injurious to his administration. A different policy has been steadily pursued, and not

always in the most courteous manner. There was one case—that of Captain Segrave, a Police Magistrate—in which inquiry was not refused; but it was conceded by the Under Secretary for the Colonies, and not by the Chief Secretary, and the result was that Captain Segrave was drummed out of the British Service. The right hon. Gentleman has not been content with refusing an inquiry, but, whenever a person has succeeded in a Court of Law in obtaining a verdict against the police, the right hon. Gentleman has not hesitated to spend the public money in feeing counsel for the purpose of preventing that verdict from achieving its full result. In one case the ends of justice were defeated by the free use of the Public Purse, and a verdict was obtained, not on the merits of the case, but upon technical points of law. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman has gone further than any previous Minister, or than any Minister who is likely to follow him in the short period that remains of direct Imperial administration of the Police Force in Ireland, in teaching the subordinates of the Government that they may do wrong with impunity. The effect of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman has been to teach the subordinates of the Police Force that the man who distinguishes himself in brutal attacks upon the people, or by insolence to Members of Parliament, is certain of appreciation and promotion. Possibly the hour is growing too late for the right hon. Gentleman to introduce any material change, or to recover the Police Force from the deterioration it has suffered by reason of the policy he has adopted. As the right hon. Gentleman entertains the conviction that the condition of Ireland is now satisfactory, there are two or three practical ways in which he may usefully act in regard to the Constabulary Force. It is now the practice of some of the constabulary to watch farms where evictions are about to be effected, and to take pains to see that nothing is removed. Now, that is not the purpose for which the police are paid. I have noticed the extremely intelligent readiness with which the officials in Ireland have guided their conduct by any public speech of the right hon. Gentleman. The Army of the great Napoleon were never more ready to carry out the proclama-

tions issued to them than an Inspector of Irish Constabulary is to carry out any hint which may be conveyed in a public speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He has done a great deal of harm by his public speeches. There are some members of the Force who constitute themselves amateur bailiffs. That is not a purpose for which the police are paid, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to tell us that the police will not in future be employed in that way. Irish Members have more than once referred to the question of numbering the police. We have made this claim year after year, and year after year it has been met with indifference. But I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that from time to time we shall continue to make those claims which we consider to be just. How is it that the police are not numbered in Ireland? I think it is because the Irish Government wish the police to understand that individual members of the Force are to be at liberty to indulge in illegal violence and in attacks upon public right, without being liable, as in other countries, to the ordinary means of identification. Not long ago a body of Dublin Police were sent to Tipperary and had the numbers removed from their collars before they were sent away. As a matter of fact, they were sent out to beat the people and to commit illegal acts. Nothing could more clearly have explained that they were expected to break the law than the removal of their numbers. Not only are the men not numbered; but if any attempt is made to secure the identification of a particular constable every obstacle is placed in the way, and all the resources of the law are exhausted to defeat the course of justice. I therefore repeat the demand that the Irish Constabulary shall be numbered. With regard to the charge for extra police, it falls very heavily on the poorer occupiers in Irish counties. It is an expedient worthy only of Turkish administration. How does the Chief Secretary reconcile the declaration he has made as to the peaceful state of Ireland with the fact that a charge of £60,000 appears on the Estimates for "extra police"? The right hon. Gentleman tells us that from year to year the state of Ireland has been getting better, and yet the charge for

extra police remains at the same dead-level. Why should such a charge continue to be levied after the country has returned to its ordinary peaceful condition? I hope to receive an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that the charge for extra police will now disappear. As an illustration of the maladministration of which I complained, I will refer to the recommendation of the Judicial Commission, which set to inquire into the Belfast riots five years ago, before the present Administration took Office, and which resulted in the loss of 36 lives and the destruction of £30,000 or £40,000 worth of property, besides keeping the city in a state of civil war for three months. The recommendation of the Commission—a recommendation which has been treated by the right hon. Gentleman with the most sublime contempt—was to the effect that central barracks should be erected in that town, both on sanitary and military grounds. As if to emphasise the condition of the barracks an epidemic broke out, and the constabulary force suffered considerably from it. I am not aware that any lives were lost, but there was a serious amount of illness. Is it too much to have expected that after the unanimous recommendation of the Commission, and after the breaking out of a serious epidemic, a central barracks would have been provided? I have put questions upon the subject time after time, both to the Chief Secretary and to the Secretary to the Treasury, and have been put off with plausible replies. Will the Committee believe that, although the recommendation was made five years ago and the money voted by Parliament three years ago, not a stone has yet been laid. Apparently, the reason, or at least one of the excuses, for the delay is that if part of the site which the Board of Works have acquired from the Corporation was cleared at once the tenants of that part would be entitled to £3,000 compensation from a Mr. James Musgrave. There are two pieces of land contiguous to each other, which I may call plots A and B. In the first instance, plot B was selected as the site for the station; but after a letter from Mr. Musgrave pointing out how he was affected, the site was removed to plot A, plot B being selected for the offices and stables. The object was perfectly

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clear, namely, to proceed with the barracks without disturbing the tenants on plot B. But although three years have elapsed, and the plot has been cleared, not a stone of the barracks has been laid. As one of the Representatives of Belfast, I have felt it my duty to ask several questions in reference to this extraordinary state of things. In February last I asked what had been done, and how soon the building would be erected, and the purport of the answer was that the plot had not been conveyed until a year ago, and that progress would be made as rapidly as possible. This was in February; it is now the end of July, and nothing has yet been done. On the 2nd of March I asked the Secretary to the Treasury if the entire site had been taken over and when the works would be commenced, and the reply was that the whole of the second plot had not yet been taken possession of, but that arrangements had been made for proceeding with the buildings upon plot B at the same time as the building of the barracks. That was on the 2nd of March, but I am in a position to say that long before that date Mr. James Musgrave had been in communication both with the Board of Works and the Constabulary authorities. The authorities now are so anxious not to touch plot B that they will not begin with plot A for fear of being obliged to proceed with the building on the other plot. I have spoken of the reply given here on March 2nd, and on the 25th the Inspector General of Constabulary wrote to the tenants, replying to a letter from the latter, in which he said the answer given in Parliament was at variance with the arrangements for building (his own); that these arrangements would not be departed from, and that it would be a considerable time before the portion of the central site in the occupation of the tenants would be required, the date to be fixed when the building on the other plot was more advanced. Then there was, on the 4th June, a remarkable letter from the architect of the Board of Works, in which he stated that what had been done by the Constabulary authorities had been done with full knowledge on their part, and that the Board of Works had no responsibility in the matter, casting every responsibility on the Inspector General of Constabulary,

who had thrown over the answer of the Secretary to the Treasury. I do not suppose for a moment that the right hon. Gentleman was cognizant of these proceedings; but what I complain of is that when Parliament had voted the money for these buildings three years ago the Police Authorities, to the detriment of the public interest, delayed proceeding with the work to promote the interest of one of two private interests concerned. I regard this as a scandalous proceeding. I can put no other construction upon it than that certain officials of the Corporation of Belfast or of Dublin Castle to the detriment of the public interest, and disregarding the recommendation of the Commission, are allowing public money to waste for the sake of interfering between private interests to the benefit of one of these interests, and to the injury of the other. I trust I have said enough to induce the right hon. Gentleman to give a reply, the emphasis of which shall not be mistaken, and which will show the Board of Works and the Constabulary authorities that the whole of the buildings necessary for the concentration of the whole Constabulary Force under one roof should be proceeded with without further delay.

(1.5.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The speech of the hon. Gentleman divides itself into two parts—the second part dealing with a rather complicated transaction, and one chiefly of local interest. I am not sure that I am in possession of detailed knowledge for dealing quite fully with that part of the hon. Gentleman's speech, but I think I can give the Committee briefly such an explanation as may be sufficient to show how the matter stands. The site for the Police Barracks, as the hon. Gentleman has stated, consists of two parts obtained from the Corporation, those two parts being subject to different private rights—the eastern portion, or plot A, and the western portion, or plot B. The latter is subject to complicated private arrangements, rendered more complicated because both parties to the arrangements have the same name. The one is Musgrave & Co. (Limited), and the other Musgrave Brothers. Musgrave & Co. (Limited) are anxious to be disturbed in order to get the £3,000 or £4,000

which Musgrave Brothers would, according to agreement, have to pay them if they were put out before a certain time, and the latter are anxious that Musgrave & Co. (Limited) should not be disturbed, so that they should not have to pay the money. The charge, I understand, against the Government in relation to this matter is twofold. One charge against the Government is that there has been undue delay since the Report of the Commission and since the site was granted to the Constabulary by the Corporation; and a second charge is that a concession has been made against the public interest to Musgrave Brothers to save them from paying £3,000 or £4,000 to Musgrave & Co. (Limited). As to the first charge, I am assured that the delay which has occurred is due to the fact that the Corporation did not hand over the site in time, and that when they did hand it over it was subject to certain complications which delayed the starting of the works. I am informed that the work is now under contract, and, therefore, I assume that no further delay will occur. As to the transaction between Musgrave Brothers and Musgrave & Co. (Limited), I am informed that the police have kept themselves quite impartial between the parties, and that, in spite of the allegations to the contrary, the building for the men was always intended to be erected on the eastern and not on the western site, on plot A, and not on plot B.

MR. SEXTON: The first plans were drawn in the contrary way.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am distinctly informed that the building for the men was intended to be on plot A, and was to be erected before the stables, which were to be on plot B, and that no change in that respect has been made.

MR. SEXTON: The statement I have given on the authority of Musgrave & Co. is, that in the original plans the buildings on the B, or western site, were to be proceeded with, but in order to save the pockets of Musgrave Brothers the Board of Works and the Constabulary authorities had the plans so altered that the buildings on the A plot are to be provided for the men, and the stables on B, and the Inspector General reported that stables in the

neighbourhood could be secured for a couple of years.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman states with accuracy the contention of Musgrave & Co., and I am far from accusing them of wilful misstatement, but, of course, they are an interested party and want to get the fine under agreement. This statement is in direct contradiction to that of the Constabulary authorities, that the alleged change of plan really never took place. I state the facts as they are represented to me, and if the hon. Member desires further information on the matter I shall be happy to obtain it. I pass to the more general part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman, which followed on the lines previously recapitulated by another hon. Gentleman last night, and turned in the main on the increased cost of the Police Force during the last 50 or 60 years, during which he is quite correct in saying the population of Ireland has undergone a large diminution. While no doubt the population of Ireland has largely diminished during the last 50 or 60 years, I know of no statistics indicating that the prosperity of the country has otherwise than steadily increased in spite of the temporary difficulties agriculture had to meet in the disastrous years 1878-83. To argue that crime has increased because more money has been spent on the police is to ignore the plainest lesson of contemporary history. There was a time when a few worn-out old watchmen sufficed for police purposes in London. I do not know what the cost in proportion to population was; but whatever it was, I know it represents but a small fraction of that which the ratepayers now have to spend on the Metropolitan Police Force. The fact is, that the requirements of the community have enormously increased. It will be found that while crime—I am speaking of the United Kingdom—has steadily diminished and every element of prosperity has augmented, such diminution of crime and such augmentation of prosperity have not been accompanied by any lessening in the expenditure on police. I have not, I admit, prepared myself to verify these generalisations as to the cost of police in Great Britain; but I feel quite sure that if the present century

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were taken as the basis of comparison it would be found that, in spite of and partly in consequence of the great social improvement that has taken place, more has to be exacted from the Police Force, and their wages and numbers have increased. I think it would be a fair comparison to take a relatively brief period in which the demands on the police have not undergone any great change, in order to base a comparison of the present condition of Ireland with a time when different conditions prevailed, and I think the result of such comparison would not be so unsatisfactory as hon. Gentlemen appear to suppose. The hon. Gentleman has asked me about the numbers of the force. In Ireland there is a fixed Force of 10,006 men, paid for entirely out of the Imperial Exchequer. There is an additional force, called the extra force, which is sent into the counties as each county may require it. For this Force each county pays. The hon. Gentleman seems to be under the impression that this extra force is to remain unaltered. That is not altogether the case. On January 1, 1887—that was immediately before the Crimes Act came into operation—the number of this extra force was 1,552. The total on July 1 of this year was 1,166, being a decrease of nearly 400, and I believe that I shall be able to make a further reduction of 92 immediately, and that will bring the decrease up to nearly 500.

Mr. SEXTON: Does the right hon. Gentleman intend to keep an extra force anywhere outside districts where Section 2 remains in full force?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No doubt some extra force will be there required. But I will read the list of counties. On July 1, 1890, there were 144 extra police in Clare, and this number it is not proposed to reduce. In the East Riding of Cork there were 200; there are now 155—a diminution of 45, which I hope will be further reduced. In the West Riding of Cork there were 81 in 1890; there are now 68, and I hope for a further reduction. In Donegal there is apparently an increase, 30 more now than there were in 1890. In the East Riding of Galway there were 90 last year, and we propose to reduce the number by 10. In the West Riding of Galway, 15 last year, now 10, which we propose to remove. In Kerry last year 300,

now 35, to be further reduced by 10. In Kilkenny 20 last year, and thus the present number will be reduced this year. In Leitrim the number of 18 will remain unaltered, as also in Limerick, 172. In Longford the number of last year, 30, is now reduced to 23, and we propose to reduce that number by 7. In Meath there are 10. In Roscommon we propose to reduce the present number of 20 to 15. In Sligo, the 15 last year has been reduced to 4, and will so remain. In the North Riding of Tipperary no change is proposed from the number of 21. In the South Riding of Tipperary there are still the 100 that were there last year, though we have hope that the settlement of the controversies there will enable us to make a reduction. In Waterford the 20 of last year remain. In Westmeath there were 26 in 1890, there are now 23. In Wexford the total is 25. The general result of the changes is that while in 1890 there were 1,327 extra police employed, reductions have been made this year to the number of 161, and further reductions will increase the diminution to 253. It will, therefore, be seen that the hon. Gentleman is not accurate in supposing that no diminution in this force has taken place. It cannot, of course, be altogether withdrawn, as protection still has to be given in places where agrarian troubles still exist. It would not be possible to remove them all without endangering the personal safety of individuals who may be unpopular in the locality. Passing from that point, the hon. Gentleman criticised generally the system which places the police force under the Government, and declared that the police are unpopular with the people. The men are drawn from the small tenant class in Ireland, and I believe that, in spite of all that has been said, they are an extremely popular force generally in the community, not only in the country, but also in the towns. Of course, it is true, and it was inevitable, that the collisions between police and people during the last 10 years have excited some ill-feeling, but this is rapidly subsiding. As a matter of fact, the most friendly relations exist between the people and the police. There remains now the question of the centralisation of the force. I am one of those who think that it would be most inconvenient that the police

force should be more decentralised. In England the Police Force has grown up, and been evolved from a local basis, but there are some disadvantages attaching to the system, and I am disposed to think that if we had to deal with the subject afresh the police would not in this country, or in Scotland be a purely local body. I am perfectly certain that in Ireland it is necessary to have the police as centralised as possible, if the law is to be properly administered. It cannot be placed at the service of the local majority. The conditions existing amongst the Irish people are such that I do not believe it would be for the safety of the minority to put the administration of the police in the hands of the local majority. I do not believe that under any measure of Local Self-Government in Ireland it will be possible with safety to the minority, either in the North or in the South, to alter the centralised system now existing in Ireland; and I believe I am right in saying that, as far as the North is concerned, in Belfast a change was made from the former to the present system for the very purpose of protecting the Catholic minority in 1864. The force ought, I think, to be the pride of every Irishman, and I am sure that those gentlemen who look forward to the period when changes are to take place in the Government of Ireland—when a new heaven and a new earth are to be established in that country—should be the last to wish to see any alteration made either in form or in substance in the Royal Irish Constabulary. As to numbering the force, there would be, I am informed, considerable inconvenience in adopting any such system in the case of a force which is spread over the whole country. Every effort is always made to identify any individual constable against whom complaints are made, and while I should never endeavour to shield any member of the force against whom a breach of the law is alleged, when a man is made the subject of attack, not because he has done anything wrong, but because he belongs to an unpopular minority, I shall spare no pains in defending him.

(1.35.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I do not propose to enter into the general question of the localisation of the Police Force. When we come to deal



with the question of Local Government in Ireland, then will be the time to refer to the topic. I hardly think the right hon. Gentleman would be so warm in his praise of the centralised system if administration were in the hands of a Government hostile to his views. I think it was from the friends of the Party opposite that the nickname of "Morley's murderers" came. As to the question of numbering, the right hon. Gentleman has based his allusion on the fact of frequent removals of the police from one county to another, but, strictly speaking, that is not the custom. It is only on special occasions, as for instance, when the July fever breaks out in Ulster that the police are sent out of their own county, and, of course, there is the instance of the Cork police being sent to Tipperary. When the police are strangers in the district it seems to me the more necessary that they should wear a badge by which they may be identified. A number of police were removed from Cork to Tipperary, and when they arrived in the latter county the officer in charge stripped off the numbers from their collars. That, I contend, was a very sinister act on the part of the officer. In this pianissimo discussion, and under the pressure of the desire to wind up the business of the Session, I do not propose to go at length into the question of extra police, but I must express my disappointment at the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. In a much harassed county like Clare, of course, there will continue to be agitation when you continue to apply this blister in the shape of extra police. No wonder the people are irritated when you keep this dog collar round their necks. Are there any outrages to justify the extra force in Longford? Indeed, I think the peace of the county has been the cause why the rents have not in that county been reduced to the extent they have been elsewhere. Why is Kilkenny still to have extra police? There is no necessity for it, the county being a peaceable one. Take Waterford also. We know that just now the County Court Judge there is not popular with the Government, because he is continually saying that his county is in a state of profound peace. When it was the cue of the Government to say that there was disorder and when

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they used to endeavour to extract an admission from him, he used to say there was no such thing on the principle "Canst thou play upon this pipe?" We know very well that the popularity of a County Court Judge with the Government depends sometimes upon the way he answers when he is asked if there is disorder in his district. You still keep up your extra police in Waterford, and it is, I must say, a strange doctrine to lay down, that, whether a district is quiet or not, whether it is proclaimed or not—whether the Chief Secretary is to be represented as a Hercules struggling with the demon of disorder, or a Cherub pouring down blessings from a cornucopia on the people of Ireland—the extra police must be kept up. That is a position we must enlarge upon. The County Government scheme must deal with the question of additional police. It is the county that pays for them and the grand jury that plants them in the county. The Irish ratepayer has as much right to be heard on this question as the English ratepayer. I have never heard a more lucid exposition of the exact facts with regard to the police force than that of the hon. Member for West Waterford (Mr. Webb) and I think we are indebted to him for the great pains and trouble he has bestowed on the question. My hon. Friend the Member for Belfast (Mr. Sexton) has not extracted from the Government any information about the Messrs. Musgrave.

MR. SEXTON: I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman on that point whether we are to understand that the barracks are to be completed before the officers' quarters are begun, or are they to be completed at the same time?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I gather that that is not so. What I understand to be the policy pursued is that the accommodation for the men is to be completed first.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I understand that there were two contracts originally, and that only one of them is to be gone on with. That is a very unsatisfactory position of affairs. What we want is to see the law take its course. When you have the money of the taxpayers in your pocket for the purpose of building, you should proceed with the contract. I know nothing about the Musgraves, but I take it that one of them must be

a Freemason, inasmuch as he has been able to get the Government to postpone the contract, as I understand a start is not to be made with the work until May, 1893. Lord Salisbury fixed the date of the dissolution at the end of August this year, but I understand he now expects it next year. This may be comforting intelligence to the non-Masonic Messrs. Musgrave, as it may be that in the end the fine military strategies that have been indulged in will fail. I would suggest to the Government that in this matter the best course would be to take the straight and narrow path, and see whether progress cannot be at once made with the barracks. The right hon. Gentleman said we ought to be proud of our countrymen in the Police Force. I am generally proud of my countrymen whether they are in uniform or not, and I see no particular reason to be proud of that section of it that is coated in blue. I do not think we have any reason to be proud of that section of our countrymen who have just come from Oxford or Cambridge, who are just growing the ends of their moustaches, and who, being placed in charge of 200 or 300 men, go about swashing their long swords at people. I may say that we have great difficulty in understanding what they say on account of their English pronunciation. We have no complaint to make, as a rule, of the Dublin Force, and the reason is that that force is officered with men drawn from the ranks. As soon as a poor constable gets promoted to a position of an officer in the Royal Irish Constabulary he is called a "ranker," he is insulted, and he cannot obtain admission to the moustachioed intercourse of the Oxford and Cambridge men. I have always thought that if the men in the ranks were allowed a proper share of promotion you would not have these frequent complaints about the conduct of the police. I wish to bring under the notice of the Committee the way in which, in a recent case in the County of Leitrim, an officer addressed one of his men. District Inspector Rogers had been distinguishing himself at Petty Sessions by an extraordinary series of observations all through a case in which a poor constable named Dunn was proceeding against a man for running over his (the constable's)

son. District Inspector Rogers said he was told that the child was hardly injured at all, and would be all right in a few days. The poor father then said the District Inspector was not aware of the position his child was in, and that it was a serious matter. District Inspector Rogers then said, vehemently, "Dunn, Dunn, be silent. Dunn, do you refuse to obey me? Dunn, leave the Court. March out of Court, Dunn." The constable left the Court, but, at the request of the solicitor engaged on his behalf, was asked to come back, and District Inspector Rogers then said, "Come back now, when you have learned manners." Dr. Bradshaw, one of the Magistrates, then said, "You must remember this is a Court, Mr. Rogers," and the District Inspector replied, "I am not going to let it be a bear-garden." The Magistrate said it was a most unfortunate case, and then the great Rogers turns round once more and says that this man Dunn showed he had no discipline at all, because he turned round and contradicted him, the Inspector. I would point out to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, that if, during the Recess, he should be in want of a day's amusement he will find it in the humours of this man Rogers. Another point to which I would call attention is the action taken by the police with regard to engine drivers who may have happened to have run over some one upon the railways. The moment such an accident happens the engine driver is taken from his engine and kept under arrest. Of course, it is quite right for the police to endeavour to get at the facts in these cases, but it should be remembered that these men are very respectable mechanics, and that they are placed in responsible positions, and that most of them have gone through a long and severe course of daily toil in the service of the people. Speaking, I hope, for both England and Ireland, I might say that a better body of men do not exist in the service of either country than the men who are responsible for the working of the railway engines. Moreover, the accidents are exceedingly few, and the travelling public are much indebted to these men for their general safety. I therefore put in a plea on behalf of these men. I will give a case which has been specially

brought to my knowledge. In a narrow cutting between Mallow and Cork a man running a light engine from Dublin ran into a party of labourers, and the result was that two deaths occurred. It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that an engine driver would wilfully run over his fellow servants. The man himself reported the facts on his arrival at Cork, and I do not complain that he was immediately arrested. What I complain of is that having been a long day's journey he was kept under arrest till seven o'clock the next morning without bail. Surely the Government or the police ought to be empowered to take the bail of the stationmaster or some person responsible to the company for the appearance of the man arrested under these circumstances, because it may have been a case of suicide or of something which the engine driver could not possibly have prevented. At any rate some relaxation of the rule ought to be accorded. It sometimes happens that a driver runs over a man without knowing it, that blood is found upon the engine, and the engine driver is arrested. Another point to which I desire to call attention is the action of the Government in the case of Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien. I am glad that the Government have seen their way to withhold the estreating of the bail in the case of one gentleman, and I trust they will reconsider the matter, and remit the amount estreated in the other case. Next Session I shall take the first opportunity afforded me on this Vote to refer to this question, and I think in the meantime the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do well to consider whether it would not be desirable to remit these penalties.

(2.10.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I desire to call attention to the question of numbering the Irish Constabulary. The Chief Secretary has already given an answer on that subject, which, however, I do not think very satisfactory. The necessity for numbering these men arises in consequence of the difficulty of recognising or identifying them when they are charged with misconduct. The person aggrieved simply sees a number of men all dressed and helmeted exactly alike, and for the most part wearing moustachios, the general resemblance being so strong that it is difficult to

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

recognise any particular individual. Of course, there are differences in the colour of the hair, and of the eyes, but in a case where a man is engaged in a fierce onslaught upon the people, his eyes would assume a very different expression from that which they would bear when he was drawn up with others on parade. I think the question is one which might fairly commend itself to the Government. It is evident, however, that the Government do not want to furnish the means of identification, although even to Magistrates at Petty Sessions it would be a great convenience to have the men numbered, so that they might be remembered from time to time. The Chief Secretary has told us that the Irish Constabulary Force is very popular in Ireland. That may be true in one sense. No doubt it is popular amongst those who want to get into the force, because the Constabulary get splendid retiring pensions, far higher than our soldiers or sailors, or than certain grades of the Civil Service. I do not complain of this, but I deny that in a broad sense the Irish Constabulary are a popular body. They certainly are not popular in my own county, where they prosecute the licensed victuallers most unnecessarily, sometimes no doubt through the excess of zeal. I admit that as far as their physical and mental attributes go, they would make admirable non-commissioned officers for any Army in the world. I cannot understand how any hon. Member could refuse money for the Dublin Police, but in connection with the Irish Constabulary the case is different. I make it a rule never to refuse Imperial grants for Irish purposes, the exception being in the case of the Irish Constabulary. If a reduction of the Vote is moved for I shall support it, because I believe that the £1,400,000 charged in connection with this force is a bad bargain for Ireland. The contribution of £63,000 which we make towards the cost of the police being thrown exclusively upon the occupiers is equivalent to £126,000 in England, where I am informed there are many counties in which the police cost no more than the amount contributed by the Imperial Exchequer. [Mr. MADDEN: No, no!] That, at any rate, is the information I have received. At any rate, the charge borne by the

occupiers in Ireland is out of proportion to the charge made for police purposes in England where the ratepayers get considerable relief from the police burden. No doubt the Irish Police Force as a mixed body of military and police are much superior to the Police Force of England. They acquire a military training, and would act on occasion as an excellent Army Division; but I doubt whether they are of more use for purely police purposes than the rural police of England, and I do not think the country gets full value for this £1,400,000. I contend that the greater part of that sum ought to be charged to the Army Estimates, because it is its military constitution which differentiates the Irish constabulary from the English rural police. In Ireland the police are studiously separated from the people. They are housed in police barracks, and kept as much as possible from general contact with the community. I do not know that these are not sensible rules under the circumstances: but it certainly would seem as if they were in a semi-hostile country, where they ought not to be allowed to be in close association with the people. I have thought it desirable to call attention to these matters, because this question of financial relations is constantly cropping up, and whenever we come to settle the terms of Home Rule, it will be one of the essential points of the negotiation.

\*(2.25.) MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): I desire briefly to refer to one point which has already been brought forward in this Debate. I allude to the question of numbering the Irish police, which I think deserves some more definite answer than has been given by the Chief Secretary. Undoubtedly, if these men were frequently moved from one part of Ireland to another there might be some difficulty in arranging the numbers, but I cannot see why this should create any more difficulty in Ireland than in London, where, whenever a disturbance is expected, or some great function is going on, the police are brought from all parts of the Metropolis to districts to which they do not belong. Nevertheless, if any question occurs as to misconduct or excess of duty on the part of the Metropolitan police, there is no difficulty in identifying the men. Granting, for the sake of argument, that

there may be a practical difficulty in arranging a definite system, I do not think it would much matter if there were no system. If a man has a letter or number upon his uniform, by which he can be identified, it is sufficient for those who wish to identify him to know that he is A 1, or Z 500, and that he has committed some act or deed which is complained of, and there need be no difficulty in ascertaining who they are, and what part of the country they come from. I can hardly think the Chief Secretary can himself be satisfied by the answer he has given. If he would call on his subordinates to present some scheme for dealing with this matter the difficulties would speedily vanish, and this question set at rest. In regard to the state of Ireland, the Chief Secretary is continually talking about the improvement which has taken place. If there is any foundation for his assertions, will he explain the necessity for an item of £800 which appears in this Vote for the purchase of ammunition for the police? If disputes have ceased to occur, what is the ammunition for? It is perfectly true that the police occasionally shoot down people in Ireland, but even for the number of persons killed or wounded a very large amount of ammunition is not required, and, seeing that for £800 something like 266,000 rounds of ball cartridge might be purchased, I think we ought to have some explanation of the necessity for this expenditure in that happy and tranquil Ireland, of which the Primrose Dames hear so much from the Chief Secretary.

\*(2.33.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I cannot help thinking that the character of the present Debate goes far to prove that the condition of Ireland to-day compares very favourably with what it was a few years ago. There have not been the customary references to baton charges.

MR. SEXTON: There have been none lately.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: That is exactly my point. The Debate has been chiefly addressed to the question of the Examination Papers for the Royal Irish Constabulary, instead of, as usual, to the action of the police.

MR. FLYNN: And to the expense of the force.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Yes. The fact that we have been able to discuss these matters instead of dealing with riots and baton charges as in past years proves that the state of Ireland has vastly improved compared with a year or two ago. Now, I concur with hon. Members below the Gangway that the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary should be numbered. They are numbered in Belfast and Cork, and I do not see why they should not be in other parts of the country. If the right hon. Gentleman chose to instruct his subordinates at the Castle, a system of numbering sufficient for purposes of identification could easily be introduced, but if this proposal continues to be resisted, then I say, it will be open to the public to accuse the Government of desiring not to have the police identified when they come into collision with the people. The hon. Member for Longford (who spoke in a very low tone scarcely audible to anyone except those on the Front Bench) expressed a hope that as the Government had exempted one of the Tipperary sureties from his legal obligation, and that the Treasury would recoup to the other sureties the money that had been recovered. No doubt that proposal will receive favourable consideration at the hands of the Government. May I back it up by bringing this fact to the notice of the Chief Secretary: that the one man who has been exempted from payment of his bond was the man who perhaps more than any one else, was responsible for the state of affairs in Tipperary, and that the other three sureties were also the very heart of the conspiracy. I have been disappointed to some extent by the speeches of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. During the past year the police have had little else to do than to protect hon. Members from one another, and if any one has cause to be grateful to them, it surely is the hon. Member for Longford. Yet we have had no recognition of their services in this connection.

(2.38.) MR. FLYNN: The question of the Tipperary sureties is not relevant to the Vote now before the Committee, and, therefore, I will not deal with it. But I wish to point out that the Chief Secretary was placed in a very curious position in trying to answer the weighty speech of my hon. Friend the Member

for Waterford last night. I believe that when the figures and statistics compiled with so much labour are placed before the country, a great and startling sensation will be created. My hon. Friend has shown how the cost of the Police Force has increased by leaps and bounds, and the Chief Secretary tried to meet his arguments by giving a historical retrospect, and by comparing the London Police Force of to-day with the ancient institution of "Charlies." But he did not deal with our argument that in a country where the people are not wealthy, and where the population has decreased by one-half, the cost of the Police Force has enormously increased. Surely a reference to the London Police affords no suitable comparison. My hon. Friend's figures went back to the year 1848. Let me reinforce his statistics with a few others dealing with the past 20 years. In 1871 the Estimate for the Royal Irish Constabulary and for the Dublin Police Force was £1,016,000; in 1881 it was £1,327,000, and in 1891 it was £1,543,796, or an increase of 50 per cent. in 20 years. Yet in that period the population has considerably decreased. That is a pregnant commentary on the entire system of Irish administration. Now, the cost of the police to the Irish population was, in 1871, 3s. 9d. per head. This year it amounts to 6s. 8d. per head, an increase of 80 per cent. Compare this figure with the cost in English towns. In Sunderland it is 1s. 5d. per head, in Leicester 1s. 9d., in Dundee 1s. 11d., in Leeds 2s. 3d., and in Birmingham 2s. 4d. Of course, we know that the Royal Irish Constabulary is more a military than a Police Force; it often acts as the landlords' bailiffs instead of attending to the detection and suppression of crime and to the establishment of order. It has been remarked that we have not in this Debate made many complaints against the police; but it must not be inferred that we have no cause for complaints; our abstinence is due rather to a desire not to prolong the Debate. We could, if we wished, instance scores of cases of police illegality and violence which have occurred during the past year. What I desire to do is to draw attention to the difference in the views of police duties taken in England and in Ireland. An English Magistrate had recently before him a constable

charged with assaulting a man. The defence was that it was necessary for the policeman to use his truncheon, as the man was so disorderly; but the Magistrate held that the use of the weapon was not justifiable, and that a constable has no right to strike another man (except in self-defence) any more than a civilian has. If a similar principle were applied to Ireland we should not have so many brutal assaults committed. I should like to refer to one case of high-handed policy on the part of the police, and I only cite one, although many similar instances might be given. It occurred at Clonmel last October, and was in connection with a meeting of the Tenants' Defence Association. Bills were printed announcing the meeting, and the billsticker while distributing them was arrested by Sergeant Keogh. He was taken before the Magistrates, and the District Inspector stated that the man had been taken into custody for disseminating copies of a bill which he considered inimical to law and order. It was to the language of the placard, and not to the purpose of the meeting, that he took exception, for the bill called upon the men of Clonmel to rally to their leaders, despite the brutal coercion of the present Government. Surely it is a monstrous thing to arrest a man when he is pursuing his ordinary avocation. Fortunately my hon. Friend the Mayor of Clonmel heard of the matter, and attended the Court, which dismissed the charge on the spot. This case illustrates in a marked manner the insolence and illegality of the conduct of the police.

(2.50.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope that this discussion will soon be brought to an end. I will inquire into the points that have been raised, and I think we may—in view of the understanding come to last night—pass on to the consideration of the next Vote, which is one of considerable interest, and upon which I understand some important questions are to be raised.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): It is, I suppose, impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to answer the question as to policemen being numbered, but I assure him it will be raised again on Report and on the Appropriation Bill. I do not think it can be said that we have debated this subject at un-

reasonable length. We are justified in coming to the conclusion that the Government will not number the police because they object to the men who commit assaults being identified, and this is confirmed by the fact that when hon. Members of this House have asked for the names of constables whom they have seen committing assaults their demand has always been refused. The hon. Member for South Tyrone has referred to the fact that baton charges are not now the order of the day. Is not the real cause of the cessation of these outrages to be found in the fact that the Government do not now persist in their tyrannical policy, they do not hold Star Chamber inquiries or attempt to break up public meetings? Their cue now is that Ireland is peaceful, and the police have instructions to act accordingly. We know that the Police Force is an essentially Military Force. We do not object to the individuals so much as to the system under which they are governed. I have had two letters telling me that promotion in the ranks of the constabulary is almost impossible, and I think some steps should be taken to remedy this. Unfortunately the Police Force is a Military Force kept in the country in order to terrorise the people. In Dumbarton there is one policeman to every 1,230 people, and in the county of Stirling one to 1,437; but in Ireland we have one to every 300, and the consequent burden is galling to the ratepayers. I am sorry to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that there is no intention to materially reduce the number of extra police in Ireland. I hold that many of the extra police are absolutely unnecessary, and that the burden falls heavily on the occupiers. Now, I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman what are his intentions with regard to the duties imposed upon the police by the Government recently, in sending round to shopkeepers to secure goods for boycotted people from tradesmen with whom the people boycotted have not been in the habit of dealing? They were sent round, of course, with a view to prosecuting shopkeepers who refused to sell. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman about the system of shadowing which he has inaugurated. What is that system? About 10 policemen, as a rule, are told off to attend the different fairs in the

County of Waterford, and they follow men that are supposed to give information as to boycotted cattle all over the fair and into houses and shops. Last year I was at a fair at Waterford with a young man, and the police stood up against me, listening to every word I said, and followed me through the fair, and through the town, and into the National Bank of Ireland, where we had business to transact. The right hon. Gentleman has said he considered the constable exceeded his duty in going into the bank, but he thought undue importance was attached to the fact. The right hon. Gentleman may think that because we happen to be Irishmen; but I ask whether any of his supporters would consider it of no importance to be dogged at a fair and about a town and into a bank? The right hon. Gentleman has almost destroyed some of the fairs in the South of Ireland by this system of shadowing. A friend of mine had a lot of stock in a fair in the South not long ago, and there were two detectives standing near them watching another lot of cattle, with the result that none of the buyers would go near the place, and my friend's cattle were not sold, although they were possibly the best lot in the fair. I should like to know what the right hon. Gentleman's policy in this respect is to be in the future. I myself never buy a lot of cattle without knowing where they come from, and I should consider myself justified in refusing to pay for cattle which turned out to be boycotted. This system of shadowing does not have the effect intended, but, at the same time, it is intolerable to be dogged by these constables when you are transacting your ordinary business. I beg to move a reduction of the Vote by £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
 "That a sum, not exceeding £827,700, be granted for the said Service." —  
 (Mr. P. J. Power.)

\*(3.8.) MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I entirely support the contention of my hon. Friend that the Police Force in Ireland is not efficient as far as strictly police duties are concerned. No doubt the Irish police are good marksmen, as many a family in Ireland has reason to know. But if you lose a rug off a car in Ireland, and give information

*Mr. P. J. Power*

of the loss at a police office, you will never recover the lost article, although if you go to the peasantry and tell them they will make every effort to find it for you. The fact is that the police cannot get information from the people because they are hated and distrusted by the people. Another reason why the police cannot succeed in the detection of crime is that their attention is devoted so much to watching politicians. The police are also used for driving out of their homes people in the same position as their fathers and mothers, and naturally the people hate them. The system adopted in England is very different. In Liverpool recently, when a firm of brewers sent bailiffs to take possession of a house illegally held by a manager, who resisted the attempt to get him out, and threw missiles through the windows at his besiegers, the police, on being applied to, refused to assist in taking possession. In Ireland any landlord may call on the police to assist him to evict. In Whit Week, 1890, I was in Cashel with the Members for East Mayo and North-East Cork. When we left our hotel to go to the telegraph office we were followed by nearly 100 policemen. When we came out of the telegraph office, we found a cordon of police outside it, and I noticed a policeman with his baton drawn, rushing at people and absolutely striking them. Some of the police followed people into shops until Inspector Shaw called them back. I told Inspector Shaw that one man was drunk, and asked him whether it was well to keep him in the ranks. The man answered in the presence of his officer, "We care little for your beggarly gang." I remarked that there was a stain on the man's collar which led me to believe that a number had been there. A policeman told me the man belonged to the Waterford force, and when he went up to Cashel his number was taken off. These men's numbers were deliberately taken off in order that they might be free to smash whom they pleased. In Tipperary on the day before a number of policemen were brought up from the City of Cork, and their numbers were taken off. The very men who batoned the people in our presence were the men whose numbers had been taken off. On the 30th of June, 1889, I went from Cork,

with a couple of lady friends, to Bandon Station to meet my hon. Friend the Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien). On my way down I saw the late Captain Plunket and District Inspector Concannon in charge of some police.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It is not in order to go into events that took place two years ago unless they have a direct bearing on the present Vote.

**\*MR. P. O'BRIEN:** I respectfully accept your ruling, Mr. Chairman, but this matter has a direct bearing on the present Vote. While attempting to shake the hand of my hon. Friend the Member for North-East Cork, I was struck on the head by a policeman. I went outside the station, and there I was struck down with the butt end of a rifle and rendered insensible. The right hon. Gentleman has stated that everybody who has a grievance against the police has his remedy at law. I told the right hon. Gentleman that if he could help me to identify the officers who struck me I would proceed according to law. That is two years since, and I challenge the right hon. Gentleman even now to use the means at his disposal for procuring the identification of these country policemen. Of course, it was only a matter of my head being broken, but a couple of weeks ago a policeman who had been partially maimed by two Militiamen got £1,000 damages. I do not know what price to set on my cranium, but it has been useful to me, and I should like to keep it as a going concern. I should also like to take the opinion of a jury as to what it is worth. I have also to complain of the use made of the police in Ireland as jury-packers. Recently at Maryborough, pending the trial of the Donegal peasants charged with the murder of Police Inspector Martin, the officers of the police called in their men from the various stations, gave them copies of the jury panel, and told them to mark the religion and politics of each man, and to say whether he could be trusted by the Crown to give a verdict in accordance with the evidence. I have also to complain that the police are allowed on occasion to act as moonlighters. A constable by the name of Palmer was actually caught red-handed and given into the hands

of the police in Tipperary. Sufficient time was, however, allowed to elapse before he was brought up to enable him to get right away and escape from the country. The Magistrates then sat and went through the farce of giving the man two months, when they knew he was safe in New York. I believe that what Palmer was caught in doing is being very generally done throughout Ireland. I will also give an instance of how the police act towards Irish and English Members who happen to be present at evictions. I happened to meet the hon. Member for Fulham (Mr. Hayes Fisher) when I was attending evictions in Donegal, and I noticed that he was always allowed to go inside the police cordon, and that whenever there was an awkward place he had the use of a policeman's horse. I claim that I have as much right to be treated in that way as the hon. Member for Fulham. I press all these matters on the attention of the right hon. Gentleman, and I hope he will attempt to confine the police to what are strictly police duties.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

(3.28.) **MR. SEXTON:** The reply of the right hon. Gentleman on the question of the extra force has been utterly unsatisfactory. My contention is that the extra force should only be retained in the one county where the Coercion Act is still continued fully in force. By the confession of the Government, there is not a shadow of a case for the continuance of the extra force elsewhere. I therefore move the reduction of the Vote by £65,000.

Motion made, and Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £767,700, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Sexton*).

The Committee divided:—Ayes 62; Noes 87.—(Div. List, No. 397.)

Original Question again proposed. (3.38.)

(4.0.) Question put, and agreed to.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £97,121, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending



on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Expenses of the General Prisons Board in Ireland, and of the Prisons under their control, and of the Registration of Habitual Criminals."

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I desire to bring under the notice of the Government again the case of Mr. John Cullinane. I have to make a claim for compensation for that gentleman, or, at all events, for recoupment to him of his lodgings. He caught typhoid fever owing to the bad sewage arrangements of the prison, and was laid up for 49 days after his sentence of six months' imprisonment had expired. So absolutely mean have the Government shown themselves that, having despatched him with a third-class ticket, they refused to pay the doctor they had themselves called in as a second medical attendant. I have here a letter from Mr. Cullinane, which is certainly painful reading, as showing the treatment he received when he was in a sick state. He says he became ill on the 26th of April, nine days before his sentence expired. I have suggested to the Government that they should have discharged him there and then. On the 29th of April he was removed to hospital, where for three days he was attended by warders, who gave him some milk and some lemonade. Every morning in addition he was left with a pound of stale hard bread. On the 30th he had some beef-tea served to him in a dirty tin, and with such a scum on it that he could not use it, then he was asked to take some arrowroot, which was so badly served that he could not eat it. On the 1st of May two nurses came from Dublin, but for five days they could only visit him when the warder came. Whenever he wanted the nurses he had to get out of bed, walk across the room and ring a bell. I say that is a shocking way of treating a sick man. He says the nurses did everything in their power to make his position smooth, but whenever he was ordered chicken it came to him in a tin dish without a knife and fork. I would not treat my worst enemy in such a way. It must be remembered that at this time Mr. Cullinane was absolutely entitled to his discharge, and was kept in simply because he was unable to be removed. Then he says he was told it was influenza, and until he read the reports of my speeches in this House he never knew it

was typhoid fever. Now, what brought about this man's illness? Mr. Cullinane is ordinarily a man of robust health, and is accustomed to country exercises. The Government tried to put the infection first on the water and then on the milk. They prosecuted a milk contractor for putting town's water into his milk, but the contractor took down some crack from London who swore that there was no water in the milk at all. Well, what does the prisoner say? He puts the infection down to the sewage. He became ill in the month of April, and he says that in the middle of April, some 10 or 12 days before the fever broke out all the old water closets were open and new pans were put in. The sewers were left open for two or three days and the stench that came from them was awful. Mr. Cullinane says the only warder who was ill of typhoid fever was the man in charge of the convicts who took up the sewers. One of the convicts died of the contagion and another died of what was said to be paralysis, whilst three others of the men in charge of the sewers fell sick. Under these circumstances I suggest that this disease was caused by the taking up of the sewers. When he was discharged from prison Mr. Cullinane was barely able to crawl across to the house of Dr. Moorehead, who very kindly kept him there for two or three weeks and then sent him to Bray. He is now slowly gaining ground, but his eyesight is affected and he has not yet been able to return home. Now, I ask is this a case in which to take up a mean, three-and-sixpenny position? The Government refuse to pay Dr. Moorehead. Mr. Cullinane says he did not ask for Dr. Moorehead to be sent for, but the prison doctor suggested that he should be called in, and Mr. Cullinane then said, "That would be my choice." Let me call attention to what happened in the remarkable case of Mr. Shaen Carter. When that Gentleman was shot at and injured in Mayo, the present Governor of Tasmania, Sir R. Hamilton, who was then Under Secretary for Ireland, sent up to Surgeon Wheeler, and said "You had better go down." The doctor charged 100 guineas a visit for going down to Mayo. He cut off Mr. Shaen Carter's legs, and paid him about 15 visits. He sent in a bill to the Government; the Government declined to pay it, sug-

gesting that the charge should be defrayed out of the blood money ; but in the end they were compelled to pay. It was in 1884, I think, that a sum for Surgeon Wheeler's expenses had to be put in the Votes, for he presented a Petition of Right, and when the case was tried he won it. In the case of Dr. Moorehead, I think it will be found from such evidence as I have stated, that he was introduced into the prison by Dr. Kennedy. I think, therefore, that a strong case has been made out for the payment of his fees. One would think that merely out of consideration for humanity the Government would pay compensation. They gave this man six months' imprisonment, and kept him in gaol 49 days over his time, and I hold that they ought to make him sufficient compensation to recoup him for the ordinary expenses he has been put to in consequence of this disease. He has been living at Bray and taking baths there, his brother and sister went to Tullamore Gaol to attend upon him, and I say—without going into the extraordinary contradictions which are offered as to the typhoid, the influenza, the Dublin Surgeon and so on—that he ought to be repaid all the expenditure that this has involved. I put this case, if not as a claim of right, at any rate, as one of humanity and common sense. The man's eyes are affected. Typhoid fever is a most treacherous disease. You never know when you get better of it, or what diseases it may not bring in its train. I think the Government should take all these facts into consideration, and should deal with this case according to the ordinary dictates of humanity.

(4.20.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With regard to the case to which the hon. and learned Gentleman has drawn my attention, there must always be a certain degree of doubt as to the origin of the disease. I am inclined to think that it is not absolutely impossible that, owing to certain structural defects in the main drains, John Cullinane may have contracted the typhoid fever in the gaol a few days before he would have been released. The facts are being looked into, and the defects in the drains, if any, will be remedied. There is no doubt that the disease came upon Cullinane in a pronounced form within a

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few days of what ought to have been the period of his release, and that it was necessary to keep him in the prison for a considerable length of time after his sentence had expired ; but the particular complaint raised this evening is with regard to the refusal of the Government to pay for the advice given by Dr. Moorehead who was called in to assist the prison doctor. Now, it appears that the prison rules are very specific. I do not think anyone will dissent from this, that what the prison rules lay down is that if the prison doctor calls for assistance or advice, the Government must pay for it. But if in deference to the request of the prisoner his own doctor is allowed to attend him the cost of such medical attendance must be defrayed by the patient and not by the Government. That appears to be very reasonable. There is direct contradiction as to the conditions under which Dr. Moorehead was called in. From a letter I have received, directed to the Prisons Board, it would seem that Dr. Moorehead was called in at the request of the prison doctor ; but the prison doctor says—and he is supported by the governor—that he was perfectly competent to deal with the case, and that he did not require assistance. He says that John Cullinane and his brother joined together in a request for the attendance of Dr. Moorehead, and that it was in deference to that, and that only, that Dr. Moorehead was called in. I see no objection to laying the correspondence in this case on the Table of the House if the hon. Member will move for it. The evidence of the prison doctor is perfectly clear, and it is impossible to reconcile that evidence with the only contention which would justify the Government in paying for this additional medical assistance. The hon. Member suggests that the Government are actuated by mean and wrong motives. I can assure him that that is not the case. The Government must act, as every Government must act, on general principles. They cannot make an exception in the case of one man because he happens to have Parliamentary friends, unless they are prepared to adopt a similar course in all other cases, a thing which would involve a fundamental alteration of the prison rules. Is such alteration required? If

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it is, I am prepared to carry it out; but I do not think it would be wise on our part to make an exception in favour of one particular individual unless we saw our way to justify that course by laying down a new principle. I am afraid that cases of men having maladies coming on them in prison during half the time they are under sentence must be very rare—

MR. T. M. HEALY: The malady was not coming on when the prisoner entered the gaol. It was due to defective sanitary arrangements.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, this is a matter upon which there is no agreement; but with regard to future action I may say that I intend to consult English Prison Authorities to see what the practice in England is in cases such as that before the Committee, and if I find myself able to make any general relaxation or modification in the prison rules in order to meet the case of John Cullinane, or if, without making any general alteration in the rules, I find I can meet that case I will do so. But the hon. Member must see that unless we want to bring them into a state of confusion Public Departments must be bound by general principles of policy that cannot and ought not to be relaxed in consequence of Parliamentary pressure.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It is not Parliamentary pressure; it is Parliamentary argument.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, Parliamentary argument. In other words, if the Cullinane case can be brought under broad general principles on which the cases of prisoners similarly situated can also be dealt with, I am quite willing that Cullinane should have the full benefit of it. But if, on consultation with the English authorities, it is held to be impossible to bring the case under such broad general principles, we must return to the Prison Rules, which the Prisons Board have been carrying out with no animus to particular individuals. They have always desired to see cases dealt with on broad general principles without exceptions being made in the case of particular individuals, and I, myself, am anxious that justice should be done on the broad lines I have indicated.

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

(4.28.) MR. SEXTON: I think we are entitled to something more than we have heard from the right hon. Gentleman. Whatever may be the general rule of the Prisons Board, the facts of the case of John Cullinane are such that we are entitled to expect that compensation will be made to him. May I remind the Committee of this circumstance: Cullinane was to have been released on the 1st of May, and attention was called to his case only by the fact that he was not released at the expiration of his sentence. All the proceedings in the prison were kept private. My hon. and learned Friend took up the matter, and by constantly asking questions and making speeches on the question of the adjournment of the House he elicited the facts. It was discovered that on the Friday previous to the date on which Cullinane ought to have been released there was a consultation between the prison doctor and the Medical Commissioner as to the state of the prisoner's health. The Medical Commissioner diagnosed influenza. There appears to be an impression at head-quarters that a local doctor cannot know as much as a member of the official hierarchy, so it was held that the diagnosis of the former, that Cullinane was suffering from typhoid, was incorrect. If the local doctor had been credited the prisoner might have been released, or might at least have been removed from the depressing atmosphere of a gaol. I therefore lay it down that the disease was not properly diagnosed, and that it was typhoid fever. I have also to complain of the very peculiar course which was pursued. We have asked for the appointment of a Commission again and again, and we have asked for the Report of the medical experts. The right hon. Gentleman told us that it would be obtained. It was moved for and ordered, but, up to the present moment, it has been impossible to get a sight of the Report, and we are obliged to discuss the question without the evidence. Then reference has been made to the milk, but, after careful examination, the analysts agreed that there was nothing whatever to complain of in the milk. The epidemic was undoubtedly from the sewers—from the fact of their

being opened and works carried on while the prison was crowded with prisoners. There are other prisons in Ireland, and these prisoners could easily have been removed while the works were being executed. Mr. Cullinane, in a letter to me, states that the drains were allowed to be open for a considerable time, and the pestilential air was allowed to circulate in a place where many prisoners were walking about. The only warder in the prison who took the disease was the one who was constantly in the vicinity of the open drains. The prisoners were stricken down in consequence of the drains being open and the works being carried on while they were there, and I think that in some form they are entitled to compensation from the Government. Mr. Cullinane and 10 other prisoners were laid up in the hospital. The prison warder named Cook was in charge of the hospital during the time the fever raged. Yet it was Cook who was sent with a batch of prisoners to Clonmel. Naturally, he broke down, and so did two of the prisoners, all being seized with fever. I do not say that the sending of this warder with the prisoners was deliberately done—that would be carrying it too far—but it is impossible to acquit the persons in authority of culpable negligence, and that state of facts entitles us to claim compensation for Mr. Cullinane. I think something is also due to the warders and prisoners who have suffered. I think that the right hon. Gentleman might release some of the prisoners, and shorten the terms of others. I think the warders who caught the fever are entitled to some recognition, some gratuity, or some compensation by way of a special holiday. A prisoner is put into gaol to suffer the penalty which is sanctioned by law. He is not put into gaol to be attacked by fever, or to have his life imperilled. On the contrary, the Prison Rules provide that when the imprisonment is dangerous to the life of the prisoner he is entitled to release. In this instance there was danger to the prisoners by the neglect and incompetence of the officers. The prisoners, whatever they are, have suffered a long and heavy illness, and I think they are entitled now to such a recognition as I have mentioned, namely, a remission of

the remainder of their sentences, or an abridgment where the sentence is for a very long time.

\*(4.40.) Mr. P. O'BRIEN: I desire to offer the Committee the evidence of one on the spot in connection with this matter. It has been my good, or evil, fortune to be imprisoned in Tullamore with my friend Mr. Cullinane for some months. I can bear out what has been said by my hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast as to the culpable neglect of the Government in the matter, and as to the consequences which followed. In the beginning of November I complained to the prison doctor, and to the Governor, and to the Visiting Justices, and said I felt sure that I was suffering from the germs of typhoid. The doctor asked why I thought so, and I told him I felt the evidences of it in the closets, and I said I was certain that the system of drainage was absolutely dangerous. He replied that I was mistaken, and that the arrangements were in accordance with the requirements of sanitary science. But I would point out that ordinary prisoners received better treatment than prisoners under the Coercion Act, inasmuch as they were allowed more frequent exercise. Mr. Cullinane and myself were confined to our cells for 22 out of the 24 hours, and were, therefore, more exposed to the dangers of the poisoned air. I said to the officer that I was satisfied he had done everything he could, and that in my opinion it was the system of drainage which was bad. I was slow to complain, because I remembered that my late lamented friend John Mandeville was charged with malingering, and I was prepared to sacrifice my life rather than lay myself open to such a charge. The doctor, I feel bound to say, was ready to send me to the hospital, but I would not go; but I warned him that he was very likely to have typhoid fever in the prison. The place was infested by rats. I have seen rats in the exercise yard, and I have found rats about me, and if straws show the direction of the wind, rats show the condition of the drains. But I was assured by the Governor that I was mistaken, and that everything was perfectly right. I had occasion also to complain of the water, which I submitted to the doctor. He analysed

it, and assured me that it was all right. I then thought that probably there were two wells in the prison, and afterwards I discovered that to be the fact. In all probability the doctor was furnished with a sample of water from the better well of the two. In connection with a legal action, I was removed from one prison to another, and I was released on the 5th of May. I was then informed that my friend Mr. Cullinane was still in Tullamore, that he was in a dying condition, and that the cause of his illness was typhoid. I do believe in my heart that the fact of setting about sanitary alterations in the prison was the cause of Mr. Cullinane's illness. In my opinion, if you want to save the lives of prisoners, you should remove them while the prison is being dealt with. I was justified in my complaint by the experience of about half a dozen prisoners, and certainly Tullamore was about 100 years behind the times in respect of its sanitary appliances. When I asked the doctor what was the matter with Mr. Cullinane he never wavered from the opinion that it was typhoid, though some difference of opinion was expressed by others as to what really was the matter with him. I believe Dr. Kennedy is a thoroughly competent man, but it was only when he was confirmed by another doctor whom he called in that the doctor who represented the Prisons Board admitted that the disease was typhoid fever from which Mr. Cullinane was suffering. The Chief Secretary said that there must be some rule about the payment fees to doctors who were called in; but when he employed Dr. Barr of Liverpool, he made no demur as to the fees paid. I think that Dr. Moorehead after saving the life of Mr. Cullinane and 10 or 12 other prisoners, is entitled to some remuneration for his very valuable services. The right hon. Gentleman says that he cannot make exceptions in favour of prisoners with Parliamentary friends, but I hope there may never be any prisoner with any claim to common humanity without Parliamentary friends. I do not care whether a prisoner is a Member of Parliament or a man in good position or not. All I know is, that, however poor the prisoner may be, his claims will be pressed with a stubbornness

*Mr. P. O'Brien*

equal to that exhibited in other cases. I complain that these sanitary alterations were made in a manner which was injurious and dangerous to the prisoners, who should have been removed before they were entered upon. No Member of this Assembly would leave his family for 24 hours in a house where the drains were open. Why, then, should the Government keep prisoners within easy reach of disease, and possible death? As there are prisoners now in Tullamore who have suffered from typhoid fever while in prison, I think the right hon. Gentleman should now release them. Surely you do not want to risk the lives of these men again, for they must be weak. Fortunately, the sentence of my friend Mr. Cullinane is completed, and I am happy to say that he is improving at the seaside. But the other poor people are unable to enjoy that advantage; but I do think, if they cannot go to the seaside, the right hon. Gentleman might allow them to go to their own homes. With regard to the milk supplied to the prison, I was asked again and again whether I had any complaints to make with regard to it. I replied that I had not; and I at once fixed the blame upon the sanitary arrangements of the prison. I am afraid it was because the milk was supplied by a Nationalist in the town of Tullamore that the suggestion was made that the disease arose from it. I think it was the Prisons Board, and not the milk, who were to blame. The right hon. Gentleman has no doubt consulted the Governor of Tullamore and the doctor, and I will give him the name of the Visiting Justice to whom I complained. I think he will find, as a matter of fact, that I complained of the sanitary condition of the prisons, and that I warned the officials that if a change was not made there would be typhoid fever in the place. There is another matter to which I would like to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. I have a question on the Paper for Friday next, but perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will answer it now. It is as to the prison warders in Ireland, who, I believe, contrary to the rule in England, are always compelled to wear a uniform, whether on duty in gaol, or out for a holiday. It is a great grievance to the Service. The warders complain that,

by reason of having to wear their uniform, they are made targets for attacks by the lower and rougher class of persons, who, after leaving prison, have a spite against them. I have endeavoured to point out in my question that in at least five or six large centres of Ireland warders have been set upon and brutally treated in the streets, simply from the fact that they were wearing their uniforms. The Order to wear them is not in the original rules. I have informed myself about the date of this Order, or Circular, issued by the Prisons Board; and I think I can also state the reason why it was issued. In the year 1887-8 the hon. Member for North-East Cork was present in Tullamore Gaol, and about that time a suit of clothes were conveyed to him to save his life, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary preferred to leave him naked, and it was about that period that the Order was issued. What the motive was in issuing it I do not want to insinuate, but it may perhaps be found from the date of the Order. While I was in Kilmainham Gaol a warder appeared one morning with his face bruised and cut, and two of his teeth kicked out, while he was not in uniform. The unfortunate man reported that he was not in uniform, declining to tell a lie, and the word came that he was instantly to be dismissed, notwithstanding he was in the condition I have named. I only mention this to show that an unfortunate man, in the position of a warder, if he steals out for a walk with his wife and family, is liable to be assailed in this fashion. The men desire to be relieved of this Order, which precludes them from enjoying a day's holiday free from molestation. I would also call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the long hours in which these warders are on duty. Now that the eight hours movement is attracting attention, I think it would be well to consider whether these warders can have a working day of less than 16 hours, and whether their duties shall be within more reasonable limits of time. There is another matter to which I wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman, namely, the manner in which my friend Mr. Cullinane suffered in his eyesight. I have no doubt whatever

that this arose from the whitewashed cell in which he was imprisoned. I can say of my own experience, after I have been released from prison, that I have been compelled to wear glasses, so greatly have I suffered from being confined in a whitewashed cell. The hon. Member for Camborne, when he was imprisoned, made a similar complaint. We have not many Englishmen imprisoned in Ireland; I wish we had more, for perhaps we would then get an alteration in the prison system of Ireland more speedily than we can now. In the case of the hon. Member for Camborne the cell was coloured buff or blue, and I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, as the expense would be comparatively slight, he could not adopt a similar method in all the prisons of Ireland, in order to avoid the infliction of unnecessary suffering upon the prisoners. As I have already reminded the Committee, the danger to the sight of prisoners, under the Coercion Act is greater than that to ordinary prisoners, because the former are confined to their cells during 22 out of the 24 hours. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will give due consideration to the representations I have made, and that he will give us, before the Debate closes, some assurance that he will deal with the points I have raised.

(5.0.) DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I merely rise for the purpose of bringing this discussion to a definite issue by moving that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £5,000. I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that in respect of the outbreak of fever at Tullamore I moved last week for a Return, and it was definitely promised that it would be in our hands before this Debate. I am sorry to say that it has not been produced, and that we are compelled to discuss this matter without having before us a record of the facts. It is well to mention one source of peril to the public health which has not come under notice. I am informed that the prisoners in the gaols of Ireland make the baskets which are used in the Parcels Post Delivery Service, so that you have been sending out from fever-stricken gaols, all over the country, the means of spreading infection to every home. The theory that the fever was

carried into the gaol by the milk is not proved; indeed, it is disproved. I concur in the suggestion that those prisoners who have suffered from typhoid fever in prison are entitled to compensation in some form or other. I should think the best would be a mitigation or remission of their sentences. These prisoners are broken down in health, and care should be taken that they are not disabled for the rest of their lives by being continued in a state of confinement which comes with special hardship upon them after their severe sufferings from typhoid fever. It is important that their terms of imprisonment should be curtailed as much as possible. I do trust that the right hon. Gentleman will go thoroughly into this matter, and endeavour to meet the suggestions which we have made.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £92,121, be granted for the said Service."—(*Dr. Tanner.*)

(5.15.) COLONEL NOLAN: I want to bring to the notice of the Chief Secretary the fact that the diet for the prisoners for the first month is positively cruel. It is so low that they are starved, and then become ill. The men imprisoned for political offences are on a different footing from the class of habitual criminals. I believe that inquiry would show that the dietary of these political prisoners is much below what is necessary for the nourishment of a man, and must, therefore, have injurious effects upon them physically.

MR. SEXTON: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will see the necessity of answering the questions that have been put to him.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will look into the matters put before me by the hon. Member, and will see what can be done in regard to them. With regard to what has been said about the warders, I will see whether there is any ground for thinking that they are unduly deprived of any holiday. As to the question of the prison dietary, I would remind the Committee that the whole subject was carefully gone into by the Royal Commission which considered the subject two years ago. The present dietary in the Irish prisons was, I

*Dr. Tanner*

believe, fixed mainly upon the recommendations of that Commission, and the result of their labours has been that a much more generous diet has been adopted in the Irish prisons than that which prevails in the English prisons.

\*MR. P. O'BRIEN: I hope the Chief Secretary will endeavour to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission with a view of reducing the long hours during which the warders are employed in the Irish gaols. Their duties are of a most painful character. They go on duty early, and are kept until very late, and I think the right hon. Gentleman would do well to assent to some relaxation in the hours they work.

COLONEL NOLAN: It is clear now that the whole of the prisoners must have been wrong, and that they were not hungry or ill when they said they were. The moment the Chief Secretary says this or that has been done on the recommendation of a Royal Commission he absolves himself from all responsibility, and we must accept the situation, because anything a Royal Commission does must be right, and we ought not to believe any amount of evidence to the contrary by whomsoever it may be given.

DR. TANNER: I may say in connection with the manufacture of the parcel post baskets in prisons where typhoid fever is prevalent, they must necessarily carry disease and death to a number of places outside. If disease can be carried into a gaol by means of the milk, how much more is disease likely to be spread over a whole country by parcel post baskets manufactured in a gaol where fever is prevalent. Of course, disease is more likely to be engendered in gaols where, for the first month, the prisoners are placed on an abnormally low diet which is absolutely insufficient to afford them proper nourishment. I have learned this fact from personal experience. Men who otherwise would throw off an attack of typhoid fever, because of their good constitution, may have their health seriously endangered by the prostration consequent on improper food. I would, therefore, ask the Chief Secretary to give the utmost consideration to the case of those who suffer from the insanitary condition and the insufficient dietary of

our gaols. I think that when the insani-  
 tary condition of the gaol has been  
 traced to the neglect of the Prison Au-  
 thorities, every consideration should be  
 given to the men who had suffered: all  
 the men who have been prostrate with  
 the fever should be immediately re-  
 leased, while the men who have suffered  
 in a less degree should have their terms  
 of imprisonment reduced.

(5.31.) The Committee divided:—  
 Ayes 82; Noes 103.—(Div. List, No.  
 398.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

#### CLASS IV.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,075,357 (in-  
 cluding a Supplementary sum of £806,225), be  
 granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum  
 necessary to defray the Charge which will come  
 in course of payment during the year ending  
 on the 31st day of March, 1892, for Public  
 Education in England and Wales, including  
 Expenses of the Education Office in London."

(5.40.) MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield,  
 Brightside): I rise to make an appeal to  
 the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It  
 would hardly be fair to ask the right  
 hon. Gentleman the Vice President of  
 the Council to make his annual statement  
 at this period of the Sitting. In face of  
 the promise of the Chancellor of the Ex-  
 chequer, that he would not ask the  
 House to sit after half past 6 on Wed-  
 nesdays, there is no possibility of com-  
 pleting the discussion to-night, and I  
 would suggest that the Vote should be  
 postponed and taken to-morrow, after the  
 consideration of the Lords Amendments  
 to the Education Bill.

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHE-  
 QUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's,  
 Hanover Square): I have said I would  
 not ask the House to sit after half past  
 6; but, under the circumstances, I hope  
 the Committee will fall in with the sug-  
 gestion that the Vote should be taken  
 after the Lords Amendments to the  
 Education Bill to-morrow. I know by  
 experience that Scotland and Ireland  
 must be treated precisely in the same way  
 as England in this respect, and therefore  
 I suggest that we should also postpone  
 the Irish and Scotch Education Votes,  
 and make progress with the other Votes  
 in the Class.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

3. £390,986, to complete the sum for  
 the Science and Art Department.

4. £93,000, to complete the sum for  
 the British Museum.

5. £9,387, to complete the sum for  
 the National Gallery.

6. £1,219, to complete the sum for  
 the National Portrait Gallery.

7. £14,796, to complete the sum for  
 Scientific Investigation, &c.

8. £40,000, to complete the sum for  
 Universities and Colleges, Great Britain.

9. £10,305, to complete the sum for  
 London University.

10. £2,950, to complete the sum for  
 National Gallery, &c., Scotland.

11. £430, to complete the sum for  
 Endowed Schools Commissioners, Ire-  
 land.

12. £1,701, to complete the sum for  
 National Gallery of Ireland.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [28th July] reported.

Resolutions 1 to 7 (see page 561)  
 agreed to.

8. "That a sum, not exceeding £56,010, be  
 granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum  
 necessary to defray the Charge which will  
 come in course of payment during the year  
 ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the  
 Expenses of Reformatory and Industrial  
 Schools in Ireland."

(5.55.) MR. SEXTON: In Committee  
 on this Vote I gave notice to the Chief  
 Secretary that I would on this stage  
 draw attention to the refusal of the Go-  
 vernment to extend the number of  
 certificates in the case of the Crumlen  
 Street (Belfast) Industrial School for  
 Roman Catholic girls. The school is  
 one of the most efficient schools in  
 Ireland. A few years ago, when the  
 right hon. Gentleman the Member for  
 the Isle of Thanet (Mr. J. Lowther)  
 was Chief Secretary, the case of the  
 Belfast Catholic School was brought to  
 his notice, and he consented to increase  
 the number of certificates for males from  
 110 to 150, and the only reason assigned  
 then for not extending the number of  
 certificates in the case of girls was that



there was not accommodation for a larger number of girls. The managers were obliged to maintain 20 or 30 children beyond the number authorised by the certificate. The school not only served Belfast, but the four counties of Antrim, Down, Derry, and Donegal. The managers made their application for an increase in the certificate three years ago, and I beg the right hon. Gentleman to reconsider his position. The managers have shown public spirit by purchasing an additional residence about five miles outside Belfast, and they ask for a certificate for their new establishment, or for a moderate increase in the number of certificates for the existing school in Crumlen Road. If the Government consider 50 is too large an increase, I ask them to make an increase from 110 to 130. I think the right hon. Gentleman will agree that, as one of the Members for Belfast, I am not going beyond the limits of reasonable demand on behalf of this deserving school.

(6.0.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I certainly do not think the hon. Gentleman has gone beyond his province in pressing the claims of this school on the favourable consideration of the Treasury, with whom the matter rests. But we must also take into account the state of the Industrial School Vote. In 1880-81 the amount granted for industrial and reformatory schools in Ireland was £72,000. It grew steadily, year by year, until when I came into office it had risen to £91,000, and since 1886 it has further risen to £99,000.

MR. SEXTON: Surely the right hon. Gentleman will not deny that as the cost of industrial schools rises so the cost of prisons goes down?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman is requesting a further increase in the Vote, but there are several points to be taken into account in considering this subject. In the first place, the Treasury naturally object to dealing with the question in Ireland on a wholly different principle from that which is adopted in England and Scotland. The system, though nominally the same, is different in Ireland, and it is different to the advantage of the Irish industrial schools. This

*Mr. Sexton*

enormous sum of money is spent on schools which may be described as denominational schools of the extreme type. The amount spent on Roman Catholic schools is £85,000 a year and upwards. There is no Conscience Clause and nothing to prevent the education from being denominational. In the circumstances, the Treasury will naturally refuse to allow the Vote to be augmented at a more rapid rate than it has increased hitherto; and I am bound to say that if I could induce the Treasury to give free scope to these philanthropic desires this House would have reason to complain.

MR. SEXTON: The Corporation of Dublin give £10,000 a year.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe the industrial schools are admirably managed in Ireland. A good case for the children can always be made out, and it is a disagreeable and an onerous task for the Chief Secretary of the day to have to refuse these applications, as he is too often obliged to do. I have every desire to aid the institution to which the hon. Gentleman has called the attention of the House, and the utility of which I fully recognise; but, under the circumstances, I do not think I could induce the Treasury to sanction additional expenditure.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolution 9 (see page 632) agreed to.

#### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [REMISSION AND GRANT].

Resolution reported.

"That it is expedient to authorise the remission of certain Loans made by the Exchequer Bill Loan Commissioners and the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to the Ulster Canal Company, and also of authorising a Grant, not exceeding £3,500, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, to the Arklow Harbour Commissioners, pursuant to any Act of the present Session to grant money for the purpose of Local Loans, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans."

Resolution agreed to.

#### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

(No. 417.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time to-morrow.

**LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS)  
[PAYMENTS].**

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration, pensions, and allowances that may become payable under any Act of the present Session to transfer the Middlesex Registry of Deeds to the Land Registry, and provide for the conduct of the business thereof.—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

**EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE  
BILL.—(No. 416.)**

COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses agreed to.

Schedule I.

(6.12.) **MR. PICKERSGILL** (Bethnal Green, S.W.): By this Bill it is proposed to continue a small portion—Sub-section 3 of Section 108—of the Local Government Act, which gives power to make orders on the application of County Councils, an unusual power given to a Department to modify a general enactment. Originally the power was limited to six months, and it was given, I presume, as a means of tiding over difficulties inseparable from the launching of a great scheme for the reform of local government, but year by year the power has been renewed in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. I do not quite understand the operation of the section, whether it merely continues the orders made within the first six months, or allows further orders to be made from time to time.

\***THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD** (*Mr. Ritchie*, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): It is not proposed to renew the provision beyond the present year, but, as the hon. Member knows, there are matters of some complexity which arise in connection with the change in the date of the County Council elections; and therefore the Local Government Board have thought it necessary to take this power to cover the period of the next elections for the assistance of Local Authorities in technical difficulties that may arise.

**MR. PICKERSGILL**: Such orders will relate merely to elections?

\***MR. RITCHIE**: That is all. There has not been the slightest difficulty about the exercise of the power before now, nor do I anticipate any now.

Schedules and Preamble agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendment; to be read the third time to-morrow.

**LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY)  
BILL.—(No. 407.)**

Read the third time, and passed.

**JUDICATURE ACTS AMENDMENT  
BILL [LORDS].—(No. 403.)**

Considered in Committee, and reported, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

**CLERGY DISCIPLINE (IMMORALITY)  
BILL [LORDS].—(No. 293.)**

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

(6.22.) **THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** (*Mr. Goschen*, St. George's, Hanover Square): In moving the Second Reading of this Bill, I may remind the House that a few days ago I announced the intention of the Government to withdraw the whole of the measure with the exception of the first four clauses, which are not contentious, and which provide that when clergymen are found guilty of any crime they shall lose their livings. This will remedy the existing state of things, under which clergymen convicted of the most serious offences are not compelled to vacate their benefices. I scarcely think there will be any objection on the part of anyone in the House to those clauses, but I will not press the matter further at this period of the Session, if there is likely to be any great opposition. I do not think that hon. Members belonging to other Churches will stand in the way of those who belong to the Church of England securing immunity from a scandal which must hurt the feelings of all. If the House will now read the Bill a second time I propose in Committee to make the alterations I have referred to.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Bill be now read a second time."  
—(*Mr. Goschen.*)

**MR. S. T. EVANS** (Glamorgan, Mid): I hope the Second Reading will

not be pressed at such a late period of the Session, in face of the pledge of the First Lord of the Treasury that no further contentious Bills should be introduced.

MR. GOSCHEN: The hon. Member will allow me to remind him that my right hon. Friend specially exempted this Bill.

MR. S. T. EVANS: The Bill was specially mentioned, but I am referring to another occasion when the First Lord of the Treasury indicated the Bills to be pushed forward to a successful issue, when this Bill was not included among the number. The Bill will be less objectionable in its modified form than as introduced, but we must persist in our opposition; our objection to the principle of the Bill remains. The first four clauses are not necessary, as there is a very easy method of getting rid of immoral clergymen by bringing in disestablishment. I find that the word "clergymen" in the first clause does not include the Archbishops or the Bishops, and therefore the Government do not propose to deal out the same measure to the higher officers of the Church as to the lower. Beyond this, there are offences which are not provided for in the Bill. The first four clauses, indeed, contain much that is contentious, and therefore I move the adjournment of the Debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—  
(*Mr. S. T. Evans.*)

(6.29.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir E. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): The criticisms of the hon. Member are really not directed against the Second Reading, they are such as may be raised in Committee. There will be no objection to insert words to include other serious offences if the hon. Member desires to make the addition. That certain misdemeanours are not specified is not a real objection against the Bill, and I see no reason for adjourning the Debate, especially having regard to the general feeling in favour of the measure.

\*MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I think it will be remembered that in mentioning this Bill the First Lord of the Treasury gave us to understand it would not be taken in the ab-

*Mr. S. T. Evans*

sence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. He said the right hon. Gentleman took great interest in it, and the Bill was not to be proceeded with during the present Session unless he were present. But apart from that, I do not think that a Bill of this scope should be proceeded with piecemeal, or at this period of the Session.

\*(6.31.) MR. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I think it due to the right hon. Gentleman to state what my impression is as to the arrangement come to in reference to this Bill. My recollection does not tally with that of the hon. Member for Rugby. I understood the Government to say that they would not deal with any contentious business this Session except this Bill. This measure has been excepted all the way through. The First Lord of the Treasury pointed out to us that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian took a strong and deep interest in the Bill, and on that ground it was accepted; therefore, I have regarded it all the way through as one of the Bills which the Government were at liberty to deal with as they thought proper. The compromise the Chancellor of the Exchequer has proposed seems to me a fair one. The portion of the Bill to which exception was taken was the constitution of the new Ecclesiastical Court and its complicated method of procedure. Great difference of opinion must arise as to that; but I cannot think that there can be any difference of opinion as to the necessity of depriving a responsible public official of his position if he is convicted of a heinous and grievous offence. There is no doubt—as the legal Members of the House know—that there are certain grave offences of which a clergyman may be convicted of without being thereby deprived of his living. That is a state of law which should not exist. When a man has committed such offences he should cease to occupy the responsible public position he holds. I hope we shall not embark on any debateable and controversial matter on this Bill as affecting the Establishment question or any other question. This appears to be a *bona fide* attempt on the part of the Government

to put an end to that which everyone must feel to be a very serious state of affairs. I am sure I am, in my humble way, acting in entire accord with, and carrying out the views of, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian in supporting the Government in endeavouring to carry the measure in the restricted shape in which it is now proposed; and I hope the hon. Member will not persist in his Motion for adjourning the Debate, but will defer to the Committee stage any objections he may have to the Bill and bring them up in the form of Amendments.

(6.37.) MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I was present when the First Lord of the Treasury made his statement, and the impression left on my mind is that he said the Government would not proceed with contentious business. He especially mentioned this Bill, but he mentioned it in the sense that it was not a contentious Bill, because it had the support of the Leader of the Opposition. I did not understand that he in any way abandoned the offer he made not to proceed with contentious business. I do not express an opinion as to the merits of the Bill one way or the other; but I must say it appears to me, from what has taken place to-day, that it is a contentious Bill. ["No, no!"] That remonstrance proves it, and, therefore, to proceed with the Bill now would be to violate the understanding entered into with the First Lord of the Treasury. As the Bill deals with ecclesiastical matters, in which I take an interest, I shall feel bound to support the Motion for the adjournment of the Debate.

MR. GOSCHEN: I would ask to be allowed to say a word to remove the impression that the First Lord of the Treasury gave a pledge not to proceed with this Bill. I am certain that the impression on the mind of the Leader of the House and on that of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian was that they were entitled to proceed with the Bill. I have had an opportunity of seeing my right hon. Friend since he spoke on this subject, and he confirms me in this. Both he and the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian were under the impression that the Bill would go forward, notwithstanding that they saw that in certain

quarters of the House there was opposition to it. From beginning to end this measure has been exempted from the arrangements made by my right hon. Friend.

\*(6.39.) MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): The hon. Member for Glamorganshire just now made a remark about Disestablishment, and it was received with disapprobation from the other side. But there are many others of us in this House who agree with him. No one in the position of a clergyman should be allowed to remain in possession of his benefice if he commits a grave offence, but we should not be called on to deal with such cases in this House. We do not do so in the case of clergymen of any other denomination than the Established Church. The proper way to deal with these matters is to put the Church of England in the same position as other denominations.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The Question before the House is the Adjournment of the Debate.

\*MR. H. J. WILSON: As to the pledge of the Leader of the House, I do not pretend to have any clear recollection, but as there seems to be a strong difference of opinion on the matter, I would appeal to the Government whether it is fair to press the Bill forward at this period of the Session.

\*MR. ROBY (Lancashire, S.E., Eccles): As to the understanding arrived at, my memory is clear that while the Leader of the House was dealing with the general principle of not taking contentious business, he put this Bill out of the category as one on which he wished to hear the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian before proceeding further. From that time to this I have thought the Government justified in going on with the Bill if they thought fit to do so. I shall vote against the Motion for Adjournment. It seems to me that to demand the Disestablishment of the Church in order to make a man vacate his living for immorality, is going a long way round.

MR. MORTON (Peterborough): My recollection is that the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor

of the Exchequer distinctly pledged themselves that contentious business should not be taken, and that when the First Lord of the Treasury mentioned this Bill he mentioned it was non-contentious, because, as he said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was in favour of it. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] I object entirely to contentious business being taken, and I am in favour of adjourning the matter, because I object to the way in which it is proposed to deal with it. I object to leaving out Archbishops and Bishops. ["Order!"] As a Churchman, I should prefer to deal with this matter by way of disestablishment.

MR. NEVILLE (Liverpool, Exchange): In my view, to postpone dealing with a crying scandal until we can deal with Disestablishment would be an injustice, and therefore I shall support the Bill.

MR. T. ELLIS (Merionethshire): It is not at all our desire to leave a crying scandal in the Church, but I have to complain that these ecclesiastical questions always crop up at the end of the Session. Many Members interested have left the House, fully believing that the Government would not proceed with this Bill. This is decidedly a contentious Bill; even the clauses the Government propose to retain are full of anomalies, and are highly contentious. I certainly shall feel obliged to discuss the Bill during its progress through the House; and I hope my hon. Friend will press his Motion for the Adjournment of the Debate.

(6.42.) The House divided:—Ayes 27; Noes 82.—(Div. List, No. 3.99)

Original Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

(6.52.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.): I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time this day three months, on the ground that many Members who are interested in the Bill have left the House under the impression that it was not to be taken.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(Mr. Lloyd-George.)

Mr. Morton

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. S. T. EVANS: I am very sorry I have to address the House again on this Question.

CAPTAIN BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness): I rise to order. The hon. Member has spoken on this Question.

\*MR. SPEAKER: This is a new Question.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): He spoke before making his Motion—on the Question that the Bill be now read a second time.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The Question now is that the word "now" stand part of the Question.

(6.55.) MR. S. T. EVANS: Appeals have been made from various quarters of the House to the Government not to proceed with this Bill. I am sorry there is any misunderstanding as to the pledges that were given by the First Lord of the Treasury. The opponents of the Bill who recollect the pledge given intend to resist its progress at every stage, and it is therefore impossible for the Government to carry it. It is said by some Members on the Liberal side that those who oppose the Bill desire to perpetuate the scandals in the Church until it is disestablished. I fear those Gentlemen are Churchmen first and Liberals afterwards.

An hon. MEMBER: Christians first.

MR. S. T. EVANS: I am not sorry that those hon. Members have made the speeches to which we have listened, because I think it a good thing that their constituents should know that there are some people who call themselves Liberals, who are not yet prepared to go in for a measure of Disestablishment and Disendowment. ["Hear, hear!"] Hon. Members may think there are Members of that kind in the House now, but I can assure those who cheer that before long we shall have very few persons of that kind on these Benches. I say the Church of England has no right to take up the time of the nation in order that some of its members may be turned out. If we are to legislate on such a subject, I object to legislating piecemeal. It is

said that the first four clauses are those the Government propose to proceed with, but those are a very small part of the Bill, and do not include the definition which is necessary to explain what is meant by "clergymen." That clause, in defining clergymen, excludes Archbishops and Bishops. Well, we ought not to read the Bill a second time until we have a satisfactory explanation for the exclusion of the high officials of the Church. There may be an Act of Parliament depriving Bishops and Archbishops of their functions in the event of misdemeanour, but if there is, I am not aware of it, and I shall oppose the Bill until we have a statement from the Government that they are willing to extend the provisions of the measure to all the high officers of the Church. I say that if a clergyman of the Church of England is guilty of a criminal offence, whatever its nature, the same result ought to follow, and there ought to be no graduation of the offences committed. According to this Bill, if a clergyman be convicted of an outrage or felony certain consequences are to ensue. Immediately he is convicted of a felony he vacates his office, but I would point out that the distinction between a felony and a misdemeanour is by no means clear, and, in many cases, is not justifiable. A man found guilty of perjury has committed a serious offence, but that is not a felony, and a clergyman so convicted might be allowed to continue to minister to the people. The Courts of Summary Jurisdiction have had their powers increased year after year. Take the case of a clergyman convicted of a grievous assault on his wife. That is sufficient for an order of separation, but although he might be thus separated from his wife, the clergyman so convicted might still continue his ministrations under this Bill. I think I have said enough to show that the 1st sub-section of Clause A is not sufficient. But there is a further provision in case of a clergyman receiving a free pardon from the Crown. The use of the prerogative of the Crown in this matter is a question of great importance, and I fail to see how a clergyman whose conviction has forfeited his position as a minister of the Church of England, ought, by reason of a free

pardon obtained by setting the necessary machinery in motion be once more open to preferment. The 3rd Section of the Bill deals with ecclesiastical offences, a certificate of conviction being proof to the Ecclesiastical Court of the commission of the act for which the clergyman has been convicted; but if the Justices at Petty Sessions are to have cognizance of such offences their decision is to override that of the Ecclesiastical Court. Are hon. Gentlemen opposite prepared to accept this? Without going further into the details of the Bill, I repeat that we on these Benches do offer a strenuous objection to the House being asked to deal with questions of this kind at all, and especially at this period of the Session. The questions here involved are questions which ought to be dealt with within the pale of the Church itself, and I put it to the House what sort of a Ministry must it be that in the great and important establishment of the Church of England is unable to deal with these matters. What a lurid light it throws on the way in which the Church looks on some of its members! There is no Member of this House who can put his finger on a single case of a Nonconformist clergyman being convicted of a crime, where the Nonconformist Body have not been able to get rid of him. If the Government wish to press forward this Bill they may, by their superior numbers, be able to carry it, but I warn them that as long as we are compelled to remain here they will not meet with any facilities from these Benches in regard to the present measure, and that, therefore, they ought to remember that "discretion is the better part of valour."

\*(7.10.) MR. TALBOT (Oxford University): I will not follow the hon. Gentleman opposite in the minute criticisms he has passed on this Bill, for which I do not consider this the proper opportunity, but I wish to offer a word of protest against the attitude taken by him and other hon. Members below the Gangway. They profess that they do not desire to interfere with the action of the Church in regard to these matters, but their action belies their professions, because by their action they are doing what they can to fasten on the Estab-

lished Church of this country a scandal which the members of the Church desire to remove. The fact is that when the authorities of the Church show a desire to remove abuses they are met by a *non possumus* from hon. Members opposite—repudiated, I am glad to see, by right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench—because of their ulterior desire to disestablish the Church. Anything more cruel I can hardly imagine, and I am afraid I am right in saying that it would be difficult to imagine anything more contrary to the cause of public morality and decency.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): I think it the duty of hon. Members on this side of the House to repudiate the accusation that because we desire this question to be discussed on its merits, we are, therefore, accessory to immorality. From the vote already taken we see that a considerable section of the House has a strong conscientious objection to the passage of this Bill, and I put it to the Government whether it is fair that a measure of this kind should be introduced not only at the end of the Session, but at the end of a long sitting, and at an hour when, we were told, the House would be adjourned? Many hon. Members have taken on good faith the promise that the House was not to sit after half-past six o'clock to-day, and have gone away. It is now getting on for half-past seven, and I put it to Her Majesty's Government whether it is treating us fairly to press this Bill any further to-night? I say that if these four clauses are to be passed they should be passed at a time when they can be considered exhaustively and upon their merits, and I fail to see why we are to be placed to-day under the shadow of the Leader of the Opposition, who, under the circumstances of which the House is well aware, ought not to have been brought into this discussion. The Government must see that there really is a serious opposition to this Bill, and they ought to show sufficient courtesy to let us know that we shall either have the necessary time to consider it or that it will be withdrawn.

Mr. Talbot

(7.30.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I quite agree with the statement of the last speaker, that this Bill is outside the letter of the compact with the Leader of the House, who specially reserved it for future consideration. Still, it is within the spirit of the compact come to on the 15th June, which was that no contentious business should be taken after that date. But now the Government cannot fail to see that this is contentious business, and, therefore, does not strictly come within the spirit of the compact. We have already this week had two late sittings, each of them extending to close upon 3 o'clock in the morning; and although we were led to understand that we were only to sit until half-past 6 o'clock to-day, it is now getting on for half-past seven. We are also perfectly certain to have some more late sittings, and, therefore, I think the Government might well spare us a few hours on a Wednesday evening, especially under the circumstances I have indicated.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: It is hardly correct to state that I said the other day we should not sit beyond half-past six o'clock to-day; but I admit that I gave an impression that we would not ask the House to sit much after seven or half-past seven. I may add that, having watched this Debate, I do not see much hope of being able to conclude it this evening in the time we have at our disposal, although I protest against the imputation that we are not acting entirely within both the letter and the spirit of our statement. Therefore, if the Motion for the adjournment of the Debate is pressed, I shall not resist it.

Motion made, and Question "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and agreed to.

Debate adjourned till To-morrow.

FOREIGN MARRIAGES BILL—(No. 408.)

As amended, considered; Bill read the third time, and passed.

It being after Six of the clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at twenty minutes after Seven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 30th July, 1891.*

Lord DUNSANY.—Lord MULGRAVE.  
CLAIMS TO VOTE FOR REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR IRELAND.

Ordered and Directed, That a Certificate be sent by the Clerk of the Parliaments to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, stating that the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom has reported to the House of Lords that the right of the Lord Dunsany and the Lord Mulgrave to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of him the said Lord Chancellor; and that the House of Lords has ordered such Reports to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland: And it is hereby also Ordered, That the said Reports of the said Lord Chancellor be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland.

## SAT FIRST.

The Earl of Dudley, after the death of his father.

RETURNING OFFICERS (SCOTLAND)  
BILL.—(No. 191.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACTS  
AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 269.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with an Amendment.

COMMISSIONERS FOR OATHS ACT  
(1889) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 123.)  
SLANDER OF WOMEN BILL.—(No. 233.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendment to each Bill agreed to.

CHILDREN'S LIFE INSURANCE BILL.  
[H.L.]—(No. 16.)

Message from the Commons for Report, &c. of the Select Committee of this House: Ordered to be communicated accordingly.

VOL. CCCLVI [THIRD SERIES.]

## METROPOLITAN HOSPITALS, &amp;c.

Message from the House of Commons for Report, &c. of the Select Committee of this House: Ordered to be communicated accordingly.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS) BILL.

## THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

\*EARL FORTESCUE: My Lords, I wish to say one word, and I will not detain your Lordships one minute in saying it. I wish to say that the London County Council since its establishment has confirmed all the apprehensions felt by many and expressed by myself when the Bill for establishing it was in progress through this House. I ventured to predict that its members, or the majority of them, would court popularity by discussing questions beyond the range of the duties intrusted to them, and that they would waste precious time and let their business get into arrear. They did so in reference to the election of female Councillors, and the claim on the management of the police. I predicted that they would try to avoid unpopularity when they found themselves obliged to levy heavy rates by having recourse to confiscation. Your Lordships are all familiar with their betterment scheme—that was one kind of confiscation—and with their attempt to pull down gates on private property without giving compensation, which was another kind. Happily they were unable to carry either of those attempts into effect. And I earnestly hope that the rate-payers of London will choose wiser, juster, and more economical County Councillors when the time of election comes.

Bill read 3<sup>a</sup> with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

## FOREIGN MARRIAGES BILL.

Brought from the Commons; Read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on Monday next: (The Lord Chancellor.) (No. 282.)

2 B

An Asterisk at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

by Contract with H.M.'s Government.



LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY)  
BILL.

Brought from the Commons; Read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> To-morrow: (The Marquess of Salisbury). (No. 283.)

WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS  
(SCOTLAND) WORKS BILL.

Brought from the Commons; Read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on Monday next: (The Lord Ker [*M. Lothian*]).

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY  
RATES AND CHARGES) PROVISIONAL  
ORDER BILL.

## COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.

## Schedule.

\***LORD ABERDARE:** My Lords, I have an Amendment, the effect of which I admit at once is very considerable; but if it does nothing else, it will give the noble Lord who has charge of the Bill an opportunity of stating why it is that charges so exceptionally heavy upon the chief article of commerce in the South of Wales should have been inserted in this Bill. I will at once state what is the difference between the charges over the South Wales portion of the line and those on other parts of the Great Western system, and upon lines in other parts of England and Wales. The South Wales Railway was made in 1845—46 years ago. It ran from a place called Grange Court, not very far to the west of Gloucester, through the whole county of Monmouth, and the counties of Glamorganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire, until it reached Milford. Its length was 164 miles, of which about half, that is to say, from Grange Court to Newport, was mainly through agricultural country, and another portion was also agricultural, from Carmarthen to Newport; but the railway between those two points, that is, between Newport and Carmarthen, traversed the rich basin of the South Wales Coalfield. In 1846 this basin was very slightly developed, and the population of Glamorgan, the most populous and important of all those counties, was very different to what it is now. I hold in my hand a

statement of the gradual rise in population in Glamorgan. I am not going to trouble your Lordships with it beyond saying this, that the population in Glamorganshire in 1841 was 171,000, and in 1891 it is 687,000, so that the population has quadrupled. The wealth of the district has increased in still greater proportion, and the coal trade, which was then very inconsiderable, has been stated, I believe not inaccurately, by persons who have the opportunity of knowing (that is, the coal trade which runs over that portion of the Great Western Railway which belongs to the South Wales district), as about 10,000,000 tons. The railways were amalgamated in 1855. At that time it is not a matter of surprise if the rate for carrying coal was somewhat high. The coal was undeveloped, and the district was, on the whole, a poor one, and the rate was fixed at 2d. It was fixed at 2d., however, I may add, without any terminal charge, and the railway found the wagons. In 1888 a Bill, as your Lordships well know, was passed, called the Railway Traffic and Canals Act, the object of which I have always understood was to assimilate as much as possible the charges for carrying goods of various descriptions in different parts of England. Now, to a great extent, with respect to five or six classes, this most desirable object has been effected, and the rates are the same everywhere. But the important articles of commerce in South Wales are coal and iron, and here one finds a very broad discrepancy. I daresay the noble Lord who is in charge of the Bill will be able to explain it, but it is a matter which in the opinion of the South Wales traders affects them rather grievously. Over the general system of the Great Western Railway, for instance, from London to Bristol and Gloucester, and from Didcot into Staffordshire and on to Birkenhead, the charge is something near 1d. a ton, 0.95d. per ton; but when you come to South Wales the charge has been diminished, indeed, from what it was, but it remains still at 1½d. a ton, and in addition to this there are terminal charges in London. Now, I need not say that this great difference of  $\frac{1}{100}$ ths affects very heavily the South Wales traffic in competition with other districts. That a heavy charge should have been originally authorised is

natural and right. When traffic is small the charge must naturally be high, and the Committees which have been sitting considering this matter have recognised that distinction in making on various railways heavier charges for short distances, and where the circumstances are adverse to a large trade. But where you come to long lines, and especially a line of the length and importance of the South Wales line, the case is different. Now, I will read to the House what are the charges over the other railways for conveyance of coal. I have told your Lordships that in South Wales the charge along the main line is 1½d.—1·50d.; on the Midland it is 1·15d., without making any exception; on the Great Northern it is 0·95d. for main lines and certain limited branches; on the North Western it is 0·95 over all the lines. Now, I well know that all these charges have received very careful attention. We know that they were referred to two Members of the Board of Trade—to the noble Lord opposite (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) and to Mr. Courtenay Boyle; and I think we must all have heard but one expression of approbation of the manner in which their duties were discharged. They sat over 80 days, they worked most laboriously, and their work was marked with great ability. But that was not all. These rates and charges, so important both to the trading interest and to the Railway Companies themselves, were further considered by a Joint Committee of both Houses, and I, for one, would naturally have been inclined to accept, without any further discussion, whatever was found was right and proper by a powerful Committee representing the best business heads of both Houses. But when I look at the subsequent history of this case, I am bound to say that however able the men, and however great the attention they may have given to the subject, such is the complexity of these affairs that error may slip in. In fact, two Members of the House of Commons (Mr. Hanbury and Dr. Hunter) who were members of this Joint Committee stated that had they known there had been no terminal charge made under the South Wales Act previously to the present Bill, their decision would have been influenced by the knowledge of that fact. I know it is stated that if

they did not know it, it is their own fault; but that is not the real question. The question is, did they, or did they not, know it, and if they did not know it would this knowledge have affected their decision? They themselves say it would. But I think I have a much stronger argument in my favour in the fact that the Bill as it stood was considered a hardship by no less a person than the President of the Board of Trade himself, because he suggested—admitting that the South Wales traders did labour under disadvantages—a clause which is now in the Bill, and the effect of which is that if for any three consecutive years a dividend of 6 per cent. shall be paid upon the ordinary stock of a Railway Company, then that the charges shall no longer be 1½d. per ton, but shall be diminished to 0·95d. Now, the two provisos hang together. I see that my noble Friend (the Earl of Cork) has given notice of an Amendment for striking out the clause which was proposed by the President of the Board of Trade, and as to which many questions were asked him. For instance, he was asked whether it applied to the ordinary stock of the Railway Company or to the dividends upon the entire property of the railways—upon other Stocks; and he said No. He took the view that it applied only to the original capital of the company. Then, again, the question was raised when it should come into operation. And he stated that it should come into operation whenever after the passing of this Act it could be shown that the Great Western Company had provided 6 per cent. upon its ordinary capital. Now, these two Amendments hang together. I beg to move the first, and I shall be very glad to hear what the noble Lord has to say against propositions which, upon the face of them, I think must be admitted to be so reasonable as those I suggest. That is to say, what reason there is why this great distinction to the disadvantage of South Wales should be made, and why over every other railway, except the South Wales line, and even over the Great Western line in its other portions, a lower charge is made than that which is made upon coal carried through South Wales. I may add that the same difference exists in the case of iron, and that iron under

this Bill is carried at a higher rate throughout South Wales than it is carried at over any of the other principal lines in Great Britain. I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment moved,

In page 10, line 15, after "Tetbury" to insert "Railways governed by the South Wales Act, 1845, namely, Pembroke Dock to Chepstow."—(*The Lord Aberdare.*)

\*THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, I am sorry I shall not be able to accept the Amendment which the noble Lord has proposed. At the same time I should like to say at the outset I am not surprised that anyone who is so much interested in South Wales as is the noble Lord should have thought it right to bring it forward, upon this occasion; and least of all should I desire to complain of the manner in which he has brought it forward, which has been courteous and temperate in the extreme. As a matter of fact I gravely doubt whether the Amendment proposed would effect the purpose which the noble Lord has in view. The Act of 1845 has long ago been repealed, and, therefore, no railway can be said to be governed by it. But, of course, all of us who have been accustomed to discuss these matters know that the railway which the noble Lord intends to put into this lower scale of charges is that governed by the South Wales and Great Western Amalgamation Act of 1855. But the noble Lord does not take the whole of it. I have every reason to believe that the noble Lord does not wish to ask for more than is reasonable. He admits that the district was mainly agricultural between Gloucester and Chepstow, and it is that part of the line upon which the heavy traffic of coal and iron is carried in South Wales. I have some doubt whether the effect of the Amendment would be as he supposes, and whether it would have any effect at all. But I do not desire to meet this as a matter of form. I desire to go at once to the merits of the matter, and to say, on the merits, that I do not think that it is possible the Amendment can be accepted, and, in as few words as possible, I will endeavour to tell the House why. The noble Lord said, in the course of his speech, that the object of the Act of 1888 was to assimilate as

*Lord Aberdare*

much as possible the charges upon railways. I cannot accept that remark without some qualification. I do not think the noble Lord intended to say that the Act of 1888 intended to prescribe what are known as equal mileage rates. What was intended by it was, as far as possible, to secure a greater amount of uniformity between the maximum rates which might be charged by the different railways. But, my Lords, while uniformity is a good thing in itself, and one which we set before us to be attained as much as possible, it must not be acquired at the expense of justice either to the companies or to the traders. In considering these matters there is one important element to be taken into account, and that is, what are the present powers which are enjoyed by any Railway Company those under which they have constructed their railway, and which Parliament has given to them in their Act? Most of the lines which the noble Lord quoted, the main line of the Great Western governed by the Act of 1847, the main line of the London and North Western, and the main line of the Great Northern, which he instanced as being placed on a lower scale than this one, have now much lower powers. But it is different in the case of the South Wales line. There the power is 2d. for coal and the other minerals which have been mentioned. I am speaking now—and I put this in here to avoid any chance of misrepresentation—of the Rate Clauses and not of the Toll Clauses. We have nothing to do here with the Toll Clauses, which are entirely different to what we are dealing with. The Rate Clauses of the South Wales Act gave a power to the Great Western Company upon amalgamation, of charging 2d. inclusive of the provision of wagons. The proposal which the Board of Trade has made upon the inquiry which was conducted by the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament gives an unusual figure of 1½d. per ton per mile exclusive of wagons. There is, therefore, at the worst, a reduction in the power of the company of ½d. per ton per mile, leaving out the charge for wagons which probably may be estimated at about one-eighth of 1d. per ton per mile. The noble Lord stated in the course of his remarks that some Members of the other House had intimated that had

they known that the terminal power in the South Wales Act was not very distinct, they would have in all probability been influenced by that fact to give a decision different to what they did. I think it right to point out that at the time at which the Committee gave their decision the fact that there was no terminal power in this Act must have been known to them, because a very few minutes before the decision was given the last witness who was examined was asked by Counsel—

“In that Act are there any terminals—is there a clause similar to Hall’s Clause?”

and he replied—

“There are no terminals in that Act at all.”

That question was asked, and that answer was given within a few minutes prior to the decision being come to by the Committee. After that the representative of the Board of Trade was called upon, and he did not specially mention that there was no terminal in the Act. I think, under the circumstances, it having been mentioned only a very few minutes previously, it is not surprising, considering the magnitude of the inquiry as a whole that the representative of the Board of Trade did not go out of his way to state a thing which he had a right to presume was present to the minds of the Committee at the moment. But as regards these common articles, important as they are, iron and coal, the question of terminals does not arise so much as it does in the other classes. The whole terminal of Class A, which is under discussion, is 3d., and as we have reduced the conveyance power of the company from 2d. to 1½d., your Lordships will see that a very few miles indeed of run will more than compensate the trader for any definiteness and exigibility as to terminal charges. I have only one other point to refer to, and that is as regards even the terminal power—no great point must be made of it because those heavy articles, as a rule, go from siding to siding, or from station to station, and when it is from siding to siding simply, there are no terminal charges at all because there are provisions for that purpose in our schedule. Therefore, whenever traffic goes from siding to siding there is no point to be made of the terminals being made definite and exigible, because even

under our proposal no terminal can be chargeable. Another reason why I cannot accept this Amendment is that, I think it would be unduly hard upon the Railway Company. The noble Lord said there were important articles in Classes A and B to which he especially referred. If the articles are important to the trader they are not less important to the Railway Company as a means of earning their revenue. It was stated in evidence by the representative of the Great Western Railway Company that under the proposal as they now stand the Great Western will lose £2,500 a year on coal and coke alone, besides their other losses on Classes A and B, and if the proposal of the noble Lord is given effect to they would in addition lose £1,750 more and an additional loss upon Class B. I have nothing more to say upon this Amendment, which I hope your Lordships will not accept. When we come to the other part of it, which the noble Lord wishes to amend in one respect, and which another noble Lord wishes to strike out altogether, we can have a discussion upon it. But it points out this moral. No sooner does the President of the Board of Trade in the other House accept a fair measure of equity between the two parties than the Representatives on the one side in this House wish to amend it in one way and the Representatives on the other side in this House wish to amend it in the other. So that it is not very easy in these circumstances to reach finality in discussing an important measure of this character, and I ask your Lordships, under these circumstances, not to accept the Amendment of the noble and learned Lord.

LORD ABERDARE: My Lords, the noble Lord has gone very fully into the comparatively insignificant matter of the 3d. for the terminal charge, but upon the other point that whereas the Great Western has only power to charge this sum, while other Railway Companies have power to charge 1d., he has given no reason why this great difference exists between coal carried over the South Wales line and that carried over lines in other parts of the country. It is certainly not on account of distance, or the distance being a short one, because the coal travels to London, Southampton, and Birkenhead,

and other places, going to considerable distances off. But I understand the Board have the power to make an arrangement which would be fair as between the Companies. As it stands under this Bill, the great bulk of the coal carried over the Great Western which comes from South Wales will be carried at least at a 50 per cent. higher rate than over other railways in England; and, more than that, higher than over the other portions of the Great Western line itself. I do not think the noble Lord has explained the reason of that very large difference, or that he has given any other explanation than that the charge was fixed in 1846, since which many extraordinary changes have taken place in the population and wealth and commerce in coal and iron in that part of the country, or why so exceptionally high a charge should be allowed to continue.

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, as I was a member of the Joint Committee, which was appointed by your Lordships to inquire into this matter, and which did inquire into it at very great length, I should like to say a word, and only a word or two in support of what has been said by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) and in opposition to this Amendment. The point I will address myself to is the point which has just been put forward by the noble Lord near me (Lord Aberdare), namely, why a higher charge is allowed in the case of South Wales than in the case of some of the other companies.

\*LORD ABERDARE: All the other Railway Companies?

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: All the others. Now, my Lords, in the first place, in anything I say to your Lordships upon these Bills I hope your Lordships will understand that I am speaking as not at all advocating the conclusions of the Committee, but from another point of view altogether. I believe that your Lordships intended we should act as judges, perfectly impartial and fair as between the railways and the traders, and for the purpose of reviewing the proposal which had in the first place been made by the Board of Trade according to the Act of 1888. Of course, it is very natural that the railways in some cases, and the traders in

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others, should think that the charges which were either proposed in the Bills or which are in the Bills as they are now before Parliament are unfair to them, and, of course, the case of South Wales is one of the more prominent cases. That Committee heard the argument which has been heard by your Lordships to-night from Lord Aberdare at very considerable length, and they finally decided that it was desirable to retain in the Bill the figures which the Board of Trade have proposed. I think that all the members of the Committee took a much more active part in the examination during the inquiry than is ordinarily taken by members of a Committee, and in many of the cases many of the conclusions were arrived at after long examinations of the witnesses, and even I might almost say of the Counsel by the various members of the Committee. This is one of the cases in point, and it does so happen that the individual who asked the particular question in this case was myself; and after a long inquiry, and when we had called upon the Board of Trade representatives, as we did in almost every case, to state what were their reasons for inserting the figures which they had inserted in the schedule, they gave certain answers which your Lordships will find at Question 27,717 of the evidence. Perhaps the House will allow me to read a few of the questions which were put. The Chairman asked the Board of Trade representatives if they had anything to say. Mr. Hanbury said—

"I should like to ask this question: Is there anything exceptional in the position of the South Wales Railway which we are now asked to take out of Class 2 where the Board of Trade have put it, and to put it into Class 1 besides the original high maximum price?"

Mr. Courtenay Boyle said—

"That was a great factor in our decision; I am sorry to say the position of this railway gave us very anxious consideration and some sleepless nights. First of all, we found the great factor of the Act of 1885, the 2d. per ton;"—

that is the original maximum charge—

"secondly, we found a great number of small rates—coal rates—along the line, and where there were a number of coal rates along the line. The consequence was those rates have been piled, involving a considerable amount and involving a decided loss of revenue to the company if the maximum was very largely cut down."

Then he pursues that for some time, and his conclusion is—

"We could not, as far as our view went, in fairness to the company cut down the 2d. per ton to 0·95d. for a long portion of the railway."

Your Lordships will see what an enormous reduction is asked for, from the maximum rate of 2d. to 0·95d.—more than 50 per cent. That is simply the broad question. Then I asked him this question—

"Did you make a calculation whether your proposed maximum would cover the actual rates charged at short distances on those lines?"

And he said—

"I cannot pledge myself to every actual rate; it is impossible for any human being to do that; but, as far as I can say, 2d. covers the entire rate, and 0·95d. does not."

So that your Lordships will see, if you were to adopt the proposal now made by my noble Friend Lord Aberdare, you would adopt a rate which, according to the best knowledge that could be obtained by the Board of Trade, is a rate not covered by the entire rate now charged by the Railway Company; and your Lordships will remember what we are now speaking about is not the rate to be charged, but the maximum rate beyond which the company cannot go, and which, of course, is subject in cases where there is competition—I am bound to say there is not very much competition in this case—but which in such cases is guarded by the competition. It is for that reason that, to the best of my recollection, the Committee mainly determined to confirm the figures of the Board of Trade, and that, I believe, was the reason why we did so.

\***LORD ABERDARE:** I shall not give your Lordships the trouble of dividing upon this matter. I beg to withdraw the first Amendment and move the other one which stands in my name.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) withdrawn.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** Before the noble Lord goes on I have an Amendment. This is rather technical. It is on page 11, lines 28 to 33. As your Lordships will see, three paragraphs in small print dealing with certain railways between Bala and Festiniog, Corwen and Bala, and Corwen and Llangollen—those

three paragraphs were inserted in the Provisional Order during its passage through the other House. They were inserted on the Motion of an individual Member who is interested in the district, and at the time they were accepted by the Board of Trade. Further inquiry, however, has shown us that it is impossible in fairness to accept this Amendment, and impossible in the terms of the Statute to deal with the railway there mentioned within the four corners of this Provisional Order. That is a fact I do not elaborate, because it will not be denied; and a communication has been made to the hon. Member who moved the insertion of those three paragraphs, and I have no reason to doubt he will be satisfied with the explanation which has been given. The object of my Amendment is to omit from this Schedule four railways which ought not to be there and to leave in the one which should be there—the Bala and Dolgelly—which is owned and worked by the Great Western. I therefore move the omission of the railways I have mentioned, and to insert the railway governed by the Bala and Dolgelly Railway Act, 1862.

Amendment moved, in page 11, lines 28 to 33, to leave out from ("Railways" to . . . , 1873), paragraphs numbered 18, 19, and 20, and to insert 18 ("Railway governed by the Bala and Dolgelly Act, 1862").—(*The Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

Amendment agreed to.

\***LORD ABERDARE:** My Lords, I stated that during the discussion in the other House the President of the Board of Trade, who had charge of the Bill, himself suggested what he thought a means of diminishing, at any rate, the injustice of which I have just been complaining.

**THE CHAIRMAN** (The Earl of Morley): I think the Amendment of the other noble Lord comes first.

**THE EARL OF CORK:** My Lords, the object of my Amendment, and I think the noble Lord opposite will consider it a very fair one, is to strike out the word "hereafter" and to insert "after the commencement of this Act." The object of the Amendment is that if the change which has been made in this Bill in the House of

Commons is to come into force it will work very hardly indeed upon the Great Western Railway Company. As the clause is now worded, I think there can be no doubt that, inasmuch as that company have recently paid, and supposing to pay, a dividend at the rate of 6 per cent. for the last half-year, the additional rates will immediately come into force. I think your Lordships will see that is a very great hardship this Company should not have had the opportunity of seeing what will be the effect upon the working of the line consequent upon the great reduction of rates which have been made by the Joint Committee. For that reason, my Lords, it would be only fair that the Company should have time to consider the matter, and I think your Lordships will agree, therefore, that my proposal is only a fair one, and that the question of past dividends should not be taken into account at all, but that it should only, as I understand it, take effect after the commencement of this Act. I hope the noble Lord will agree to that Amendment, as I have said I think it is a very fair one. I think it would be better to leave out from "provided" to the end of the clause. My object is exactly what I have stated. The clause runs—

"Provided that if at any time hereafter the clear annual profits divisible upon the whole subscribed and paid-up capital ordinary stock of the Great Western Railway Company, upon an average of the three then last preceding years, shall equal or exceed the rate of £6 for every £100 by such paid-up capital stock, scale I., shall become and shall continue to be applicable to the railways governed by the South Wales Railway Act, 1845."

That is the object of my Amendment. I propose to leave out the whole of that, my Lords, for the reasons I have before stated: that I think it would be very hard, considering the Company have been pay 6 per cent. for several years past, that that should be brought into the calculations made. I, therefore, do hope that the noble and learned Lord will allow the latter part of the clause to be struck out.

Amendment moved, in page 11, line 49, to leave out from ("provided") to the end of the Clause.—(*The Earl of Cork*.)

\***LORD ABERDARE:** My Lords, when I gave way to my noble Friend, I did it with the full understanding not that he

was going to move the rejection of the whole clause, but that my Amendment would come first.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Question will be that the words down to "hereafter" be omitted, and then the noble Lord will have the opportunity of moving his Amendment.

\***THE EARL OF CORK:** I think the noble Lord will find I was perfectly in order the first time. I move to leave out from "provided" to the end of the clause. Then I have an amended clause which I propose to put in instead of it—to omit "hereafter" and insert "after the passing of this Act." That is an Amendment upon the amended clause, and that is the Amendment which I propose to make. I do not know whether the noble Lord has seen it.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Do I understand the noble Lord withdraws the Amendment of which he has given notice?

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** Lord Aberdare is moving to make what he contends is the meaning of the clause quite clear in one way, and the noble Lord who is now moving wants it in one alternative to be struck out altogether, and in the other to amend it. Under those circumstances, I do not think it would be a breach of order if we take the discussion upon the original Amendment, which I understood the noble Lord moved at first, to leave out the first three lines of this part of the Schedule, because, being on the Schedule and not on a Clause, I think that is the way we must proceed. As far as the intention of the noble Lord is concerned his Amendment on the Paper, is to leave out the clause as a whole, that I certainly could not consent to. It was accepted deliberately by the President of the Board of Trade in the other House of Parliament. It was pointed out to the President of the Board of Trade that in the Amalgamation Act there was a clause giving authority to the Board of Trade—the exact words of it I need not read—but that gave power to the Board of Trade to fix such new rates, and such a scale of charges as they might think fit to apply to the company, provided the dividend on the ordinary Stock of the Great Western had been an average of 6 per cent. for the preceding three years; provided that the charges

so fixed were not to be below the scale of the Great Western Railway Company under the Act of 1847. It was pointed out to the President of the Board of Trade that if this high scale to which Lord Aberdare has referred were allowed without any such proviso, the South Wales traders would be in a worse position in future than they have been in the past. To meet that view the President of the Board of Trade consented to insert the proviso as it appears in the Bill. There must, therefore, be a proviso of some such kind as this. I understand the noble Earl now to suggest, by what he has said, that it shall not take effect as from the passing of the Act, but that it shall only take effect after the new regulations have been in force for three years, or for a sufficient time, to show the Board of Trade, the traders, and the Railway Company what the effect of the new scale will be upon the dividends of that company. I think there is something to be said for that view. I should not like to pledge myself absolutely to accept it, but at the present time I am inclined to do so. I do not like to speak definitely about it, because if I accepted it offhand at the present time, I should prevent the noble Lord opposite having the opportunity of expressing his opinion before I commit myself to it. My bias is rather to accept the second Amendment of the noble Earl, but before doing so I should like to give an opportunity to the noble Lord opposite of expressing his opinion on the subject.

\***LORD ABERDARE:** I think the difference between the noble Lord and myself is simply this: that I want the direction to be made whenever it can be shown that for three consecutive years the Great Western has declared a dividend upon its ordinary capital of 6 per cent. The noble Earl is desirous that this reduction shall not take effect until three years after what is practically the passing of this Act.

**THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** Three years from 1892.

\***LORD ABERDARE:** I daresay my noble Friend has read the discussion which took place in the other House, which I have taken the opportunity of reading in *Hansard*, as well as that which is given very fully in the *Times*. There the question was put most clearly

by Sir Hussey Vivian, on the part of the traders as to whether, in the first instance, the dividend was to be on the ordinary Stock, and the President admitted it was to be on the ordinary Stock. The next question was, whether the reduction was to take place immediately upon its being shown that for three consecutive years there had been a dividend at the rate of 6 per cent., and to that he gave just as clear and distinct an answer as in the other case, and an answer in the affirmative. I came here to support the Amendment, and my Amendment is only an explanation, and, as I thought, putting in a clearer way the undertaking given by the President of the Board of Trade. Of course, a great deal may be said, especially on behalf of the Railway Companies, for the postponement for three years. All I can say is, if that postponement is made it is in violation of that undertaking upon which my noble Friend withdrew his Amendment immediately afterwards. Nothing could be more distinct and clear than the statement of the President of the Board of Trade upon that point. If the President of the Board of Trade had made the suggestion which I understand to be the gist of my noble Friend Lord Cork's Amendment, I should not be here to dispute it; but he made altogether another suggestion, and gave that explanation which the traders were anxious for in the fullest and clearest manner. How, therefore, the noble Lord, in the face of this direction of the President of the Board of Trade, can propose to accept the Amendment of my noble Friend I cannot understand.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** I think the noble Lord has not sufficiently recognised this fact: that the original clause provided that the Board of Trade could reduce the rates after a dividend had been paid for three consecutive years at the rate of 6 per cent., to the scale of rates in the Act of 1847. If this proviso stands as it is in the Bill, it will reduce in the same event the payment of a dividend of 6 per cent. upon the ordinary Stock for three years to a lower scale than the scale in the Act of 1847, because there is no doubt whatever that the main line scale of the Great Western Railway under this Order is lower than the scale in the Act of 1847. That



point was brought prominently to the notice of the Board of Trade, and as there will be very considerable changes in the rates of the Great Western in consequence of the passing of this Order, it is not thought unfair that the Amendment should provide that this new scale of rates for the South Wales line should not be brought into effect until the Great Western Railway Company has paid 6 per cent. upon its ordinary Stock for three years after the commencement of the new system. I should be sorry if the noble Lord thought that to be a breach of faith. To my mind, it is not. It seems to me to be a necessary corollary upon a state of circumstances which was not fully present to those dealing with the matter when the Amendment was made in the other House of Parliament. As I have told the noble Earl, I cannot accept his first Amendment, but I do think there is matter for consideration, and what I propose is to accept the Amendment of the noble Earl, subject to that consideration, because if we allow this clause to pass without amending it, and the Bill goes back to the other House without being amended, there will be no possibility of putting it in the Bill at all. I do, therefore, think it necessary to keep the matter open for consideration, and, as the matter stands, I propose to resist the noble Lord's proposal to strike out the clause altogether, maintaining that part of the Amendment which provides with regard to the payment of dividend, and to maintain that part of it as to the three years after the commencement of the new order of things, in case we should inflict, as I believe might be the case, a great and unintentional injustice on the Great Western Company.

Amendment of Lord Aberdare negatived; and the words, "after the commencement of this Order," inserted.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** Then, my Lords, on page 11, line 51, I move to omit the words "the three then last preceding," and to insert "three consecutive."

Amendment agreed to.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** My Lords, I merely desire to say one word upon this. It is no doubt a matter of great delicacy and difficulty dealing between

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*

the carrying industries and the other industries of this country, because, of course, it is perfectly intelligible that those who are carrying on the trade of carriers desire to get as much from their customers as possible, and, on the other hand, those who have to get goods carried like to get them carried for as little as possible, and even for nothing if they possibly can. But for reasons of policy it has been considered right to undertake this extremely delicate and difficult task of adjusting the respective rights of these parties. It is a very delicate and somewhat dangerous proceeding, but nevertheless, being undertaken, the matter was submitted to an impartial Committee, composed of Members of both Houses. They revised the consideration of it by the Board of Trade; but I cannot help thinking it is extremely unfortunate, as a precedent, that where the matter has been considered in that way it should be made by other parties interested a matter for discussion in this or in the other House of Parliament. Because you do, after all, get something like a judicial determination when it is submitted to the Board of Trade or to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament. But when after it has been discussed in that way such a question as this has to be re-considered in a popular assembly or even in your Lordships' House there is great risk of injustice being done, because it is obvious that everybody likes to get the best terms he can for himself. The public are only affected and somewhat remotely interested in many of the questions which have been raised here. I only desire as the result of this discussion, rather as a matter of precedent than otherwise, to utter a warning voice, because it seems to me to be entering upon a somewhat dangerous course if these matters, after they have been considered by a judicial Committee are to be discussed, and perhaps varied in the manner now sought.

**THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY):** The noble and learned Lord has laid down with his customary clearness some exceedingly sound maxims, and if there was not in the matter a suggestion of application in their conduct, I should

have nothing to do except to express my full agreement in the general doctrine laid down by the noble and learned Lord. I believe up to this point all we have done is to sustain the opinions of the Hybrid Committee. All cases have their exceptions—I do not bind myself absolutely in all cases to follow the view which the noble and learned Lord has taken; but I cannot refuse my very full assent to his doctrine in its general aspect, that when you have the decision of an influential Hybrid Committee such as this, which was eminently capable of adjusting claims between conflicting parties, to give due weight to each of those claims, and to solve that difficult problem of deciding between past pledges and present necessities with which we all have to contend, I quite agree with him that neither the crowded Benches in the other House nor the less crowded Benches in this House are suitable tribunals to reverse its decision.

LORD ABERDARE: My Lords, I am not rising in the least for the purpose of disputing the position laid down by the noble and learned Lord and the noble Marquess opposite. I simply wish to point out that these Bills come here amended from the House of Commons, and that it was in consequence of those Amendments being inserted that I have ventured to introduce the Amendments I have brought forward.

Schedule agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived.

The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow: and Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with. Bill to be printed as amended. (No 285.)

**LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN  
RAILWAY COMPANY (RATES AND  
CHARGES) PROVISIONAL ORDER  
BILL.**

**COMMITTEE.**

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses agreed to.

Schedule.

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, the first Amendment which appears is one standing in my name.

I propose, on page 11, after line 40, to insert as an addition to Scale 2 certain railways with certain maximum rates for conveyance and certain maximum scales attached to them, and a certain Amendment follows which has reference to another class. I was considering whether I could put these Amendments before your Lordships more clearly by putting them together or by taking them apart, and I think, seeing that the subject-matter is of some complexity, it will be probably more convenient if I take the first one first. And my noble Friend near me (Lord Belper), who was also on the Standing Committee, will explain to your Lordships the circumstances under which we propose to insert the second. With regard to the first Amendment of mine, the effect is to restore the Bill to the same condition as it was in when it left the Joint Committee, and I propose the Amendment chiefly for this reason, that I should like to know what are the reasons why these railways have been removed from the scale in which they were placed when it left us, and why they have been placed in another scale. I may explain to your Lordships that the schedule as it left the Committee was the schedule as originally proposed by the Board of Trade, and as confirmed by the Standing Joint Committee after careful examination. Perhaps I ought to explain to your Lordships that certain portions of the London and North Western it was necessary should have rates for conveyance and station terminals not of the same amounts as those applicable to the main portion of the line. It was only natural, of course, that there should be certain branch lines and short lines in which the circumstances were so different that it was desirable and, indeed, necessary if justice was to be done that special rates should be attached to them. The Board of Trade in this schedule inserted certain railways, and those railways were the subject of detailed examination by the Committee. I have one remark to make, which is that some of the railways which have been now removed from the schedule were placed there by the Board of Trade, approved of by the Committee, and that no objection was taken to them by any of the opponents of the Bill. They were three in number: The Mold

Junction, the Mold and Denbigh Junction, and the Bangor and Bethesda. No reason was shown to the Committee for making a change, and none was made. With regard to the other railways which are mentioned in the Amendment they were the subject of inquiry. Objection was made, and after considerable examination the Committee affirmed the conclusions of the Board of Trade; and I do not think I can put them more shortly to your Lordships than by reading what the representatives of the Board of Trade said before the Committee just before the conclusion of the case, after we had heard all the arguments for removing them and for placing them in the clause, Mr. Courtenay Boyle said this in answer to the Chairman—

"I should like to hear what the Board of Trade have to say in this case."

and Mr. Courtenay Boyle said:—

"We had not much difficulty about these lines. The present figures are very high indeed; we cut them down to a considerable extent, and we do not see our way to go any further."

In all these cases which appear in this special schedule the existing maximum rates were reduced, and in many cases they were largely reduced. I do not think I need trouble your Lordships with details, but that is generally the statement of the case. So the Bill left the Committee. What I should like to know now is, what are the reasons why these changes have been made?

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** My Lords, the statement of the noble Lord as to what has taken place is correct. The scale as he proposes to restore it was in the Provisional Order Bill laid by the Board of Trade upon the Table of both Houses of Parliament. The considerations which guided us were that these special lines had less powers and higher rates, as a rule, than the other portions of the line—certainly the main line. We reduced their maximum powers to some extent, and the figures which were in the Amendments of the noble Lord were proposed to the Board of Trade, and by the Board of Trade to Parliament. Having all the advantages of amalgamation, of a large company, and of an increase of traffic; and the general change of circumstances justifies some departure from the high powers

*The Earl of Camperdown*

authorised by the Act of Parliament, the change we made in these high powers did not satisfy those interested in the district who were interested in the trade upon the line, and a strong contest was finally made before the Committee by many of the traders in regard at least to a considerable proportion of these lines. The matter, as the noble Lord says, was very fully discussed and inquired into. Of course, I have not the full knowledge that he has of what went on when the Committee were deliberating on their judgment, I only know what the effect of their decision was. Their decision was, as he says, to confirm the action of the Board of Trade. Those who were interested in the matter were not satisfied with that decision; in fact, as far as information reaches us, very considerable dissatisfaction was caused, both by our action and by the action of the Committee, in the districts of North Wales which were chiefly concerned. That feeling culminated in several Amendments being proposed in the House of Commons on this part of the schedule of the London and North Western Company's Bill. Those Amendments were considered very carefully by the President of the Board of Trade, and in the last resort he accepted the proposal to strike out the clauses from the special scale which are now the subject of the noble Lord's Amendment. I am authorised especially to say to the House that that Amendment was only consented to by him after he had consulted the three Members of the House of Commons who were members of the Committee. He authorises me to say that he had their full assent to the changes which are now the subject of discussion. We are now in this position. The matter is being inquired into, and when it goes back to the other House of Parliament Amendments are made there upon the representation of those locally interested. They are accepted by the President of the Board of Trade—upon that they are confirmed without any protest on the part of the Railway Companies by the other House of Parliament. I am afraid that under those circumstances, in spite of what the noble Lord has said, I cannot willingly consent to the re-insertion of the lines of railway on the higher scale exactly

in the form in which they have been deleted by the other House of Parliament. I do not deny that the effect of the Amendment may be to cause some decrease of charging power and some decrease of revenue to the Railway Company; but under all the circumstances, with, perhaps, the possible exception of the Mold and Denbigh Junction Railway, which is not an owned railway, but is worked by the Company on an arrangement with the Great Western, I am afraid I cannot consent to accept the noble Lord's Amendment.

\***LORD BELPER:** As a Member of the Joint Committee of both Houses I should like to say one word upon this question, and before doing so I should like to repeat what has been stated by the noble Lord near me, as a member of that Committee that in anything I say in this House I am simply speaking as a Representative of this House upon that Committee, and, as far as possible, I shall give expression to the views of the Committee upon the different cases which were brought before it. I am aware that in a matter of such great difficulty and complexity as this, it is impossible that any Committee can claim infallibility upon such a subject, and, therefore, if good cause is shown for saying that the Committee came to a wrong decision, I can only say, personally, I should be willing to accept it, as would, I am sure, any other member of the Committee also. But with regard to what fell from the noble Lord, there are one or two other points which require clearing up. In the first place, he stated that three members of the Committee in the other House had assented to the alteration proposed by the Board of Trade—

\***LORD BALFOUR or BURLEIGH:** No, we did not propose the Amendment.

\***LORD BELPER:** At all events, they assented to the Amendment to which consent was given by the Board of Trade. Of course, it was quite impossible to know under what circumstances that assent was given, but I am sure I am right in saying that there was no division of opinion in the Committee when they came to their decision. With regard to the points themselves, there are certainly two which require consideration. One of them has been touched upon by the

noble Lord who moved this Amendment, which is that the traders themselves, who were represented by a large number of Counsel before the Committee, moved no Amendment as regards certain of these lines which have been now struck out of the special scale by the Board of Trade. That is to say, as far as assent is given by silence; and when you sit for 48 days upon an inquiry you may naturally suppose if no Amendment is moved that consent is given by silence. So far as three or four of these Railways went they did assent to being put in the special scale, and did not ask the Committee to put them in the lower scale of the North Western Bill. There is another point which I think also requires some consideration. In the original scale as proposed by the Board of Trade, and as sanctioned by the Committee, several of these Railway Companies appear at different rates. Although they are in the Scale 2, they are not in the same rate in Scale 2. Three of them have a rate given them of 1.25d.—1½d. per mile—two of them 1.50 or 1½d. per mile, and two of them have 2d. per mile. By the action taken in the other House, the result is that all these railways with all these different rates affixed to them, after inquiry by the Board of Trade and assented to by the Committee are all put down into one scale with the same rate. Therefore, as a matter of fact, while you are reducing one part of the railway by something like 50 percent., you are reducing another by 30 percent., and another by something like 20 per cent. I think this original scale having probably been fixed on some principle it requires some explanation to show why they are not now reduced to the same scale or principle, but are all reduced to Scale 1 of the schedule. I quite understand an answer might be given to that if it was proposed to strike out the whole of Scale 2; but that is not proposed. A large number of railways are put in at different figures, and, therefore, there would be no difficulty in reducing the rates from those given to the Committee if the Board of Trade think them too high, putting them at a fair reduction, each on its own merits. I must say for myself I feel considerable sympathy with the case of those small traders who have to compete on small lines in many cases

with other traders who may have exceptional advantages, and I am sure neither the Committee nor the Board of Trade would wish to press hardly or to express their opinion too strongly as to the rate at which this small traffic should be carried. But I venture to think, at all events, if the noble Lord does not accept the Amendment which is proposed by my noble Friend that there is at least some room for a fair settlement of rates between what has been fixed by the Committee and what has been finally fixed by the Board of Trade after putting them into the schedule, and I hope, at all events, if that is not assented to, I shall have some reasons given in answer to the two points which I have mentioned with respect to those different classes being treated in the same way, and also to the effect that no Amendments were moved upon them.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** There is no doubt considerable force in what the noble Lord has stated as regards the railways which were not the subject of opposition before the Committee, and I think perhaps the Mold Junction to Mold and Coed Talon and the Mold and Denbigh Junction Railway might be re-inserted. I have great hesitation in going further than that, in consequence of the unanimity of the decision which was given in the House of Commons, and, my Lords, I certainly feel that both the President of the Board of Trade and myself are placed to some extent in a difficult position by the different views given by various members of the Committee in the two Houses. I have nothing to find fault with, as far as principle is concerned, in the remarks which the noble Lord upon the Front Bench uttered a few moments ago. I should say, as a rule, the principles which he uttered were sound. I have very great hesitation in accepting an Amendment in the form in which it is moved, which would have the effect absolutely of re-inserting the scale, as it was left out as a whole by the House of Commons, because I think in these matters when an amendment is accepted by the President of the Board of Trade, and it is confirmed by a unanimous decision of the Members of the House of Commons' Committee, it is unwise in this House at this stage of the proceedings to re-insert the Amendment

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in the form in which it was deleted in the House of Commons. If there was any proposal short of that which the noble Lords could make, I should be glad to accept it subject to consideration.

\***THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN:** My Lords, I very much wish the noble Lord had been able to give us some reasons which actuated those who proposed this Amendment, because I have looked at the reports in the newspapers. I am bound to say the speeches were not reported at great length; but whatever may have been said with regard to the Amendment at the Board of Trade or in private, I did not myself observe that the members of the House of Commons Committee made any speeches in the other House. But I quite recognise the difficulty; and, as far as those small railways which are mentioned are concerned, of course it would meet my point completely as far as these railways are concerned if their names were omitted from the Bill. But the truth is that the case of all these railways with one exception, the Chester and Holyhead, is peculiar. All these other railways are very peculiar. They are little, short, mostly slate lines, which carry slate down and coal up, and the coal is the rate which comes under Class A, the class which we are now discussing, and it is, of course, with regard to that particular matter that I am now addressing your Lordships. I, of course, am under the difficulty that I do not know what the reasons were which were advanced for making this change, and, as far as I remember, in the Committee we were perfectly unanimous upon the subject. I have not got the Divisions with me, but to the best of my recollection there was no division of opinion among us upon this subject. As the noble Lord was so good as to say he might possibly consider a further Amendment if suggested, I should be, of course, perfectly ready to accept what he has been so good as to give me upon this point, and I would make this further suggestion to him, with regard to the line from Carnarvon Junction to Afonwen Junction, that, instead of 2d. as it is proposed, and also with regard to the Chester and Nantlle branch, and to the Chester and Holyhead line—that is the long line—and the Bangor and Bethesdaline, as to which the 1.50d.

is proposed, to make the best of a bad business he should give me 1·25d.—that is 1½d., which is not a large concession in the direction in which the Amendment is made. If he will consider that before the Report, I shall be ready to leave the matter for his consideration. But I wish to press once more upon him, and upon the House, that this matter did receive very careful and thorough consideration. These small railways have special and peculiar features, especially the Chester and Holyhead line, which, as the House knows, is a very expensive line to maintain; it was a very expensive line to make, and it has specially high rates. If we cut down that rate, which, I think, is now 2d. up to 15 miles, and, after that, 1½d.—if we cut that down to 1½d.—and now I am only speaking of maximum rates—I think your Lordships will have made a very large change in the direction of the traders, beyond what was made by the Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: There seems to be considerable complication and difficulty here. The Members of the Committee now speak with different voices to those with which apparently they spoke elsewhere. From private information—if I may refer to that—I rather think the Chairman of the Committee takes a different view from what was taken by the Members of the House of Commons. I think, on the whole, the wisest proposal is that made by the noble Lord as a compromise. If it will bring the parties together, that, I think, is the one which it is wisest to accept. I do not feel that we should be justified in simply re-inserting the clause as it was left after the decision of the Committee, but the change proposed by the noble Lord seems fair and reasonable, and I should be disposed to advise your Lordships to accept it.

\*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: The effect of that will be that the Mold Junction to Mold and Coed Talon, the Carnarvon and Llanberis, the Carnarvon Junction to Afonwen, the Nantlle branch, the Chester and Holyhead, and the Bangor and Bethesda, which are all in one bracket, will be at 1·25d. That will go in at line 34, page 11.

Amendment moved,

In page 11, after line 40, to insert as an addition to Scale II., the following railways,

all at a maximum rate of conveyance per ton per mile of 1·25d., and the maximum terminal station rate of 3d:—

Maximum Rate for Conveyance per Ton per Mile.	Maximum Station Terminal at each end.
d.	d.
1·25	3
Mold Junction to Mold and Coed Talon	
Carnarvon to Llanberis	
The Mold and Denbigh Junction Railway worked by the Company	
Carnarvon Junction to Afonwen Junction	
Nantlle Branch	
Chester and Holyhead	
Bangor and Bethesda	
—(The Earl of Camperdown.)	

Amendment agreed to.

\*LORD BELPER: My Lords, the next Amendment which my noble Friend has asked me to move is, not absolutely but very much, a consequential one upon the Amendment which has just been accepted. The Amendment as placed upon the Paper is, of course, to replace the rates as fixed for these short railways for Class B. as they were fixed by the Joint Committee of both Houses. But at the outset I must admit there is a difference, in one respect, with regard to the B class—that the Board of Trade did not insert any second Schedule in respect to the B rates, although they do so with regard to the A rates. With regard to that, I should like to point out the difficulty the Committee were in if high rates are given in a special class, for Class A, and then if no high or special rates are given in Class B for the same railway. The effect is that if

that is done, as in many cases it has happened, the actual rate in Class A for inferior articles is higher than the rate in Class B, which is for articles not in the rough, but which are slightly manufactured. For instance, to take an actual case in point on this railway: Clay in bulk is carried in Class A; and if the rate of Class A was put higher than in B, the rate for clay would be higher than the rate for bricks in B, which would be obviously an anomaly. I would just state what took place in the Committee with regard to Class B. The gentleman who gave evidence with respect to this particular class' in favour of not having any special rates was a Mr. Darbshire. Mr. Darbshire, in his evidence, asked that the high rates which the Railway Company proposed to move should not be accepted; and perhaps I ought to state that the North Western Railway's original proposal was for 2d. per mile. Mr. Darbshire objected to that; but he admitted in his evidence, which I could quote if it were necessary, that he thought the Board of Trade figures, as placed in the first scale for Class B, were "too tight," to use his own words, and that it did not even give enough latitude for the Railway Companies. Therefore, we had here a trader opposing the Amendment of the Railway Company, and admitting himself that the Board of Trade figure was not sufficient to give the Railway Company a fair remuneration for the traffic they have to carry. Mr. Darbshire gave his evidence in a very fair way, but it was the end of the sitting; and on the next occasion when the Committee met Mr. Darbshire was not present. After some discussion the London and North Western Railway Company then modified the proposal they had made. The London and North Western Railway Company originally asked for 2d. per mile. They then modified their proposal and asked for 1½d., and then they modified it still further by saying they would accept for long distances over 20 miles 1½d. Upon that the counsel who represented Mr. Darbshire was asked whether he accepted that. He stated he could not actually accept it, because he was not authorised, his principal having gone away, but he offered on his part to take 1½d. on the

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short lines, and 1½d. on the Chester and Holyhead line; and, therefore, as will be seen, he actually offered himself, for Mr. Darbshire, who also represented the other traders, a higher rate for the other Railway Companies than is now proposed by the Board of Trade. I remember the discussion which took place; and my strong impression is, if Mr. Darbshire had been able to be present, a compromise might have been arrived at which would have been satisfactory to both parties. Unfortunately he was not, and the Committee had to decide; and after full consideration they accepted the modified proposal of the Railway Company of 1½d., with a lower rate on the Chester and Holyhead for the longer distances. I ought also to state, and I ask the noble Lord's attention to this, that although Mr. Boyle had opposed the 2d. rate, when he was asked the question whether he any longer opposed the proposal of the London and North Western he said "We oppose the 2d. We no longer oppose the 1½d.; but if the Committee are satisfied that it would be better to have two distances, we shall not make any strenuous opposition to that." Under those circumstances, seeing that the representative of the traders himself offered a higher rate than has now been fixed in the other House, seeing that the Railway Companies made a considerable concession, and that that concession was thought fair by the Board of Trade, I think that following the precedent now arrived at in Class A, that, as a fair arrangement, something between the two rates might be a reasonable one. My Amendment is to put back the scale as it was fixed by the Committee; and if the Board of Trade see their way to making the concession in any modified form, I would, if necessary, modify that proposal.

•LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I do not think this stands in the same position as the last. The noble Lord has very fairly said this was put in by the Committee and not by the Board of Trade. That makes a considerable difference as far as the position of the Board of Trade in the matter is concerned. I cannot accept this Amendment, and I do not think the authority

of Mr. Darbshire in this matter will quite bear all the strain which the noble Lord seeks to put upon it. He will not dispute this at any rate—that the Amendment which stands in his name, or a modification of it down to 1·50d., is such as would be higher than Mr. Darbshire or his counsel assented to when the Committee was sitting.

\***LORD BELPER:** Mr. Darbshire offered 1·50d. for the short lines, and 1½d. for the Chester and Holyhead.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** As far as the Chester and Holyhead is concerned, I do not think Mr. Darbshire can be accepted as a representative of the traders upon a great line of that kind. It is quite likely, if Mr. Darbshire had made the offer for one of the small lines, it might have been accepted.

\***LORD BELPER:** I am sorry to interrupt the noble Lord, but I think he will find that 1½d. is the figure already in the Schedule.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** What I understood the noble Lord was proposing was 1·75d.

**THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN:** For the first 20 miles.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** And for that I understand he claims the authority of Mr. Darbshire or his counsel.

**THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN:** No.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** Then I misunderstood the noble Lord. What I wanted to point out was that the Chester and Holyhead is really the main line of the North Western. It is upon that, really, that the great through traffic runs between Ireland and the North of England. All that traffic goes over it. When we considered this matter we did not think it necessary to put in a special scale for Class B as regards the Chester line; and I must say, as far as that is concerned, that remains my opinion at the present time. Upon the other matter, I know, as a matter of fact, that since the decision of the Committee was given Mr. Darbshire has taken means to pro-

test against it to various Members of Parliament, and I have no doubt his protest had some effect in the deletion of the scale in the other House. As I have already said, this was not a proposal made by the Board of Trade in laying the Bills upon the Table in Parliament, and I am sure the Committee considered it with every care. As I have said before, the Members of the Committee in the House of Commons seem to have taken a different view. As it was not the original proposal on behalf of the Board of Trade, I should not be acting consistently were I to hold out any hope of accepting the Amendment with regard to Scale B.

**THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN:** I do not understand that the noble Lord has taken sufficiently into consideration, or, at all events, I doubt whether the House thoroughly understands, how very large the effect of this Amendment is. The striking out of these lines: from Scale II. has this effect: that they reduce for the future the charges which the railways are entitled to make under Class B to 1·25d. for the first 20 miles; to 1d. for the next 30 miles; to 0·80d. for the next 50 miles, and for the remainder of the distance to 0·50d. My Lords, you must give due weight to what are the existing maximum charges of the railways at the present time. I do not at all say that it is a conclusive argument, or that it is the only element to be considered in the case; but, at the same time, it is one of the elements which the House is in fairness bound to consider. Here are the present rates for these lines: The Chester and Holyhead has up to the first 15 miles the right at the present time of charging up to 2½d., and after that 2d. You are going to give it 1·25d. for the first 20 miles, and then after that it falls to 1d. and below that figure, or, in other words, a reduction in the maximum rate of 50 per cent. or more. Exactly the same remark applies to the other lines. The Bangor and Bethesda is precisely in the position of the Chester and Holyhead. Then follow three more lines with at present the maximum charge of 2½d.; then there are two more



which are in the same condition. I believe there is one which has a maximum rate of 3d.; and all these are going to be cut down to figures running from 1½d. downwards. I think the noble Lord was perfectly accurate in saying just now that the Board of Trade did not in the first instance propose any special scale for this; but Mr. Darbshire, the only witness who appeared against this proposal, distinctly stated that this proposal of the Board of Trade is "too tight"—that was his own expression—and he said he certainly thought they ought to have something more than was proposed by the Board of Trade. Then his counsel the next day said: "I think if you take 1½d. upon the short lines"—and most of these lines are small; in fact, all of them are small except the Chester and Holyhead—"and 1½d. on the Chester and Holyhead that would be fair." It was under consideration for some time, and when finally it came under the consideration of the Board of Trade they did not oppose it. Having heard the whole discussion, either Mr. Courtenay Boyle or Lord Balfour being generally there, they said, "We oppose the 2d., but we do not oppose the 1½d.," and these figures were put in. If the noble Lord will not go the length which my noble Friend asks; yet, at all events, I would ask him to consider whether, seeing what you have done in Class A, it does not follow almost as a necessity, and, further than that, whether it does not follow as a matter of justice, that you should give some special charges for these lines under Class B? Slate is almost entirely the article in question here, and, of course, the gradients are peculiar, and the circumstances under which these lines were made are peculiar. I was so successful last time that I am going to invite the noble Lord's attention, and even perhaps the attention of the noble Marquess, who may, perhaps, be in a benevolent frame of mind, to this reduction from 1·50d. or 1·25d. rather than leave the matter in the position in which it now stands, which, I think, is not fair to the Railway Companies. I am not in any way urging this as the advocate of the Railway Companies, for I sat 48 days trying to find fault with them, and trying to find fault with the traders; and the result of all my

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examinations and lucubrations is that if your Lordships sanction this as it now stands in the Schedule you will be doing what is not fair towards the railways.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** The first line in regard to which the Motion is made is the Chester and Holyhead. The noble Lord quoted—we have both quoted—more than once the authority of Mr. Darbshire, and he said quite distinctly that his counsel assented to a small scale on the smaller lines, but what he assented to was 1·25d. for the Chester and Holyhead. 1·25d. is the scale now in the Bill, even if this Amendment is not accepted, and, therefore, upon the noble Lord's authority, and for the reasons I have stated before, I really cannot go back from what I have said, or accept this Amendment in any form.

**THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN:** But what does the noble Lord say with regard to the other line? He has only mentioned the Chester and Holyhead. The noble Lord will also remember, of course, that the waggons are included.

\***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** There is that difference, certainly, between Class A and Class B; but I am unable to accept the Amendment for a special scale to Class B in any form.

\***LORD BELPER:** It is extremely difficult to discuss details in this House, but I think the result is that the rate in Class A is decidedly higher than in Class B; that is to say, a trader can carry an unmanufactured article in the rough more cheaply than he can carry the same article if it is in a partly manufactured state. Take bricks, for example, which I mentioned before. There is a large traffic upon this line of that kind, and they actually have to carry the bricks cheaper than the clay that is to be made into bricks. As regards the traffic upon the Chester and Holyhead Line, Mr. Darbshire is no authority, as the noble Lord says, because he did not offer anything; but as far as the small lines are concerned, the Board of Trade are giving less than even the traders are willing to accept.

Moved, in page 12, scale 2, after the words ("Cockermouth and Workington") insert as an addition to such scale :

	Maximum Rate for Conveyance per Ton per Mile.	Maximum Station Terminal at each end.
Chester and Holyhead - - - - -	1.75d. for the first 20 miles, and 1.25d. for the remainder of the distance.	d. 6
Bangor and Bethesda - - - - -	d. 1.75	6
Bettws and Festiniog - - - - -		
Bettws Extension - - - - -		
Dyffws Junction - - - - -		
Bangor and Carnarvon - - - - -		
Carnarvonshire - - - - -		
Carnarvon and Llanberis - - - - -		
Nantlle Branch - - - - -		

—(The Earl of Camperdown.)

On Question, their Lordships divided :  
—Contents 16 ; Not-Contents 19.  
Schedule agreed to.  
Bill reported, with an Amendment.  
Standing Committee negatived.

SALE OF GOODS BILL [H.L.].—(No. 262.)  
Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and  
passed, and sent to the Commons ; and  
to be printed as amended. (No. 287.)

HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES BILL.  
(No. 334.)  
Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with  
the Amendments, and passed, and re-  
turned to the Commons.

TURBARY (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 265.)  
THIRD READING.  
Bill read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order).

EARL WEMYSS : My Lords, before  
the Motion is put that this Bill do pass,  
I should like to say a few words upon it.  
I do so simply as a moral protest against  
this kind of legislation. This Bill pro-  
bably follows necessarily on the Land Bill,  
which has occupied so much of the time  
of Parliament during the present  
Session. Those who have from the first,  
during the past 21 years, protested

against all this kind of legislation as one  
evil leading to another, are bound, and,  
I think, justified, in saying, as I shall  
say, simply as a moral protest against its  
passing—Not-Content. Your Lordships  
must have observed from the beginning  
that no sooner has one measure of this  
kind passed than it has been fol-  
lowed by another. This is a corollary of  
the Land Bill. It is not only as regards  
Ireland that we have the evil of subse-  
quent mischievous legislation, but the  
principles which have been adopted in  
Ireland find their way across the Channel  
to other countries. Take the Irish  
legislation and the Land Court. You  
find that the same principles have crossed  
the Channel and taken root in Scotland.  
You have the Crofters' Commission,  
you have the Courts fixing rents there,  
and you may possibly have a Turbary  
Bill made in reference to Scotland. Not  
only that, my Lords, but I think the  
principle goes a great deal further, for it  
appears to me—and I should be glad if  
my noble Friend can draw any distinc-  
tion between the cases—that there is no  
more reason for legislation of this kind  
in Ireland and Scotland than there is in  
England and Wales, and, further than  
that, in the shops of London. Why  
should not the shopkeepers of London  
have money provided for them to buy

their shops on the estates of the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Westminster? This is the only reason I can see for drawing a distinction, and I should like to know whether the noble Lord is able to draw any other than that, as yet, the farmers in the Lowlands of Scotland, and in England, and Wales, pay their rent, and do not take pot shots at their landlords; that one set of people are obedient, and law abiding, while the other is lawless and violent? and you have encouraged them by this utterly rotten kind of legislation. All I have to say is that in this kind of legislation there is a racy Irish flavour about it which makes it really comical. What has been the great complaint in Ireland? Why, landlordism. The one wish of the Irish tenant was to abolish landlordism, and here you have been engaged the whole of this Session in encouraging landlordism a hundredfold. We who hold other views have nothing for it but to say as a moral protest "Not-Content" to the passing of such a Bill as this.

Bill passed.

#### METALLIFEROUS MINES (ISLE OF MAN)

BILL.—(No. 225.)

#### POST OFFICE ACTS AMENDMENT

BILL.—(No. 254.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and passed.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 269.)

Commons Amendment to Lords  
Amendments considered (on Motion),  
and agreed to.

#### IMPRISONMENT UNDER THE VACCI- NATION ACTS.

##### QUESTION—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD HERSCHELL, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government whether it was within the power of the Secretary of State for the Home Department to cause persons fined for non-compliance with the Vaccination Laws to be treated otherwise than as simple imprisonment prisoners—i.e., as convicted criminal prisoners not sentenced to hard labour, by ordering them to be treated as first-class misdemeanants, or in any other

*Eurl Wenmyas*

way; and, if so, whether he would consider the expediency of giving directions that they should be so treated, said: My Lords, this question arises out of another question which I put to Her Majesty's Government the other day with reference to the treatment of persons who are committed to prison in consequence of breaches of the Vaccination Laws, the question being whether it is competent to the Secretary of State for the Home Department to treat them otherwise than as criminal prisoners not sentenced to hard labour, which, as I understand, is now stated to be the form of imprisonment now imposed upon them, or whether he can subject them to some different kind of treatment. I pointed out on the last occasion why it seemed to me expedient, if it were possible in the interests of vaccination quite as much as on account of the protests of those who object to it, to adopt such a course. I observe in the answer given in another place, if it was correctly reported, to a somewhat similar question asked since I put down this question on the Paper, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department has no power at all to treat persons imprisoned for breach of the Vaccination Laws otherwise than as ordinary criminal prisoners. I do not quite understand on what that is founded, or whether it results from some reading of the 38th section of the Prisons Act, 1877, which was passed at the instance of the noble Viscount opposite, and which seems to me, I confess, to apply to such cases, because it provides that the Secretary of State may make, alter, or add rules with regard to the classification of prisoners imprisoned for failure to pay sums of money under an order, or sums of money which have been adjudged to be paid by order of a Justice or Justices, so that such rules are made in accordance with the Act of 1865. I have only lately looked at the Act, and the impression on my mind is that it enables the Secretary of State to mitigate the course of imprisonment imposed for default of payment, or in default of distress, to satisfy a sum of money ordered to be paid. That seems to me to be just the position of many, if not all, those persons who are committed to prison for breach of the Vaccination Laws, and, therefore, I do not understand why it is suggested

there is no power to mitigate the punishment, and that such persons must be treated as convicted criminals not sentenced to "hard labour."

LORD DE RAMSEY: The Secretary of State has, in his opinion, no power to do that which the noble and learned Lord wishes to see done—that is to say, the power of ordering convicted prisoners to be treated as first-class misdemeanants does not belong to the Secretary of State. This power has been given to a Judge, and, perhaps, also—though this is not free from doubt—to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. The Secretary of State has not, therefore, by law the authority which the noble and Learned Lord suggests he has. I gather from the noble and learned Lord's remarks that he takes a different view of this altogether, and, of course, I shall consider it my duty to lay those remarks before the Home Secretary, and to mention to him the Act which the noble and learned Lord has quoted to-night.

LORD HERSCHELL: My question, if I may be allowed to say so, pointed to this: I understood these persons were receiving the treatment of convicted criminal prisoners not sentenced to "hard labour." That was the statement made to me; but what I was pointing out was that there is power in the Secretary of State by classification to mitigate, though not to increase, the punishment if it is imprisonment inflicted on persons for non-payment of a sum ordered to be paid or in default of distress. Whether they ought to be called convicted persons or not I do not know, but I would venture to call the attention of the Secretary of State to their treatment.

LORD DE RAMSEY: I quite understand—"convicted offenders" is the point. I can only say that I will lay the noble and learned Lord's view before the Home Secretary.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Seven o'clock, till Tomorrow, Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 30th July, 1891.

### PRIVATE BUSINESS.

#### HANOVER CHAPEL BILL [LORDS].

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [29th July], "That Standing Order 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time."  
—(Mr. Caldwell.)

Question put, and agreed to.

Queen's Consent signified.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(Mr. Henry J. Wilson.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

(3.10) MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I hope the Amendment will not be pressed, as it is a somewhat unusual course to move the rejection of a Bill without assigning any reasons for the Motion. Perhaps, under the circumstances, I had better say a word as to what the Bill does, and why it is considered to be necessary. It is a Bill which after having received discussion in the House was referred to a Select Committee of five members—three selected in the usual way and two nominated by the Committee of Selection. I was one of the two nominated by the Committee of Selection, and I can safely say that both of us entered the Committee with perfectly open minds. Neither of us took part in the Division upon the second reading, and neither of us had the slightest bias either one way or the other. The fact of the matter is, that the existing Church has come to be altogether unsuited to the wants of the parish, and it has been thought desirable to dispose of the site and erect another Church in the centre of the parish where it will better meet the necessities of the locality. I may add that the Bill is unanimously

supported by the inhabitants of the parish.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I rise to protest against debating so small a question at so late a period of the Session. The whole question has already been fully discussed. I do not deny that the right hon Gentleman has put all the facts clearly and cogently before the House, but we have heard them already and there is nothing more to be said upon the matter. Certainly nothing has occurred to-day to remove from the minds of hon. Members that a complete job is being perpetrated.

(3.14.) VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (Lancashire, N.E., Darwen): The hon. Member who moved the rejection of the Bill refrained from giving any reasons why a measure, which was fully discussed upon the Second Reading and has passed the ordeal of a Committee, should be rejected at the eleventh hour. When the Bill was before the House for Second Reading we were told that the measure was very much opposed by the parish, and it was pointed out that there was a petition against it from the Vestry. It appeared, however, when the Committee met upstairs that the Vestry had withdrawn their petition and that the Bill was altogether unopposed except by a certain charitable Trust. One of the great points on the Second Reading was that it was proposed to destroy an artistic monument, but no architects for artistic purposes appeared before the Committee at all. The Institute of Architects did petition, but no appearance was put in in support of the petition. The hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) cross-examined the witnesses in order to prove his contention, but he completely failed; and it was shown that the removal of the church will be of material advantage to the inhabitants of the parish. I am afraid that the Motion to reject the Bill is to be attributed to that bitter opposition to improvements in the Church of England of which we had a signal instance yesterday afternoon. I hope that all fair-minded Members of the House will combine to resist the opposition offered to this Bill.

(3.20.) MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I hope that the Amendment will be withdrawn.  
*Mr. Childers*

As a resident of the parish, I can assure hon. Members that the removal of this church is very much needed by an increasing and populous district, and it would be a great loss to the neighbourhood if the Bill were rejected. It is simply an exchange of one site for another, and if the removal takes place there will be an excellent church, with a parsonage as well. The population to be served is a working class population, who will be placed at a great disadvantage if the Bill is rejected.

MR. W. H. CROSS (Liverpool, West Derby): The Bill was referred to a hybrid Committee at the special request of the opponents. The Committee went very fully into every matter, and the hon. Member for St. Pancras (Mr. T. H. Bolton), although invited to place his views before the Committee, did not appear, and no real opposition was offered to the Bill. I do not think the Committee could have done more than they did to satisfy the reasonable wishes of the opponents of the measure, and it does seem to me unreasonable that the hon. Member for Holmfirth (Mr. H. J. Wilson) should now, without a word of explanation, move the rejection of the Bill.

(3.25.) MR. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin): I do not object to the protest of the hon. Member for Lancashire (Mr. C. Graham) against a waste of time, but it is somewhat singular that the hon. Member who moved the rejection of the Bill did not utter a word of explanation in doing so. He did not even state that he thought all the arguments on the subject had been exhausted, and that a further speech was unnecessary. That being so, it appears to me as if the hon. Member's motive in the action he had taken was not to save the time of the House, but the hope that if the House proceeded to a Division at once the Bill would be rejected. That appears to me to have been the motive that actuated the hon. Member, but, if it was not so, perhaps he will rise in his place and clear himself of it. I have laid it down over and over again that if a Bill has been read a second time, referred to a Committee and passed by that Committee after being examined in all its details, and if, too, the Bill is defended by the Chairman of the Committee on the Third Reading stage

before the House, it would be a destruction of our method of procedure and an abuse of power if the House insisted for some private reason on ruining the Bill against the well-considered decision of the majority on the Second Reading and against the views of the Committee. There is a word often used in the House, the meaning of which I think is rarely strictly examined—I refer to the word “obstruction.” Cries of obstruction are often raised, and, in my opinion, frequently without justice. In connection with this word, I think I may refer to a speech which I made in this House 10 years ago, in which I attempted to define what obstruction is. I then laid down that obstruction is not prolonging a Debate in order to secure greater objection or fresh discussion in the House or in the country. That may be justifiable. What I consider to be obstruction is the use of the power given by the forms of the House by a few persons to defeat what is the desire of the majority, after the question has been thoroughly examined, after every argument has been stated, and after the House and the country know exactly what is in issue. If the House, on the chance position it was then in, at five minutes past 3 o’clock, had used the power which the Members then had to defeat the Bill, although the Members then present might have been in the majority, their action would have been, in my opinion, open to the charge of obstruction such as I have attempted to define.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM : On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, we have just heard from a very responsible Member of the House an *ex parte* definition of “obstruction,” which I do not wish to go forth as the correct definition. I therefore ask you whether we are to accept that definition or not.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is so good a judge of order that I can add nothing to what he has said.

(3.30.) SIR H. JAMES (Bury, Lancashire): Like many other Members present, all I know of the Bill is that it has passed the Second Reading, and that a very strong Committee has reported in its favour. I admit that on some occasions the House might properly and rightly overrule the

decisions of a Committee; but it is altogether unusual to ask the House to do so without a single reason being given why it should be done. My mind is quite open on the matter, and I ask those who dissent from the Report of the Committee on this Bill to state the reasons why the Bill should not be passed. If hon. Gentlemen who are against the Bill do not think it worth their while to give one reason why the decision of the Committee should be upset, I shall certainly think it right to vote in favour of the decision of the Committee.

(3.33.) The House divided:—Ayes 85; Noes 55.—(Div. List, No. 400.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

#### STANDING ORDERS.

(3.40.) Standing Order 8A was read, and amended in line 4, by leaving out the words “and the total amount of fees, including the prescribed fee for enlargement, under Section 17 of ‘The Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, 1883,’ due and to become due on the patent shall be deposited with the Comptroller before the meeting of the Committee on the Bill, and such deposit proved before the Committee.”

Standing Order 21 was read, and amended in line 1, by leaving out, after the word “on,” the word “a,” and by leaving out, after the word “Sunday,” the word “or.”

Standing Order 23 was read, and amended in line 2, by leaving out, after the word “on,” the word “a,” and by leaving out, after the word “Sunday,” the word “or.”

Standing Order 39 was read, and amended in line 1, by leaving out, after the word “sections,” the word “or,” and by inserting, after the word “Reference,” the words “or Maps.”

Standing Order 158 was read, and amended:—

In (A.) line 9, by inserting after the word “compensated,” the words “or interested.”

In (B.) line 26, by inserting after the word “passengers,” the words “and if the Company shall make default in so opening the said Railway [Tramway or Subway] the deposit fund shall be applicable and shall be applied as provided by the next following section.”

In (C.) line 22, by leaving out the words “and for which injury or loss no compensation or inadequate compensation shall have been paid.”

In line 34, by inserting after the word “undertaking,” the words “[in the case of a penalty the Railway or Railways in respect of which the penalty has been incurred for any part thereof].”

In line 38, by inserting after the word "depositors," the word "(Company)."

In line 45, by adding after the word "omitted," the words "In the case of a Railway Company omit the words 'and has been ordered to be wound up,' and 'or to the liquidator or liquidators of the Company,' and where there is no deposit omit the proviso."

Standing Order 175 was read, and amended by adding at the end of the Standing Order, the words "and the total amount of fees (including the prescribed fee for enlargement under section 17 of 'The Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, 1883'), due and to become due on the patent, shall be deposited with the Comptroller General of Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks, before the meeting of the Committee on the Bill, and such deposit proved before the Committee."

Standing Order 183A was read, and amended, in line 1, by leaving out the word "contains," and inserting the words "gives, revives, or extends."

(3.50.) MR. COURTNEY: I beg now to move the following new Standing Order to follow Standing Order 193:—

"No Bill originating in this House for confirming a Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read the first time after the Whitsuntide Recess."

It is simply intended by this Amendment to convert into a Standing Order what was adopted earlier in the Session as a Sessional Order. It is desirable to get these Bills before Committees early enough to secure their adequate consideration; and the only question is whether it is better to choose a fixed date or a moveable holiday. On the whole, I prefer to say Whitsuntide.

New Standing Order to follow Standing Order 193.

(Provisional Orders and Provisional Certificates.)

193A. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That no Bill, originating in this House, for confirming a Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate, shall be read the first time after the Whitsuntide Recess."—(Mr. Courtney.)

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I am afraid that I do not quite agree with my right hon. Friend. Having had some considerable experience in connection with Provisional Order Bills, I am of opinion that the period named by my right hon. Friend would be very inconvenient, and that it will be better to have regard to a particular period of the Session than to a holiday, which might

come as early as the 10th of May, or at any time within a range of four weeks after that date. Therefore, I propose as an Amendment to omit Whitsuntide and substitute the 1st day of June.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "Whitsuntide recess," and insert "First day of June."—(Mr. Ritchie.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): May I ask whether the working of the Allotments Act will be prejudiced by fixing this date?

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): May I suggest that instead of fixing the 1st of June it would be better to name a definite time after the beginning of the Session.

\*MR. RITCHIE: The fixing of the date has reference rather to the end than to the beginning of the Session. The operation of the Allotments Act need not be prejudiced by fixing this date, because other proceedings with regard to Provisional Orders will not be altered.

SIR J. MOWBRAY (Oxford University): In my opinion, the date fixed ought to have reference to the end of the Session and the difficulty of obtaining Members to sit on Committees as the Session advances. For this reason I think the 1st of June would be preferable to Whitsuntide.

MR. COURTNEY: I am quite willing to try the experiment of adopting the 1st of June instead of Whitsuntide.

Question put, and negatived.

Question, "That 'June 1st' be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Standing Orders, as amended, agreed to.

SLANDER OF WOMEN BILL.—(No. 150.)

(4.0.) Lords' Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

COMMISSIONERS FOR OATHS ACT (1889) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 244.)

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

Return ordered—  
“Showing, by Counties, the Free Quota and Extra Force of the Royal Irish Constabulary throughout Ireland for the year ended 31st day of March, 1891, in the following form :—

Counties and Depôts.	Free Quota (i.e., proportion of 10,000 Men) assigned.	Extra Force authorised.	Total Establishment.	Average number of Men actually serving.	Apportioned per 29 and 30 Vic., c.103, s. 14.	
					Average Free Quota.	Average Extra Force chargeable.
Totals ...						

—(Mr. Mahony.)

TREASON FELONY (PERSONS UNDER SENTENCE).

Address for—  
“A Return of the names and number of Persons now suffering sentences of Penal Servitude in Ireland and England as a consequence of conviction for Treason Felony, showing (a) the date of conviction ; (b) the length of the sentence ; and (c) the prison where the convict is imprisoned.”—(Mr. Parnell.)

QUESTIONS.

MR. MAGAN (CORRESPONDENCE).  
MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland if he will grant the following Return, which appears on the Paper in my name :—  
“Return of the Correspondence between Mr. L. P. Hayden and the Irish Land Commission, between Mr. Hayden and the Attorney General for Ireland, and between Mr. Percy Magan, J.P., and the Attorney General for Ireland and the Irish Land Commission, in reference to charges brought against Mr. Magan, of having fraudulently obtained money under the Arrears Act; and the Correspondence between Mr. Magan and the Lord Chancellor, and the Irish Office and the Lord Chancellor, in the same matter.”  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): I am afraid that I cannot give this Return in the exact form in which the hon. Member asks for it. I will communicate with the hon. Mem-

ber as to the form in which it can be given.  
In reply to a question by Mr. 'SEXTON (Belfast, W.),  
MR. MADDEN said: My difficulty has reference to the correspondence between the Irish Office and the Lord Chancellor, which concerns two separate Departments of the Government.

THE RAJABAI TOWER TRAGEDY.  
MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State is aware that among the public of Bombay serious alarm exists on account of the attitude and proceedings of the local police in connection with the case known as the Rajabai Tower Tragedy ; whether he is aware that, in that case, the medical men who first viewed the corpses of the two Parsi girls, on the afternoon of the 25th of April, certified that there were on their persons certain marks indicating attempted outrage, but nevertheless, before the *post-mortem* examination was held, the police adopted, and throughout the inquiry maintained, the theory of accident, or suicide; that the man Aslajee, who was arrested the same evening on suspicion, was found to have his jacket torn and his trousers soiled, but that, nevertheless, he was released the same night, at 3 a.m., without even his person being examined or his clothes



detained; and that for 56 hours the police failed to follow up an important clue furnished to them in person by one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace; whether these, and other allegations, tending to show bias and neglect of duty on the part of the police, were set forth in a Memorial to the Bombay Government, signed by Sir Jamsetjee Jeheebhoy, Sir Duishah Petit, and some 45,000 inhabitants of Bombay, and praying that a complete investigation by independent and competent officers should be made into the facts of the case; whether the Secretary of State is aware that the said prayer was disregarded by the Bombay Government; that the man Aslajee was committed for trial upon incomplete evidence; and that he was acquitted; and whether the Secretary of State will order an independent investigation into this case with a view to allay the public alarm, and to clear the good name of the local police administration?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): The Secretary of State has no official information as to the facts stated in the question. The Petition to the Bombay Government signed by Sir Jamsetjee Jeheebhoy and others seems to have been presented while the proceedings against the accused man were going on. The Bombay Government very properly refused to interfere with the course of justice, but reserved the consideration of the necessity for further inquiry until the trial was concluded. The whole matter has received, and is receiving, the fullest attention of the Government of Bombay, and the Secretary of State sees no reason for interference.

#### THE INDIAN BUDGET.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is in a position now to fix a day for taking the Indian Budget?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): We have thought of putting down the Indian Budget for Monday or Tuesday next; but it is impossible to come to any definite arrangement until we are enabled to see how we stand in regard to Supply.

*Mr. S. Smith*

#### WATER SUPPLY FOR OTLEY, SUFFOLK.

MR. STERN (Suffolk, Stowmarket): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether complaint has been made to his Department in reference to the neglect of the Woodbridge Rural Sanitary Authority to carry out the Sanitary Act in connection with the supply of pure water to Otley, in Suffolk; how many cases of illness and death from fever have occurred in that district during the last two years, and will the Local Government Board use its powers to compel the Local Authority to proceed at once with the necessary works?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): In January of the present year the Local Government Board received a complaint as to the supply of water in the parish of Otley. They communicated with the Rural Sanitary Authority, and were informed that the authority had directed that inquiry should be made by the Medical Officer of Health, and that it appeared from his Report that there was ground for complaint. They resolved that the owners should be required to provide a proper supply for the use of their tenants; and that if they failed to comply the authority would order the necessary works to be carried out, and charge the expenses upon them. This reply was communicated to the complainant, and the Board have received no further complaint in the matter. I have since been informed by the Sanitary Authority that they have called upon the owners of the properties in question to provide a proper supply of water. It is stated, in answer to my inquiries, that no deaths from fever at Otley are shown by the Registrar General's Reports during the two years ended 31st December last, but the authority are unable to furnish information as to the number of non-fatal cases of fever. The Local Government Board have not at present any facts showing that their intervention in the way of directing a local inquiry is necessary, but they will communicate further with the authority, with the view of obtaining more precise information as to the action which has been taken by them, and as to its results.

## ENGLISH PRISON OFFICIALS.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether English prison officials are obliged to dress in uniform when off duty?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): There is no general order on the subject in local prisons. In convict prisons officers are permitted to wear plain clothes when on leave of absence, but on no other occasion.

## TITHE REFERENCE BOOKS.

MR. SEALE-HAYNE (Devon, Ashburton): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture why fees are demanded for inspection of the Tithe Reference Books; whether those books were prepared at public expense; and whether he will consider the desirability of permitting the examination of such books without charge, as is permitted in regard to documents at the Patent, the Record, and other public Offices?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. CHAPLIN, Lincolnshire, Sleaford): Fees have hitherto been demanded for the inspection of the Tithe Reference Books in order to cover the cost of an attendant capable of affording and explaining information respecting them, as well as for taking them out and replacing them. The tithe apportionments and maps were prepared in part at the public expense and in part at the expense of the landowners in the several parishes. It is not the case, I am informed, that the inspection of documents is permitted in the Patent, Record, and other Public Offices without fees, and, so far as I am at present informed, I am aware of no reason for remitting the fees in this case.

## THE ROSS BENCH OF MAGISTRATES.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the remission of one-half of the sentence of imprisonment which was passed upon William Jarvis by the Ross Bench of Magistrates, advised by him in June last, upon statements made to him in memorials and letters from the neigh-

bourhood, alleging, *inter alia*, that the punishment was excessive, and that evidence was improperly admitted by the Bench, whether he is aware that, at the recent Herefordshire Summer Assizes, James Green, who had been sent for trial for criminal assault by the same Bench, was discharged as not guilty, and Mr. Baron Pollock stopped the case, saying that it ought never to have been sent for trial; whether he is aware that the Chairman of the Ross Bench is a clergyman 80 years of age, the next Magistrate a doctor nearly 90 years of age, three other Magistrates clergymen, and six military men, and only two lawyers who never attend the Bench, and that the recently appointed Clerk to the Magistrates is a man who has had no legal education, and is not a lawyer; whether Mr. William Hebb, the Registrar to the Newent County Court, who is also a practising solicitor at Ross, wrote to the right hon. Gentleman on 22nd June, pointing out that the Magistrates had no responsible clerk; and whether, under the circumstances, he will point out to the Magistrates on the Ross Bench that it is desirable that they should appoint a trained lawyer as their clerk?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have only seen a newspaper account of the case against James Green, in which there is nothing to indicate that the learned Judge said or implied anything by way of censure on the Ross Bench. I will, however, make inquiry of the Judge on this point. It must not be understood that, because I advised a remission of part of the sentence in the case of Jarvis, I intended in any way to find fault with the Bench. It was a question of the amount of punishment for an admitted offence, as to which there can properly be a difference of opinion. It is no part of my duty to inquire into the ages and professions of gentlemen holding commissions of the peace; and, with regard to the Clerk to the Justices, I have nothing to add to the answer which I gave on the 27th of April.

WHITFIELD CHURCHYARD,  
DERBYSHIRE.

MR. G. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that an addition has been

made to the churchyard of Whitfield, Derbyshire, in the diocese of Southwell, the land being conveyed under a private Trust to the vicar and churchwardens as a parish burial ground for the inhabitants of the parish, but to be used only for burials in accordance with the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, burials under the Burial Act of 1880 being for that reason prohibited; whether he is aware that an addition has also been made to the churchyard of Tettenhall, in the diocese of Lichfield, on the same conditions and with the same result; and whether, in view of the fact that the 9th section of the Burial Act of 1880 provides that such conditions shall not be imposed in any churchyard or part of the churchyard of any parish, he will take steps to prevent the Nonconformist inhabitants of the two parishes named being deprived of the rights secured or intended to be secured to them by such Act?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, Sir; I have made inquiry, and am informed that in neither case is the ground part of the churchyard. These are private burial grounds governed by the terms of the deed of Trust. The Act of 1880 does not apply to such grounds, and it was not the intention of Parliament to interfere with private Trusts of this character.

#### COST OF ASSIZE PROSECUTIONS.

MR. ROWNTREE (Scarborough): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been called to the refusal of certain County Councils to reimburse Quarter Sessions boroughs the costs of prosecutions at Assizes of prisoners committed for trial from such boroughs; and whether, inasmuch as Section 35 of "The Local Government Act, 1888," makes all costs of such prosecutions (formerly reimbursed from Her Majesty's Treasury) a charge upon the County Fund, the Government will take such steps as may be necessary to prevent Quarter Sessions boroughs from being placed in a worse financial position in this matter than they were in before the passing of "The Local Government Act, 1888," and of the grants in aid of local taxation?

\*MR. RITCHIE: My attention has not been called to the refusal of any County Council to reimburse Quarter Sessions boroughs the cost of prosecutions at

*Mr. G. Osborne Morgan*

Assizes of prisoners committed for trial from those boroughs. I infer from the question that a difference has arisen in some case between a County Council and the Town Council of a borough on this point. If the facts of this particular case are communicated to the Local Government Board the question will receive their consideration.

#### BROOMFIELD SCHOOL DISTRICT.

MR. ROWNTREE: I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether he is aware that the school district of Broomfield, in the County of Somerset, had in 1881 a population of 420, and has now a population of about 380; whether the small population grant (Art. 104 of the present Code) has been paid to the national school in this district since the year 1886; and, if so, for what years; and by what legal authority has this grant been paid to a school in a district whose population exceeds 300?

\*THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): A grant of £15 has been paid to the Broomfield School for many years, under the authority of Section 19 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, on the ground that the population within two miles, measured according to the nearest road, is less than 200, and that there is no other public elementary school recognised by the Department as available for that population.

#### ALL SAINTS' SCHOOLS, WELLINGBOROUGH.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether the Education Department have entertained the application for annual grants to the new infants' school proposed to be opened by the managers of All Saints' Schools, at Wellingborough, in the Midland Road; whether he is aware that there are at present 700 vacant places in four schools in the immediate neighbourhood, including one Church of England, one Roman Catholic, and two Board schools; whether the Department has also refused to sanction the provision of a new Board school in the neighbourhood of the Northampton Road, at the west end of Wellingborough, although the inhabitants of that growing

district have petitioned the School Board to provide such a school; whether the Wellingborough School Board have represented to the Education Department that the parents at the west end of the town wish to have a choice of schools, and that the existing accommodation in the immediate neighbourhood is unsuitable, being in denominational schools; and whether he will re-consider these decisions in view of the provisions of the Act of 1870, and especially with the 5th and 18th sections of that Act?

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: The new infants' school which the Department have sanctioned is only new in the sense of its having been transferred to new buildings, and it is not the practice to place any obstacle in the way of managers improving their school accommodation, whatever vacant places may be found in neighbouring schools. The Department have not refused to sanction the erection of a new Board school at the west end of the town, but have, after careful inquiry, expressed an opinion that the project should, for the present, be deferred. I am not able to follow the hon. Member in respect to his concluding suggestion, as it was a fundamental principle of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, and has since been an axiom of the Department's administration that every public elementary school is, *ipso facto*, suitable.

#### ARMY CONTRACTS.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether an order has been given from the War Office to Messrs. Hebbert and Co., of James Street, Haymarket, S.W., for 10,000 pouches and belts for telegraph messengers; if so, whether the contract permits Messrs. Ross & Co., of Grange Mills, Bermondsey, who were struck off the list of contractors, to cut and supply leather for the order; and if the factory clause is inserted in the above contract?

\*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Messrs. Hebbert & Co. hold the contract for pouches and belts for telegraph messengers. Under the contract the contractors are required to have the cutting-out done on their own premises, but there is no restriction as to the source whence the

materials are procured, provided they comply with the prescribed pattern. The Factory Clause is included in the contract.

MR. J. ROWLANDS: Would it be illegal for Messrs. Ross to deal in any way with the material they supply in cutting out the articles, seeing that they have been struck off the list of contractors?

\*MR. BRODRICK: Messrs. Ross and Co. are prohibited from providing any manufactured goods of any sort or kind. But contractors for the War Office have power to obtain the material in any market, provided the article complies with the terms of the contract.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): Is not that a violation of the pledge given to the House when the question of contracts was under discussion?

MR. J. ROWLANDS: Were not Messrs. Ross struck off the list of contractors because the material they used for their articles was not of the right quality?

\*MR. BRODRICK: The material can be purchased anywhere, provided that it is according to contract, and care is taken to see that the conditions laid down are carried out.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): Is the standard rate of wages given by these contractors?

\*MR. BRODRICK: The rates of wages are agreed upon and are published in the workshop, where every man can see what he is entitled to.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: Why was this proviso made in this contract? If the wages are to be arranged by the Director of Contracts, the whole plan mentioned in the House as having been adopted by the Government falls to the ground.

\*MR. BRODRICK: The proviso was made in this case because the trade is not a general one, but peculiar to the requirements of the War Department. There is no standard rate of wages, and no market for rejections. The War Office found that the wages offered to the people employed in this particular trade were what might be termed of a sweating description. It was felt that the Government ought to prevent their work being executed in that way, and for that reason a price was agreed upon.

between the contractors and the War Office—a price which is known to the workpeople, and which they can obtain.

#### THE SHARPSHOOTER AND THE SPANKER.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he has considered the finding of the Court of Inquiry appointed to examine into the cause of the burning of the fire-bars of the *Sharpshooter*, namely, "that it arose from the inexperience of the stokers"; and whether there was any evidence to show that the accident was due in some measure to the use of sulphurous coal; and whether it is true that another vessel belonging to the manœuvring squadrons, the *Spanker*, has had to return to port through the weakness of one of the boilers and defective machinery, and that, in consequence of these defects, will be unable to rejoin the division this season?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): There was no evidence to show that the burning of the fire-bars of the *Sharpshooter* was in any way due to the use of sulphurous coal. Welsh coal alone was used. In the case of the *Spanker*, the accident to the boiler was entirely due to the shortness of water, and not to weakness of construction, while the defect of the machinery was caused by the breakdown of one of the slide valves of the port low-pressure engine, an unaccountable accident in the opinion of the Court of Inquiry, and one in which no blame attached to anyone. The *Spanker*, after undergoing the necessary repairs, sailed to rejoin the Fleet on the 25th inst.

#### A RECENT PRIZE FIGHT.

MR. COBB: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the report in the *Standard* and other papers of 28th July of the prize fight for £1,000 between Smith and Pritchard, which took place on the night of 27th July, from which it appears that, notwithstanding that gloves were used, Pritchard was in the first round felled to the ground by a "terrific body blow," and in the third round Smith was twice driven half across the ring "with terrific left-handers in the face," and held on to

Mr. Brodrick

the ropes for support, but that after this Pritchard knocked him down twice, so that Smith was hanging half out of the ring, and Pritchard was declared the winner; whether he is aware that the gloves which are used are mere evasions of the law, and that blows dealt with them are quite as damaging, and in some cases more so, than those dealt with fists; whether he is aware that prize fights under the name of glove fights have been on the increase during the last two years; whether the police were present at, or were aware of, the prize fight in question, and if the names of the promoters of the fight can be given; and whether he will take stringent steps to stop these fights, and to punish not only the combatants but those of all classes who promote and attend them?

MR. E. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN (Rochester): May I ask whether, if proper gloves were used, these boxing matches are not perfectly legitimate?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have seen the paragraph quoted from the newspapers as to the prize fight between Smith and Pritchard. The police were not able to effect an entrance in time to be present at the encounter, which only lasted a few minutes, but they inform me that, having entered and seen both the pugilists immediately afterwards, the only injury they observed was a small swelling on Pritchard's face. They saw a pair of ordinary 4oz. gloves, and have no evidence to rebut the statement made by all concerned that these were used in the encounter. The names of the chief persons taking part in the proceedings appear to be correctly given in the newspapers. The law as to what constitutes an illegal fight has been laid down in the superior Courts. If evidence were forthcoming that the fight was of an illegal character, I should not hesitate to direct proceedings, whether it took place with or without gloves.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: The right hon. Gentleman must not think I am against boxing, because I used to be very fond of it, but I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether in future, in any contest with or without gloves in which the *finale* consists in one of the combatants being "knocked out of time," it will be within the power of the police to interfere and regard it as a prize fight?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am not quite sure that I appreciate the exact force of the expression "knocked out of time." I have not the special knowledge of the subject that is possessed by the hon. Gentleman opposite. I take it that the distinction is this: If two men for delight or for exercise, or to test their skill, choose to box with or without gloves, it is not an illegal proceeding. If, on the other hand, they fight for the purpose of doing each other serious injury in order that one might be exhausted—that is, knocked out of time—the case is different.

SIR W. LAWSON (Cumberland, Cocker mouth): I wish to know whether, if a man is killed in one of these encounters, it would be held to be a case of justifiable homicide?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am afraid I must decline to answer a question of possible law.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: As a specialist, I must apologise for having used a technical word. I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the fact that these men were fighting for money does not alter the case?

MR. MATTHEWS: I do not think the doing it for money has the slightest influence upon the question at all.

#### THE WEST HIGHLANDS MAIL STEAMERS.

DR. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether any reduction is made to the Post Office when the mail steamers in the West Highlands are allowed to leave their routes for other than Post Office work in order to earn money for their owner?

\*THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University): I am aware of only one route on which the mail steamer is allowed under special circumstances to make an occasional deviation from her course, and in that case the deviation is a condition of the contract, and the Postal Service does not suffer. Therefore no reduction of payment by the Post Office is made.

#### THE FISHING INDUSTRY OF STORNOWAY.

DR. MACDONALD: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer is he aware

that serious loss and damage have been caused to the fishing industry of Stornoway, and to Lewis fishermen and others, in consequence of the local Customs officials prohibiting vessels to berth, load, and discharge at the inner quay, lately built along Cromwell Street, Stornoway, by the Stornoway Pier and Harbour Commissioners, until the same is legalised; whether he is aware that several old piers and landing-places formed at one time part of the inner quay now reclaimed and rebuilt by the Stornoway Harbour Commissioners, and that vessels were always permitted to be berthed, discharged, and loaded at these piers and landing-places without any objection on the part of the Customs local officials in the past, and will he give instructions that these objections be not persisted in as regards this inner quay; will he explain why, for the first time in 140 years, a demand has been made by the Board of Customs, on the representation of the local Superintendent of Customs, that the Stornoway Pier and Harbour Commissioners should, at their own expense, construct and maintain a watch-house and boat-house for the convenience of the local Customs officials, when there is a watch and boat house already in existence at Stornoway belonging to, or rented by, the Customs; whether such a demand is usual in the case of small harbours such as Stornoway; whether he is aware that the Stornoway Pier and Harbour Commissioners are at present applying to the Treasury and the Public Works Loan Commissioners for a loan to help them in providing additional harbour accommodation, which is much required there; and whether such loan was recommended to be granted by the Western Highlands and Islands Commissioners?

MR. GOSCHEN: The Board of Customs have declined to legalise the new quay at Stornoway until the Harbour Board fulfil their statutory obligation to provide proper watch-house and boat-house accommodation for the Customs officers. Such a demand is usual in the case of any harbour as soon as increase of trade or any other reason makes the want of such accommodation felt. At present there is no Customs boat-house at all in Stornoway, and the watch-house (which is not provided by the Harbour Board) is

quite unsuited for its purpose. I understand that a portion of the frontage covered by the new quay was formerly approved as a legal quay, but this portion has been partly built over, and had been for some time disused as a quay. I have not heard of serious loss being caused to the fishing industry by the prohibition, which only applies to vessels from foreign ports. The Harbour Board have not applied to the Treasury. They have, however, applied to the Board of Trade to sanction an application to the Public Works Loan Commissioners for a loan on easy terms under the Harbours and Passing Tolls Act, 1861, but under the existing regulations loans cannot be made under this Act for mere facilities of trade, such as quays. It is true that the Highlands and Islands Commission recommended exceptional treatment in this case, but they coupled that recommendation with conditions which the Harbour Board has not seen its way as yet to accept.

#### TELEGRAPH ENGINEERS.

MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he can hold out any hope that the engineering branch of the Telegraph Service will be placed on the same footing as the commercial branch as regards classification; and, if not, will he state the reason for withholding the concession?

\*MR. RAIKES: The engineering branch performs work of a special character, and there does not appear to be any reason for making its classification uniform with that of another branch. But proposals affecting the pay of certain classes of engineering officers have been submitted to the Treasury, and are now receiving their Lordships' careful consideration.

#### SAVINGS BANK CLERKS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether a considerable number of clerks of the Savings Bank Department are still engaged on overtime, in addition to the clerks from other Government Departments, who since January have been working two and three hours a day, after completing a full day's work in their own offices; whether, notwithstanding the overtime at present being

*Mr. Goschen*

performed, he has decided, as stated by the Acting Controller of the Savings Bank, to transfer a number of Second Class Clerks from that Department; whether any such transfers have been made; whether, if further transfers are in contemplation, they will be to other Government Offices, or only to other branches of the Post Office; and whether in every case the clerks transferred will take their seniority to the new Department?

\*MR. RAIKES: At the present time very few clerks of the Savings Bank Department and no clerks belonging to other Government Departments are being employed there on overtime. Since the 1st of January last seven clerks of the Second Division have been transferred from the Savings Bank to other branches of the Post Office, three on their own applications, and the others in the interests of the Service. At the present moment no other transfers are in contemplation.

#### SCOTCH FISHERY BOARD.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate from what date the increase of salary to the officers of the Fishery Board for Scotland, recently intimated by him, will take effect; and upon what principle the officers are in future to be divided into first and second class?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): In reply to the first part of the question, I have to inform the hon. Member that increase of pay is to date from the 1st instant; and, in reply to the latter part, that the principle on which it is proposed to distinguish the first from the second class of officers is that the former will be composed of those who perform more arduous or more important duties.

#### LOWER DIVISION CLERKS.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the statement contained in the Treasury Letter to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 19th June, 1884, with regard to the promotion of Lower Division clerks, the Treasury will endeavour, so far as is possible, to fill up vacancies in the First Division by the promotion of eligible and qualified

Second Division clerks, many of whom are already in receipt of £200 per annum, thus saving £130 per annum on each promotion, as compared with a direct appointment of a new clerk at an initial salary of £200 per annum?

**MR. GOSCHEN:** The "Higher Division" spoken of in the Treasury Letter of 1884, referred to by the hon. Member, is a class of much greater extent than the very reduced Upper Division contemplated by the recent Royal Commission on Civil Establishments, who recommended the simple substitution of Second Division clerks for a large number of the Higher Division as it then existed, improving at the same time the pay of the Lower or Second Division. The Royal Commissioners have themselves considered the question of the promotion of Second Division clerks to the reduced Upper Division, and have expressed their opinions in the passage quoted by me in my answer to the hon. Member on June 29. In these circumstances, I cannot go beyond that answer, or give any such pledge as he desires.

#### MAGISTRATES' CLERKS AS SOLICITORS TO LICENSED VICTUALLERS' ASSOCIATIONS.

**MR. BOWNTREE:** I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether magistrates' clerks or their partners are allowed to act as solicitors to any Licensed Victuallers' Association?

**MR. MATTHEWS:** I am aware of no statutory restriction preventing a magistrate's clerk or his partner acting as solicitor to a Licensed Victuallers' Association.

#### ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.

**MR. KEAY** (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the hon. Member for Penrith (Mr. J. W. Lowther) whether the Charity Commissioners have yet received a reply from the Governors of St. Paul's School to the allegations made by members of the Fulham Vestry and by the late Mr. James Beal; and whether he will communicate its purport to the House?

\***MR. J. W. LOWTHER** (Cumberland, Penrith): The Charity Commissioners have now received a reply from the Governors of St. Paul's School, which demands careful consideration. The

communications between the Commissioners and the Governors are lengthy and complicated, and it would be undesirable in the interests of the school that, in the present stage of the negotiations, they should be made public.

#### THE GARDENERS' COMPANY.

**MR. J. ROWLANDS:** I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been drawn to the report of a meeting of the Court of Aldermen of the City of London, held on the 28th instant, at which the Gardeners' Company was granted a livery, not exceeding 60 in number, who will become electors of the City of London; and whether Her Majesty's Government will take the necessary steps by legislation to prevent the manufacture of faggot votes?

**MR. GOSCHEN:** I cannot give any undertaking upon this matter. So far as I am aware at present, Her Majesty's Government have no intention of opening up the question of Parliamentary reform next Session.

#### PRISONERS' WITNESSES.

**MR. PICKERSGILL:** I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been drawn to the following observations of Mr. Justice Wills at the Staffordshire Summer Assizes:—

"It is the practice at most large gaols for the officials to go round a week before the trial and ask if prisoners desire to have any witnesses sent for. I wish this were customary at all gaols, as it is only right that it should be;"

and whether he will give directions that this practice shall be adopted at all gaols?

**MR. MATTHEWS:** I have not seen the observations of the learned Judge; but the practice which he commends seems to me to be a good one, and I have no objection to giving an order for its general adoption.

#### LONDON WATER COMPANIES.

**MR. HOWELL** (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I had intended to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been called to the fact that the East London Waterworks Company, and other London Water Companies, have been charging on the new assessment, which came into force in April last,



increased rates for the three months preceding the date of such assessment coming into force; and whether this demand for such increase by the Water Companies is legal? At the request of the right hon. Gentleman, I beg to postpone the question.

**THE GRANT IN RELIEF OF SCOTCH LOCAL RATES.**

Mr. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether it would be competent for a County Council to apply its share of the sum of £100,000, proposed to be given in relief of local rates in Scotland, wholly and exclusively in relief of the county rates paid by owners only?

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: It is proposed to give to the County Councils complete discretion as to the mode of relieving rates; and it is presumed that this discretion will be exercised in the interests of the general body of ratepayers, by whom they are elected. It would, of course, be competent for them to follow the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman, or to adopt any other application of the grant; but this is merely another way of saying that we propose to give an unfettered discretion to the popularly elected local administrative bodies.

Mr. HUNTER: Arising out of the question, may I ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, having regard to the contentious matters that would arise in connection with the distribution of this money in Scotland, he cannot adopt the same course in this case as the Chief Secretary adopted in respect to Ireland, and postpone the application of the money until next year?

Mr. GOSCHEN: The Treasury is never unwilling to postpone the payment of money to Local Authorities. If there is a general desire for the postponement on the part of Scotch Members, I think it may be done. I will consult with my noble Friend the Secretary for Scotland and the Lord Advocate on the matter.

Mr. HUNTER: The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell Bannerman), who is unable to be present, has asked me to press the Government to postpone the Vote as suggested.

*Mr. Howell*

**BRITISH HONDURAS.**

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can give the House any information with reference to the difficulties which have arisen in British Honduras; whether the report is true that the unofficial Members of the Legislative Council have resigned in a body, and that their places have been filled by gentlemen holding office under the Government; whether the Supreme Court of the Colony has pronounced a Council so constituted to be unconstitutional, and the taxation levied under their authority to be illegal; and whether, in view of somewhat similar incidents having occurred in other Crown Colonies, the Government will assent to the appointment of a Select Committee or a Royal Commission to inquire into the relations between the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): No difficulties have arisen in British Honduras, except in connection with the resignation of the unofficial Members of the Legislative Council, the grounds for which could not be stated within the limits of an answer. Their places have been provisionally filled by the appointment of gentlemen holding office in order that the Legislative Council may be duly constituted for the despatch of business. Her Majesty's Government were advised that this course was necessary and legal. As regards the third paragraph of the question, it has been reported by telegraph that the Supreme Court has given such a decision; but the terms of, and reasons for, that decision have not yet been received. It is hoped that the differences between the late unofficial Members and the Government will be satisfactorily arranged; and Her Majesty's Government have no intention of holding any such inquiry as is suggested.

**THE BELVILL ESTATE, COUNTY ANTRIM.**

Mr. LEA (Londonderry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the tenants in the Belvill Estate,

County Antrim, purchased from Lady Harberton their holdings at 17½ years' purchase in 1887, with an agreement for interest to be paid instead of rent until purchase completed, and the first allowance in accordance therewith made on 1st November, 1887; that the title has been proved and the security satisfactory, and the matter for some time in the hands of the Commissioners; and will he explain what is the reason of the delay, and when will the purchase date from?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Land Commissioners report that none of the applications referred to were lodged until October, 1889, and that they have long since been ruled upon as to security and title. I gather from the Commissioners' Report that if there has been any subsequent delay in completing the transactions it does not rest with them.

#### IMPORTATION OF CATTLE INTO IRELAND.

MR. JUSTIN McCARTHY (Londonderry): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can tell the House the reason why the Lord Lieutenant has lately refused permission for the importation of cattle into Ireland from a district of Scotland which is not scheduled, and from which the cattle could be moved anywhere throughout England, Scotland, and Wales?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Lord Lieutenant grants permission to import cattle from Great Britain into Ireland in all cases where, after due inquiry into the previous history of the cattle proposed to be imported and their surroundings, it is considered safe that such importation should take place. There has been no case, so far as I can ascertain, of refusal where the requisite conditions have been fulfilled.

DR. MACDONALD: Is it actually the law that cattle cannot be imported into Ireland from England except with the previous permission of the Lord Lieutenant?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Lord Lieutenant undoubtedly has power to make such regulations regarding the im-

portation of cattle into Ireland as he deems necessary, and he can prevent cattle from being imported if he is of opinion that any risk would be involved.

#### MEDICAL WITNESSES AT INQUESTS.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether the Grand Jury of any county have power to select medical witnesses for inquests and compel the Coroner to call in those appointed by them, and, in the event of the Coroner not complying with their instructions, to disallow the fee (£1 1s.) if the Coroner calls in any other registered practitioner residing in the district; whether he is aware that, in the County of Londonderry, the Grand Jury cancels the Coroner's application for the fee of £1 1s. which has been paid by the Coroner to the medical witness at the time of the inquest, if he does not call in the dispensary doctor as such witness; and whether instructions will be given to reimburse the Coroners for the loss and expenses they have thus sustained?

MR. MADDEN: The Secretary to the Grand Jury of the County Londonderry states that the order of the Grand Jury made at Spring Assizes 1872 in regard to medical witnesses at inquests has been continued up to the present time. That order is to the effect that, in all cases in which medical witnesses are required at inquests, the Coroners shall in the first instance call in the dispensary doctors of the district in which the inquest is held. It appears that order was made after the power of the Grand Jury to do so was upheld by the Assize Judge, who ruled that such order was altogether right and reasonable, the dispensary doctor being, from his position and standing, the most suitable witness to call in in the first instance, and that the Coroners were bound to comply with this requirement and should not deviate from it without giving sufficient reason to the Grand Jury. Where the Coroners fail in satisfying the Grand Jury as to the reason for calling in a medical gentleman other than the dispensary doctor, the Grand Jury disallow the fee. The matter is one in no way under the control of the Executive Government.

THE IRISH NATIONAL EDUCATION  
BOARD.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in view of the fact that the Irish National Education Board has paid results fees for passes in book-keeping for the past 10 years in Castle Hill National School, Gilford, though the time always devoted to the subject was only two half-hours per week, and that the Board has never refused to pay fees to this school for passes in algebra, geometry, physical geography, music, or drawing, the time devoted to each of these subjects being two half-hours weekly, will he explain under what rule the Board has this year refused to pay the fees for book-keeping, not because the time given to it was less than formerly or less than that given to any other voluntary or extra subject, but simply because the two lessons in each week were given on the same day; and, considering that the time given to this subject was as much for last year as for any other extra subject taught in the school during the past 10 years, and also considering that 92 per cent. of those presented passed the examination, will the Board, upon reconsideration, pay the amount withheld?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Commissioners of National Education report that at the recent results examination the certificate of the teacher mentioned showed that the total number of days in the results year on which book-keeping had been taught was 41, and that only one lesson weekly had been given. The Commissioners regarded this as obviously inadequate, and accordingly declined to pay results fees for the subject. In previous years this teacher had certified that book-keeping had been taught for a number of days, varying from 87 to 94, and on these representations results fees were paid. As regards the other extra branches, the teacher had certified that they had been taught for 88 days in the last results year at the rate of two lessons weekly. This was regarded by the Commissioners as an adequate provision, and results fees were accordingly paid. The Commissioners do not think the case one for re-consideration.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Inter-

mediate Education Board expended in the year 1890 34 per cent. of their income on working expenses, and only 27 per cent. on results fees, averaging 10s. per head on the students taught; whether the additional grant under "The Local Taxation Act, 1890," must be applied for both or either of the purposes following: for the payment of results fees to school managers, for the payment of prizes to students, the Educational Endowments Commission having strongly urged exclusive application to the former purpose; whether the head masters of the Protestant and the Catholic Colleges have presented a joint Memorial to the Board protesting against the establishment of new grades and the consequent indefinite increase of working expenses, and asking for the application of the grant by way of results fees, which should be paid on students who are above the age limits prescribed for prize winners as well as on under age students; and whether the Board has deferred the consideration of the Memorial until November next; and whether, in view of the fact that the new preparatory grade will come into practical operation in September, when new classes must be formed and teachers engaged to prepare for the new examinations, and thus an obstacle will be created to the free consideration of the Memorial in November, the Board will suspend the rules establishing this new grade until they shall have decided on the Petition of the head masters?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Assistant Commissioners of Intermediate Education report that the amount expended on administration by the Board in 1890 was £3,445 6s. 4d., and on "examinations" £7,702 9s. 3d. The amount expended on results fees was £8,894 3s., averaging about £2 17s. per head for each successful student.

BELFAST MAIL SERVICE.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Postmaster General, with regard to the arrangements for the accelerated mail service in connection with Belfast, whether the Belfast sorters at present are on duty from 4 a.m. to 7 a.m., from 10.30 a.m. to 11.30 a.m., from 12.15 p.m. to 4.15 p.m., and from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m.; and whether there is any truth in the report that they are now to be called upon to surrender the forenoon interval of rest,

and to come on duty, for the second morning delivery, at 9.30 a.m. instead of 10.30 a.m., thus increasing the total amount of daily labour from 10 hours to 11; whether, in the Delivery Department, the postmen are to be required, after the first morning delivery, extending from 6 a.m. to 9.15 a.m., to come on duty again at 9.30 a.m. (without any interval for breakfast), and to remain on duty till 12.15 p.m., this system obliging the men on wet days to remain for six hours without a change of clothing; and whether these men have to do duty again each day from 3.45 p.m. to 6.30 p.m.; and whether the sorting and delivery arrangements at Belfast will be personally examined by him, and such needful addition made to the staff as will secure the efficient discharge of the service without inflicting undue hardship upon the sorting clerks and postmen?

\*MR. RAIKES: I am not aware of the arrangements to which the hon. Member refers, and there has not been sufficient notice of the question to enable me to receive a reply to the inquiry which I have made on the subject. The hon. Member may rest assured, however, that I will take whatever steps may be necessary to provide for the efficient discharge of the service without inflicting undue hardship upon the staff.

#### CLONAKILTY AND 'ROSSCARBERY EXTENSION RAILWAY.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any Government assistance will be afforded the Clonakilty and Rosscarbery Extension Railway; whether a deputation from the district in question, who went to Dublin and had an interview with the Under Secretary, Sir W. Ridgeway, were informed by him that their request would receive every consideration; whether a similar assurance was given by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at Skibbereen to another deputation on the same proposed railway; and whether, having regard to the benefit of the large fishing and agricultural interests in the district, the Government will give material assistance to the work?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must ask the hon. Member to be good enough to defer this question until to-morrow.

#### THE CORK MAILS.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Postmaster General if any further representations have been made to, or communications received from, the Cork and Bandon and West Cork Railway with regard to the proposed acceleration of the mails to Skibbereen, Bantry, and West Cork?

\*MR. RAIKES: No, Sir. But I am quite prepared to consider a reasonable proposal if the company will make one.

#### MR. J. E. MEDLICOTT, J.P.

MR. LEAHY (Kildare, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. J. E. Medlicott, J.P., Dunmurrey, County Kildare, attended at Monasterevan Petty Sessions on the 17th instant, and adjudicated upon a case in which his friend Forbes Johnston, Esq., Q.C., was plaintiff, and John Hannon, defendant, and which was for the recovery of possession of the latter's holding at Laghill, Monasterevan, County Kildare; if Monasterevan is one of the Petty Sessions Courts that Mr. Medlicott attends, when he last attended, and how often within the last five years; and will the Government deal with Mr. Medlicott in the same way as they did with Mr. James Byrne, Wallston Castle, Mallow, County Cork?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The gentleman mentioned does not appear to have attended at the Monasterevan Petty Sessions within the last five years, but there is a record of his having attended there previously. He resides in and attends the adjoining Petty Sessions. There is, however, at present a scarcity of Magistrates in the Monasterevan district owing to the death of a Magistrate, and the attendance of the gentleman referred to in that district is of public utility. There is no reason to believe that he attended in the interest of any litigant, nor is there any analogy between this case and the other one referred to.

#### ARREST OF MRS. DOHERTY.

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mrs. Doherty, wife of Pat Doherty, on the Tenalick Estate of Lord

Annaly, in the County of Longford, was arrested on the morning of the 8th July for taking possession of her house, was lodged in Carrick-on-Shannon Gaol, and still remains in prison without trial; and whether he will take steps to have this woman, who is 58 years of age, and the mother of a large family, released?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not yet been able to obtain the information that would enable me to answer the question, and therefore I must ask the hon. Member to repeat the question.

#### POSTAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE AT NOBBER.

MR. PIERCE MAHONY (Meath, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General why the Postal Telegraph Office at Nobber, County Meath, has been closed; and whether he will take steps to have it reopened?

MR. RAIKES: The telegraph office at the railway station at Nobber was closed on the 28th September, 1886, because the Railway Company were not in a position to carry on the business any longer. I shall be glad to inquire whether the circumstances have changed, and I will let the hon. Member know the result.

#### ORANGE PROCESSION AT ROSTREVOR.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on Sunday, the 12th of July, Mr. D. Dunn, P.L.G., of Rostrevor, County Down, accompanied by another ratepayer of the same place, waited on Mr. Horner, J.P., to swear an information that if an Orange procession was permitted to pass through the village of Rostrevor on Monday, the 13th of July, a breach of the peace would most certainly follow, and that Mr. Horner, though bound as a Magistrate to receive this information, nevertheless refused, and declared his intention of leading the Orange procession in person; whether the information was subsequently sworn before Mr. Charles Leslie, J.P., and notice served on the police that the information had been laid; is he aware that these facts having been brought to the knowledge of Mr. Horne, he insisted on the procession passing through Rostrevor when he headed it himself, and

*Dr. Fitzgerald*

that a disturbance actually took place as anticipated, and an Orangeman was sent for trial on a serious charge arising therefrom; and, if the facts of the case be as stated, whether the Lord Chancellor proposes to take notice of Mr. Horner's conduct?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As I have not yet received the information, I must ask the hon. Member to defer the question.

MR. CRILLY: I will put it down for to-morrow.

#### BELFAST MAILS.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General if he will explain why the English night mails for Belfast and other places in the North of Ireland, which have been carried over the City of Dublin Junction Railway (Loop Line) from 4th February until 27th July, have since that date been carted from Westland Row Station to Amiens Street Station, although the through passenger service is still carried on over the loop line; whether the Railway Company offered to continue the mail service as hitherto; and whether their offer has been accepted; and, if not, what arrangements have been made for the carriage of the northern mails over the loop line on and after 1st August, when the accelerated service will commence.

MR. RAIKES: The conveyance of the Belfast mails over the loop line has hitherto been purely experimental, and at the suggestion of the Railway Companies interested. So long as a fortnight ago I inquired of the companies on what terms they would enter upon a permanent arrangement. Their reply, naming what appears to me an excessive payment, only reached my hands an hour or two ago. The hon. Member will see that it is out of the question that I can make any definite arrangement without consideration. Meanwhile, the mails are being efficiently carried as formerly by road over a distance less than a mile now traversed by the railway as quick or even quicker than by rail.

MR. MACARTNEY: Will the right hon. Gentleman be prepared to make a binding agreement with the Railway Companies to carry the mails as they were carried up to a recent period?

MR. RAIKES: If the companies approach me in a reasonable spirit I am prepared to enter into an arrangement with them.

#### NORTH OF IRELAND MAILS.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Postmaster General if the arrangements are now completed for sending mails for the North of Ireland *via* Larne and Stranraer; and when it will begin to work?

MR. RAIKES: The arrangements are practically complete so far as the Post Office is concerned, and the service might begin on the 1st prox. But the draft contract is still before the Railway Companies for examination, and until it is returned by them, approved, I am not in a position to give a definite answer.

#### THE NEW SOUTH KENSINGTON BUILDINGS.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): May I ask whether any decision has been arrived at in reference to the designs for the New South Kensington Buildings?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET, Dublin University): The judges appointed to consider the designs for the new South Kensington Buildings held their final meeting to-day, and unanimously chose out of the eight sets of designs submitted to them those which bore the motto "S. K. M." as, on the whole, the best. On opening the sealed envelopes, it appeared that S. K. M. was the motto adopted by Mr. Aston Webb, of Queen Anne's Gate. He is, therefore, the successful competitor. I shall cause his designs to be exhibited next week in the Tea Room of this House.

#### PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SIR W. HARCOURT (Derby): I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Government contemplate having a Sitting on Saturday, and whether there are any Bills still before the House for the consideration of which a particular day can be fixed?

MR. COBB: Do the Government intend to proceed with the Clergy Discipline Bill? According to *Hansard's* Report of July 2, it was there stated by the Government that the Bill would not be proceeded with until the right hon.

Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) returned to the House.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): May I ask when the Lords' Amendments to the London Public Health Bill will be considered? There are 11 pages of Amendments on the Paper, which was only issued this morning, and I wish to know whether the Amendments alter the character of the Bill or are likely to receive the support of the Government or not?

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): There are no fewer than 137 Amendments to the Bill. No doubt many of them are non-contentious and some consequential, but there are others which will cause discussion, and, in view of the number of Amendments, I wish to ask whether the Government cannot fix a particular day next week for the consideration of the Bill?

SIR H. JAMES (Bury, Lancashire): When do the Government propose to take the Lords' Amendments to the Factories and Workshops Bill?

MR. PICKARD (York, W.R., Normananton): Are the Government prepared to give a day, or any portion of a day, for the discussion on the Eight Hours Bill?

\*MR. RITCHIE: With regard to the London Public Health Bill, I may state at once that all the Lords' Amendments except two are of a verbal character, and on those two I do not think much discussion or opposition is likely to be raised.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): Will the postponement of the Scotch Vote mean the loss of the £110,000, or will it only be held over to be disposed of in another year?

MR. GOSCHEN: It will be impossible to give any of the small remaining part of the Session to the discussion of the Eight Hours Bill. With regard to the question of the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir W. Harcourt), arrangements must depend much on the progress made with business to-day and to-morrow. As soon as there is a prospect of Supply being speedily closed the Government will be better able to make arrangements for the convenience of the House with regard to the remaining business to be disposed of next week. I will ask the right hon. Gentleman to repeat his question to-morrow. As to the

Factory Acts Amendment Bill, it will depend on the progress of Supply when it will be taken, and, therefore, I cannot say whether it will be taken on Monday or not. If I receive no serious protests in the course of the evening against the postponement of the Scotch Vote, I think I shall be able to accede to the suggestion, and postpone the Vote till next Session. The Government propose to have a Sitting on Saturday. In answer to the hon. Member for the Rugby Division (Mr. Cobb), I may say that the statement he alleges to be given in *Hansard* is erroneous. The Government recognised the interest the right hon. Gentleman took in the Bill, but they did not say they would not proceed with the Bill until he returned.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I find on reference to *Hansard* the First Lord of the Treasury is reported to have said—

"The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian is deeply interested in the measure, and I hope he will soon be able to return to the House in order that we may be able to proceed with the Bill."

SIR W. HARCOURT: I can assure my hon. Friend—the communications having passed a good deal through myself—that he is entirely mistaken. There is no assurance that this Bill is not to be proceeded with in the absence of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, who takes a deep interest in the Bill.

MR. S. T. EVANS (Glamorgan, Mid): Do the Government intend to proceed with the Clergy Discipline Bill, then, this Session?

MR. GOSCHEN: I am reluctant to withdraw the Clergy Discipline (Immorality) Bill until I am thoroughly convinced that the opposition to it is such that it will be absolutely impossible to pass it, but I venture to appeal to hon. Members—others may be able to appeal to them with greater force—not to allow a state of things to continue in which, as was stated yesterday, scandals may occur without any possibility of a remedy, when the passage of a few simple clauses might prevent a state of things which is to the interest neither of the Church nor the community.

MR. G. OSBORNE MORGAN: In what order will the Civil Service Estimates be taken?

*Mr. Goschen*

MR. GOSCHEN: In their regular order.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: With regard to the Eight Hours Bill, I should like to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he is aware that an influential deputation of miners waited on the First Lord of the Treasury on this question, and although the right hon. Gentleman gave them no definite pledge, he certainly left in the minds of the vast majority of them an idea that a day would be granted for the discussion of the subject this Session.

MR. GOSCHEN: Bearing in mind the advanced period of the Session and the business still to be transacted, I doubt if the House would be prepared to discuss the question.

#### EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS).

Ordered, That the several Accounts and Papers which have been presented to the House in this Session of Parliament, relating to the Revenues of India, be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House.—(*Sir John Gorst.*)

Resolved, That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into the said Committee.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Amendment to Amendments to Forged Transfers (No. 2) Bill, without Amendment. That they have agreed to Highways and Bridges Bill, with Amendments.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

##### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

(No. 432.)

Lords Amendments considered.

Lords Amendments agreed to as far as the Amendment in page 2, lines 23 and 24.

Page 2, lines 23 and 24, leave out "and suitable," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

(4.55.) MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): Sub-section 1 of Clause 4 gives power to the Department, if they are

satisfied that sufficient and suitable public school accommodation without payment of fees has been provided for a school district, to approve a charge or an increase of fees in a particular school. The Lords have struck out the words "and suitable." I complain that such an Amendment as this has been inserted in the Bill after the Government have voluntarily accepted these words when the Bill was last before the Commons. The words have been struck out by the Lords without a single remonstrance or argument being raised against it by the Minister in charge of the Bill. It looks very like a pre-arrangement; and seeing that 10 or 12 Members of this House had expressed themselves strongly on this point, it does seem strange that the Amendment should have been accepted without argument of any kind against it. There are several grounds—and not merely religious ones—for disagreeing with this Amendment. When I entered the Department Catholic schools were considered necessary, because it was regarded as not suitable that Catholics should be compelled to send their children to Protestant schools; and when I consulted Mr. Forster on the point, he said I was right in holding that that was a proper view to take. What will happen in Lancashire, Cheshire, and the North of England if this Amendment is carried? There are a large number of good Roman Catholic schools in those districts, and the hon. Member for Preston will bear me out when I say that they have accommodation largely in excess of Roman Catholic needs. If hon. Members will take the trouble to look at the number of children in average attendance they will be astonished to find that in Catholic schools, and especially in the North of England, there are vacancies for something like two-fifths of the children in attendance. I take at random the towns of Wigan, Manchester, and Preston, and ascertain what is the attendance at certain schools and what is the accommodation. In four schools at Wigan the number of children in average attendance is 2,271, but there is accommodation for 4,615 children. In five schools in Manchester the number in average attendance is 1,712, and there is accommodation for 3,734. In Preston there are four schools—I believe they are the best

schools both in regard to staff and in regard to general management of any in Preston—The English Martyrs', St. Augustine's, St. Ignatius's, and St. Wilfrid's.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Preston): The largest is St. Walburge's.

Mr. MUNDELLA: I do not find that school. Is it St. Wilfrid's the hon. Member means? The average attendance is 3,188, and there is accommodation for 7,224. In all these schools, therefore, the attendance is just half the accommodation. We know that Catholic schools will be among the first to be made free. Now, suppose these schools are made free and the Church of England schools are not made free, do the Government intend to compel the Church of England and Nonconformist children to attend the Roman Catholic schools? It is no use in such a case to say that the Protestant children would be protected by the Conscience Clause, because in Roman Catholic schools the emblems of their religion are to be found everywhere, and the atmosphere of those schools is pervaded by Roman Catholic teaching. The children there are constantly being taught by members of the Religious Orders. I ask the House, is it intended not to consider the suitability of these schools for Protestant children? In my experience the Education Department has always considered that Roman Catholic schools are not the proper schools for Protestant children. When I entered the Department I found that whenever the London School Board applied for additional schools in any district the number of vacant places in Catholic schools was always subtracted from the existing accommodation. Besides religious questions there are other questions of suitability. There is the question as to the quality of the schools, and it would be most unfair to compel a bright child to leave a better class fee school in order to make it attend a lower class free school. Then there is the question of site. Can you ask that infant children shall be taken to schools other than those for children of a larger growth? It is often the custom for the infant to be taken to school by the elder brother and sister. Are you going to say that children who have fee schools in their immediate neighbourhood shall be com-



pelled to go to the free schools at the other end of the town? It is highly necessary that the schools selected should be as near as possible to the residences of the children. That is always a consideration with the paying schools, and it should be a still greater consideration in the case of the free schools. The schools should be as convenient for the children and suitable for them from every point of view. Many of us know the sacrifices the poor make on this question of education. I know many distinguished men—some of them on the Episcopal Bench—who have owed their success in life to the sacrifices made for them by widowed mothers. It is meritorious for a poor parent to desire to send a child to a higher elementary school. The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord G. Hamilton), when he was Vice President of the Council, went down to Sheffield and made a very good speech at a prize distribution. One boy was there who looked so clean and smart that the noble Lord said he thought he was hardly of a class to go to an elementary school. That boy turned out to be the son of a poor widow, who earned her living by turning a mangle. He won various scholarships, and is now a distinguished man at his University and the pride of his family. I should like to point out that the word "suitable" was inserted in the clause without a dissentient voice, and the *Guardian* newspaper has expressed regret at this Amendment, as well as another proposed by Lord Sandford, because it does not properly consider the interests of the children and their parents. If the House votes £2,000,000 for the purpose of giving free education in elementary schools, I protest against its being accompanied with a condition which will harass the children in free schools, and making their schools of a lower order and an inferior status. These cunningly-devised Amendments do not come from a friend of free education, but emanate from those who have denounced the Bill as the proposal of quacks—as a bitter pill, detested but which had to be swallowed. If the Government, after having twice shortened debate and accepted Amendments voluntarily, recognising the sense of the House, accept such an Amendment as this, they will

*Mr. Mundella*

be doing that which is equivalent to a breach of faith.

(5.18.) THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): The right hon. Gentleman, having made some remarks which were exceedingly moderate, has concluded with the rather wide statement that if we retain this Amendment we shall be committing a breach of faith. I think that is rather a strong thing to say.

MR. MUNDELLA: I said if, after twice cutting short the Debate, they accepted the Amendment, it would seem to me equivalent to a breach of faith.

SIR W. HART DYKE: The right hon. Gentleman has changed his statement into an hypothesis. I believe that ample means might be found to meet the case we have in hand. It is perfectly true that in this House the Amendment inserting the word "suitable" was accepted by the Government, and it is equally true that in another place they assented to the word being struck out. But considering the far-reaching character of the Commons' Amendment, I think it may be fairly urged that in the other House the Government treated the matter in a broad and statesmanlike spirit. The right hon. Gentleman has placed upon the word "suitable" a construction which it has never borne before; and if there had been any doubt as to the advisability or otherwise of the course now taken by the Government, I think it has been removed by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. It is obvious that a word like this must be dealt with in a reasonable and elastic manner by the Department in solving the difficulties which it has to face every day; and if difficulties had not been so met, these Acts would long since have produced intolerable chaos and confusion. There is, however, a vast difference between construing the word in a reasonable manner and introducing into a Bill for the first time an entirely new meaning. The right hon. Gentleman has referred to free schools being possibly wide apart, and to the fact that infants are often taken to school by their brothers and sisters. These, however, are purely administrative difficulties which will have to be met by the Department. The word "suitable"

occurs in two clauses of the Act of 1870. Mr. Forster said the object of the Act was to supply sufficient, efficient, and suitable education, and it is clear that by "suitable" he meant schools that were available from the absence of religious or other restrictions or the adoption of the Conscience Clause. Of course, the Department would not, as a rule, put pressure on Protestant parents to send their children to a Roman Catholic school; but there have been cases in which Protestant children have freely attended Roman Catholic schools. ["Where?" and "Give us one?"] In Herefordshire, in 1873, official requirements were satisfied by a Roman Catholic school, which for 13 years was the only school in the neighbourhood; and the Inspector reported that there was no more efficient school under inspection. Before the Royal Commission an important statement was made by Mr. Cumin with regard to the word "suitable." Mr. Cumin said that a school came under that description if it was a public elementary school adopting the Conscience Clause and open to inspection. In these circumstances, I am quite certain the Government are well-advised in asking the House to retain the Lords' Amendment.

(5.30.) **SIR W. HARCOURT** (Derby): The Government passed through this House a Bill which, though there were some points in it to which we took exception, was on the whole a satisfactory one. The House of Lords has dealt with this Bill as it is in the habit of dealing with a great many Bills. It has spoilt the measure of the House of Commons. I am sorry, for the sake of the right hon. Gentleman, that the Lords should have introduced this Amendment, because it will go very far to spoil his Bill in the estimation of the country when it is passed. Everybody will remember that there was an almost unanimous feeling in this House as to the introduction of this word. It was not a mere Party question at all, but it was a matter upon which Members on both sides of the House who were interested in education had the same opinion. It is only under the compulsion of men in the House of Lords who are the enemies of free education that this thing has now been done. It is with the express object of injuring and, I might say,

hamstringing free education that this Amendment has been introduced. I think it is very hard upon the right hon. Gentleman that he should, under the pressure of this adverse Party in the House of Lords, be compelled to be an accomplice in the spoiling of his own Bill. In defence of the Amendment the right hon. Gentleman quotes a case in which Protestant children have been forced into a Roman Catholic school. The very fact that the right hon. Gentleman should be driven into such an illustration in support of the Amendment is a condemnation of the Amendment itself. It was for the very purpose of preventing these practices becoming common that these words were introduced. All we can do is to protest against this proceeding. We protest in the name of the House of Commons—on behalf of the unanimous voice of the House of Commons—against this attempt of the enemies of free education in the House of Lords to destroy this Bill in the last stage of its progress. I understand very well the strain and the pressure under which the right hon. Gentleman is placed. I regret that the right hon. Gentleman should have yielded to it; and I must protest as far as I can against these proceedings, in order that the country may understand the true character of what has taken place.

(5.36.) **MR. S. SMITH** (Flintshire): I greatly regret that the Government assent to this Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President said, "The Education Department will not bring pressure to bear to send Protestant children in large numbers to Roman Catholic schools. That means that the Department may use pressure to send small numbers—"

\***SIR W. HART DYKE**: Sir, I must really protest against this construction being placed upon what I said. I referred to a statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella).

**MR. S. SMITH**: I am glad the right hon. Gentleman has withdrawn that, but I am here to protest against any pressure being put upon Protestant parents to send their children to Roman Catholic schools. Such a thing would excite the utmost dissatisfaction in the country. Of course, we wish to main

tain the rights of Catholics, but we also maintain the rights of Protestants, and I respectfully protest against any construction of the Bill which may lead to a course of conduct that would excite great indignation in the country.

\*(5.38.) THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir W. Harcourt) spoke in one sense in language of moderation, but in another sense he used the language of absurd exaggeration when he said the House of Lords were determined to destroy and to hamstring this Bill. The subject is most difficult, and yet the right hon. Gentleman can only find objection to one Amendment in the Bill.

SIR W. HARCOURT: One at a time.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: I was under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman confined his objections to one Amendment. The hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) tried to prove that the Bill would have the result of forcing Protestant children in large numbers into Roman Catholic schools. Well, Sir, whatever has been the practice in the last 20 years will continue to be the practice under this Bill. We cannot assent to the retention of a word which would have a different meaning in the Bill from that which has always been attached to it. I can show from an administrative point of view that it is impossible to accept this word "suitable" as it now stands. It is true that we did somewhat hastily assent to the insertion of the word, but, after having had time to consider what it means as it now stands, we have been forced to the conclusion that it must come out if the Bill is to be properly administered.

MR. MUNDELLA: The word is in the original Act.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: My contention is that the word "suitable" in this Bill has a meaning entirely different from what it has in the original Act. In the original Act the word occurs in two clauses only, and those clauses relate to the supply of schools, and to the proceedings for the supply of schools, and in both refer to schools, which are not public elementary schools. I say that it has in practice never been applied to public elementary schools.

*Mr. S. Smith*

MR. MUNDELLA: Has the Education Department never deducted vacancies in Catholic schools from the school accommodation of a district?

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: I assert, as a broad principle, that the Department has never applied the word suitable to public elementary schools. I assert that, as far as Roman Catholic schools are concerned, they are almost exclusively in Board school districts, and, therefore, the children have the option of going to another school. The word "suitable" has never been applied to an elementary school. All the evidence in the matter, both positive and negative, shows that the word "suitable" has never before been applied to public elementary schools, and we are now asked to give to the Act, by the insertion of the word, a meaning it never had before, and which meaning is not in the Act of 1870 or any other Act. Mr. Forster said that by "suitable" he meant schools "to which, in the absence of religious and other restrictions, parents could not reasonably object." If an Amendment moved to Clause 8 of the Education Bill of 1870 by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir W. Harcourt) had been agreed to, the word suitable would have been applicable to a public elementary school, but that Amendment was negatived. It would be impossible for the Education Department to carry out the Act under the procedure of that of 1870 if in the two statutes they have to administer there is the same word having a different meaning in each. In the interests of the Bill itself, as well as of those who will have to administer it, I hope the Lords' Amendment will be agreed to.

(5.48.) MR. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): We have been placed in a somewhat difficult position owing to the course pursued by the Government in the two Houses. In this House, nearly a month ago, after full discussion and at the request of many of their own friends, as well as of hon. Members on the other side of the House, they consented to insert the word "suitable" in the Bill, and yet almost directly afterwards they consented, without controversy, without Debate, and without Division, to an Amendment in the House of Lords striking it out. They then come down to the House of Commons at the very end of the Session, when a large number

of Members who are interested in the Bill have gone away, relying on the good faith of the Government, and ask hon. Members to reverse their former decision on a very important matter. The only defence the noble Lord who has just spoken could make was that the Government had not time to consider the question when they accepted the Amendment. But the Amendment was introduced in Committee, and, therefore, the Government had ample opportunity before the Report stage to take counsel upon it with those who are deeply interested in the Bill. What is the source of this Amendment in the other House? It emanates from a noble Lord who is a most determined foe of free education, and who has always been opposed to it, and it is made in the interests of those who are opposed to free education. It will be neither fair nor straightforward if the Government use their majority at such a late period of the Session to the disadvantage of the Opposition, and in order to carry an Amendment against which there is such a strong feeling as there is against this. Something has been said about the interpretation to be given to the word. I am at a loss to understand the new doctrine that inserting a word in a Bill is equivalent to inserting its interpretation. We want the word inserted; the interpretation will be worked out by the Department. The word was in the Act of 1870, and we want it in that of 1891.

\***SIR W. HART DYKE:** The word in the Act of 1870 bears a different application from what is intended in this case.

**MR. H. H. FOWLER:** The Department in determining the amount of public school accommodation required in a district has under the Act to take every school into consideration, and, therefore, I contend that the clause in the Act of 1870 does apply to public elementary schools. This is not a question of providing accommodation, but of conferring a benefit on the individual parent. You say to the working man: "You shall have the benefit of free education;" and immediately afterwards you say: "If you will not send your child to occupy a vacant place in a school to which you object, you shall be deprived of the benefits of free education." My right hon. Friend put the case very strongly with regard to Protestants being forced into

Roman Catholic schools. I think the converse would be equally hard, and that it would be very wrong to force Roman Catholic children into Protestant schools—which is a thing no Government in this country dare attempt to do in face of the feeling that would certainly be aroused on the question. The right hon. Gentleman has quoted the case of a Herefordshire village, where Protestant children had to go to a Roman Catholic school. I think that was a case of great cruelty to the inhabitants of that village. I hope the House will make a strong protest against this Lords' Amendment, and I still trust that the Government will, in conformity with their pledges, see that it would be wise to reject the proposal. When a bargain has been made between the Government and the House of Commons, I do not think it right that the Government should recede from it, and impose upon us that which they could not have imposed upon us otherwise.

\*(5.58.) **MR. TALBOT** (Oxford University): The right hon. Gentleman a little departed from the general moderation with which he has discussed the Amendment when he referred to the noble Lord who is supposed to be responsible for it. It is only fair to Lord Sandford to say that he did not challenge a Division on the Second Reading of this Bill, and that all his Amendments were aimed at making the Bill more workable. If hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite will look into this matter they will see that the insertion of this word, in this particular place, would be the "letting out of strife." The Department might be constantly called upon to say whether, in their judgment, these free places are suitable. The word "suitable" is mainly looked upon from the religious point of view. In other words, it would mean that in every place where there was a feeling that a school did not exactly represent all the religious convictions of the inhabitants of that district, representations might be made to the Government and the Education Department to undertake the very perilous duty of inquiring into these very difficult and delicate matters. It is hardly worthy of right hon. Gentlemen opposite to talk of Protestant children being forced into Roman Catholic schools; the idea is preposterous, and the common sense of the

country would revolt against it. It would be impossible to do anything of the sort, and I do not think there need be the slightest apprehension. Of course, a number of persons in a district might represent that the religious teaching of a school was unsuitable, and would keep the community in a ferment by constant representation. But I think we may rely upon what has been the practice of the Department. The Commission on Education in their Report quote the interpretation of the Act of 1870 given by Mr. Cumin, to the effect that wherever there is an elementary school, there the accommodation is *ipso facto* suitable. If you put this word "suitable" into a new Act, you raise the question whether an elementary school is or is not suitable. The only way to avoid perpetual religious discussions is to adhere to the practice of the Department, and the present conditions of the law. It is true that the word "suitable" was inserted by Her Majesty's Government in their attempt to please all parties in the House, but it is not much of a reproach to them to say that they had not probably considered how this word would work. We have seen how it would work, because the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield and others have let the cat out of the bag. They have told us that this word was introduced in order to prevent the forcing of children into Roman Catholic schools, but it is clear that it would be worked in very different ways from that. The House of Lords acted with perfect discretion and wisdom in removing this word, and, far from introducing discord, they have done that which will facilitate the smooth working of the measure. It will introduce peace and concord in the interests of fair dealing between the different sections of the community. I appeal to the House to support the House of Lords in their Amendment.

\*(6.5.) Mr. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I venture to say that no fair-minded man can interpret the 5th section of the Act of 1870 in the sense which the noble Lord has attempted. The deficiency to be supplied is a deficiency in suitable schools. How can it be argued, when we are supplying the deficiency, that the word does not equally apply to the schools which

*Mr. Talbot*

have to be provided? It seems to me plain that the Government have made full use of the conciliatory spirit which we on this side manifested in endeavouring to secure the progress of the Bill; but now that they have secured this Bill, they are unmasking their batteries by means of the House of Lords. Sir, the question of the suitability of schools includes the question of distance as well as that of religious teaching. These are points of great importance, and it is the duty of Members on this side of the House to do what they can to obtain justice for the people. I make a formal protest against the course adopted, and I have some right to protest, as an Amendment which stood in my name was accepted with great fairness by the First Lord of the Treasury. The issue before the House has to a certain extent been lost sight of. It is the question of the power of the Department to raise fees or to authorise the charge of fees in a district where free schools have been established. It will operate chiefly in those large of northern towns which are in the hands of the Denominational Party. The removal of this word "suitable" will have this result: Where Inspectors have spoken of schools as sheds, it will leave the general managers to give free education in the worst of their schools, and to deny the use of the best of their schools to the people. I protest against the course which is being adopted, and it is perfectly clear that we are face to face with one of those frequent conspiracies which the noble Lord has instituted against the School Board system, and, from my knowledge of the constituencies, I believe Her Majesty's Government, by this breach of faith, will have firmly driven one more nail into their political coffin.

MR. TOMLINSON: The hon. Member speaks of the feeling of the constituencies, but I can assure him that Preston does not share his view. The managers of elementary schools in Preston do not entertain the view that Protestant children will be forced into Roman Catholic schools, and I have no doubt that when this Act is passed, though it was not desired by some of us, it will be so administered that none of the risks which are feared will be experienced.

(6.12.) Mr. T. ELLIS (Merionethshire): On the question of suitability, I wish to cite

the opinion of two Permanent Secretaries of the Education Department, Sir Patrick Cumin and Sir Francis Sandford, given before the Education Commission. Sir Francis Sandford questioned Sir Patrick Cumin on the question of the distance of schools. Sir Francis asked: "Then suitability covers distance, fees, and the Conscience Clause, does it not?" Sir Patrick Cumin answered: "Yes; that is so." We are not entering here so much into the operation of the Conscience Clause, although I think the claim of the three right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench is just—that Roman Catholic children shall not be driven into Protestant schools, and *vice versa*. I go further, and I say that I do not see why the children of Nonconformists should be driven into Church schools. My fellow-countrymen feel that very strongly. I have quoted the opinion of two Permanent Secretaries that suitability does not depend merely upon the Conscience Clause, but upon the question of distance, and what is a much more pertinent argument in this case, it depends on the fees. In Stockport the word "suitable" has been used to break down the fees, which were so high that the Department felt they were unsuitable; and I say that it is of tenfold importance that this word, which has been so used in Stockport, should be employed with the same object all over the country, whether the parents will not have an opportunity of obtaining free public school accommodation. It seems to me that the contention of the noble Lord and of the Vice President falls completely to the ground in face of the experience of the two Vice Presidents on this side of the House and that of Sir Francis Sandford and Sir Patrick Cumin.

(6.18.) COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich): I cannot understand why the word "suitable" should be struck out. The proposal to take it out leads me to suppose that the word "sufficient" will mean sufficient in number, whether suitable or not. We know perfectly well that there are many schools which ought not to be counted in reckoning the accommodation for a district. Sometimes a river may divide a district, and there may be an excess of accommodation on one side of

the river which is not available for children living on the other side of the river. It has always been the practice of the School Board of London and of the Education Department that they reckon the excess of accommodation in certain schools (say Roman Catholic schools) as unsuitable. Temporary schools are unsuitable, and in many cases the point turns on the question of distance. Now, this clause is really as to a fee school after sufficient free accommodation has been provided. I notice in the 4th sub-section of this clause it is proposed by a subsequent Amendment to take out the word "unsuitable." It seems to me that this desire to take out the word "suitable" and to alter the word "unsuitable" indicates a wish to charge higher fees in certain schools. If that be the object we ought to understand so. The effect is to enable the Education Department to allow fees to be charged in a larger number of schools than would be allowed if the word "suitable" is allowed to remain in. The Government themselves first allowed this word "suitable" and the word "unsuitable" to appear in the Bill, and if the proposal to take them out changes the operation of the word sufficient, it is a misfortune, for "sufficient," as I understand it, means sufficient in the ordinary sense, that is, available and proper. The Education Department have never had a difficulty in defining what is suitable, and I believe they have always come to a just decision upon it. Therefore, the word would not give any more trouble in the future than in the past. If the word suitable is only to apply to non-private schools the idea is new to me. Besides, the words in this section are "suitable public schools." What is the object of introducing the question of private schools at all. Suitable public schools, and a sufficient number of them go together. Therefore I shall have to vote for the retention of the words "suitable" and "unsuitable" wherever they occur.

(6.23.) MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): When the argument was used by my hon. Friend that Roman Catholic children might be forced into Protestant schools and Protestant children into Roman Catholic schools, the Vice President interposed in a way which showed that he contemplated a

few children being subjected to the injustice, but not a large number.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: I repudiate the assertion altogether.

MR. H. J. WILSON: It is all very well to repudiate the assertion, but the fact remains that no other interpretation can be put upon the words he used. Let that fact remain; it is an important fact, and one which the country will take note of. As to the argument of the First Lord of the Admiralty, if all the other schools are full, what does it matter whether it is a School Board district or not, if the Department refuses to act? There may be no accommodation in one part of a district, and apart from whether a river or a mountain divides it, the question remains whether the children of that portion of the district are to be left to travel long distances to find school accommodation. I am rather astonished that the Government should yield in this way, and we shall not only make the most earnest possible protest now, but we shall take care that the country understands the nature of the transaction.

(6.28.) MR. POWELL J. WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): As a Liberal Unionist Member, I regret the course which the Government have adopted in this matter. The argument of the noble Lord was that simply because this word "suitable" might not have precisely the meaning which it bears in other Acts of Parliament, therefore it ought not to be inserted. But it seems to me that if the meaning which the word would bear in this clause is the proper meaning, then it ought to be retained for the reasons which prompted the House of Commons to insert it. If you look into the case closely, there cannot be any real objection to the retaining of the word "suitable," because accommodation is not accommodation in the proper sense unless it be suitable. Accommodation in a Jewish school is not accommodation in the real sense for Christian children. Accommodation in a Roman Catholic school is not accommodation in the real sense for Protestant children; and, therefore, I venture to think that the word "suitable" as inserted by this House is most important, and that the argument of my right hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton is absolutely unanswerable. Unless it is

*Mr. H. J. Wilson*

retained, it is quite possible that parents in certain districts of England might find themselves deprived of free education because they declined to send their children to schools which are not suitable.

(6.32.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): There have been some very strong attacks made upon the Government in respect of this Amendment, and I think it right to state the circumstances in which we are placed. It is said we have done a very strong thing in having accepted an Amendment in this House and in afterwards supporting the alteration of that Amendment which has been made by the House of Lords. Is it really contended for a moment that because the Government have accepted an Amendment in this House that therefore the Lords are to be deprived of all power to alter it? Since the Amendment has been accepted in the Commons the Government have discovered that it makes a larger alteration in the measure than they intended. If the object of the Lords is, as alleged, to damage free education, they have gone about their work in a most extraordinary manner, because none of their Amendments will have that effect. The Government introduced the Bill with the distinct understanding that they wished to carry free education with the least possible disturbance of the existing system. Now they find the word "suitable" defended on the ground that it is the thin end of the wedge which would produce a disturbance of the religious settlement of 1870. ["No, no!"] It is perfectly clear, from the speeches that have been made by hon. Members opposite, that the retention of the word "suitable" would enable persons to raise religious difficulty in schools in which any religious teaching is given under the Conscience Clause. The Government determined, as I have said, to pass the Bill with the least possible disturbance of existing arrangements, and, therefore, they are consistent in resisting the change which they have discovered would be made by retaining the Amendment to which they assented in this House.

(6.36.) MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I think it would have been more satisfactory as a

defence of the Lords' Amendment if the arguments now urged in its favour had been used in the other House; then there would be something to be said for the position of the Government. In this House the Amendment was made on specific grounds, supported by good arguments, which led to its acceptance. In the other House the word was omitted practically without discussion; the President of the Council did not say a word about it. At all events, he did not put forward those grounds, which I admit have some strength in them, that are now put forward by the Government. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that this Amendment, coming from Lord Sandford, and taken in conjunction with his other Amendments, is intended not to strengthen but to weaken the Bill. Coming from that noble Lord it is readily accepted by the President of the Council, who, in his Second Reading speech, did not show that he had any particular love for free education. We are, therefore, entitled to believe that this Amendment of the Lords is introduced with some ulterior motive, and the speeches we have listened to show that it is necessary that the Amendment should not be accepted. So far from its opponents wishing to raise the religious question, they wish to prevent the religious difficulty from arising by parents being forced to send their children to schools which are not suitable to them. Does the Vice President wish that parents should be forced to send their children to unsuitable schools? If he does not, what possible objection can he have to the retention of this word? As to this being only a departmental question, it must be remembered that the Bill produces a state of things very different from that existing under the Act of 1870. The question is whether the free schools are to be inferior to the fee paying schools, and it is on that point, apart from the religious difficulty, that I desire to retain the word "suitable." In many towns where the fees are very high, and where there is no School Board, it must be greatly to the interests of the managers of the voluntary schools to keep free schools out of their towns, or, at all events, to have as few free schools as possible. Their object will be to associate a sense of inferiority with the

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free schools, and more especially will they do that if a great extension of the grouping system is adopted, because they will provide as free schools those which are most inferior in building and equipment, and which will not really be "suitable" as free schools. I, for one, shall very heartily vote against the omission of this word by the House of Lords. It is clear from the discussion we have had that the Vice President himself is in favour of the retention of the word; and, putting aside the extreme Voluntarists, it has the support of the general body of the House.

(6.41.) *SIR J. LUBBOCK* (London University): When this clause was in Committee I very strongly supported it, and I still believe it is very valuable; and when it is attacked I reply by pointing out the safeguards, namely, that there is to be sufficient and suitable free accommodation, and that the right to charge fees in certain cases is limited to those in which the population has shifted, or in which the charge would be for the educational advantages of the district. If the words "and suitable" had never been introduced, I suppose that the word "sufficient" would have implied suitability. But that may not be the case now. I attach no importance to the argument that the word would have a different meaning in the Act of 1870, if that be so. The meaning of any word depends to some extent on the context. I cannot agree with some of my hon. Friends who blame the Government. I cannot find fault with the Government, who had perhaps difficulty in carrying Amendments in another place. At the same time, I regret they will not agree to the retention of the word "suitable." That is the view held by the hon. Member for Woolwich, who has certainly great experience, and who is entitled to speak on the matter. I venture to express the hope that Her Majesty's Government will re-consider the matter, and will agree to the retention of the word "suitable."

\**COLONEL BLUNDELL* (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): I venture to think that originally it did not matter whether the word was in or out, but I think the Government would be unwise to re-insert it in the Bill now that by the Debate of to-day it has been made an ambiguous term.

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(6.44.) The House divided:—Ayes 110; Noes 86.—(Div. List, No. 401.)

Subsequent Amendments, as far as the Amendment in page 2, line 31 and 32, agreed to.

Lines 31 and 32, leave out "Fee for any such child," and insert "ordinary fee for such children," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

(6.53.) MR. MUNDELLA: I hope the House will not agree to this Amendment. The words proposed to be left out were inserted on the Motion of the hon. Member for Bethnal Green, with the object that no child attending an elementary school should be charged more than 6d. a week, bringing it up to the limit of 9d. I want to know why these words have been taken out and others substituted, which allow an average fee?

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: Not average, but ordinary.

MR. MUNDELLA: Ordinary; an ordinary fee is an average fee; and if the right hon. Gentleman considers what it means, he will find that in the higher standards higher fees can be charged. In the infant school you may have no charge, in the lower standards you may have a 3d. fee, and in the higher standards you may have a 9d. fee. It was not the right hon. Gentleman who accepted the Amendment in this House, but it was the Vice President himself, who, after a short discussion, volunteered to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Bethnal Green. I ask him what has occurred since that this matter should be changed? We know what has happened elsewhere. In Scotland, for the first time during the last 20 years, the higher standards have fallen in number. Why? Because high fees are charged. I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether we are to have the Government paying £2,000,000 a year in freeing schools and still to have a continuance of these hardships, to use no stronger term? I therefore move to reject this Amendment, and to restore the clause to its original condition.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: The word "ordinary" has been inserted to be in accordance with the words of the Definition Clause in the Act of 1870, which says that the ordinary payment for instruction shall not exceed 9d. a week. Now, this is a scheme whereby we say, after the fee grant of 3d. a week, the ordinary fee shall not exceed 6d. per week—that is to say, it may be the balance of fee.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): The effect of the Amendment of the Lords would be to bring the Bill back to substantially the form in which it originally was in this House, and on which the right hon. Gentleman accepted my Amendment. Whether the word is "average" or "ordinary," I think it will be clear that the mischief which I pointed out would equally accrue, namely, that the managers of schools would be able to charge differential rates or fees amounting to more than 6d. to children whom, for any reason, they might be unwilling to admit to their schools. Therefore, the argument now is as strong as it was when I moved the Amendment which was accepted by the right hon. Gentleman, and I hope he will resist this alteration.

\*SIR B. SAMUELSON (Oxfordshire, Banbury): It seems to me that the argument of my right hon. Friend the Vice President is difficult to follow. In 1870 we had not this Free Education Bill, and we limited the fees. Free education is now to be the rule and payment the exception. But if you sanction the Lords' Amendment there will be no limit whatever, and you will have fees of 9d. and 1s. imposed. I am surprised that the Government should have assented to this Amendment after having accepted in this House the Amendment of the hon. Member for Bethnal Green. If I may say so, these changes are calculated to damage the Party of the Government outside very much indeed. If we wish to treat this matter from a Party point of view, it is the very best thing that could happen to us, but I should be sorry to take that ground. This Bill is introduced with the purpose of free education, and it is our duty to see that we are not diverted from that object. I hope the Government will still their way to disagreeing

with the alteration made by the Lords; their doing so certainly could not involve any question of finance that could injuriously affect the voluntary schools.

(7.0.) MR. T. ELLIS: It is much to be deplored that the Government should take this reactionary step at the bidding of the House of Lords. In the original Bill there was a valuable clause that no higher fee than 3d. should be charged, but now it seems to me that, having omitted that clause from the Bill, it would be wise for the right hon. Gentleman to adhere to the Amendment accepted readily when the Bill was last before us. By this Amendment Parliamentary sanction will be given to a most vicious system of differentiating between one child and another, differentiating in the very worst form. In previous discussions it was urged several times that we should expect school managers to give some *quid pro quo* for the magnificent grant Parliament was giving, and a most moderate demand was that no higher fee than 6d. should be charged for any child. The original clause plainly indicated the intention that the fee was to be brought down as low as possible, and I do hope the Government will not now acquiesce in this reactionary step taken by the House of Lords.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne): I have listened to the speeches made in which hon. Members have declared that this is an attack on the system of free education; but this remains a Free Education Bill, because for every child between the ages of 3 and 15 may be demanded a free place in a school; and this being conceded, if parents are willing to pay a high fee for a better form of elementary education in a higher grade school, why should they not be allowed to do so? How can this in any way affect the fact that those who desire free education can get it?

MR. PICKARD (York, W.R., Normanton): For the Government to accept this Amendment will be equivalent to taking away with one hand what they give with the other. Too much regard is paid to the alterations made in another place. If it is intended to give free education to the country, then give it in the form we have decided it should be given after it has been thoroughly discussed.

\*(7.3.) THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I doubt if the hon. Member has read the clause, for his remarks, as have been the remarks of the other hon. Members, are entirely wide of the actual proposal. The effect of the clause is that in certain cases—not frequent cases I think—where ample provision has been made in the district for free education, after that we may have a graded school.

MR. MUNDELLA: But a fee above 6d.?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: A higher grade school may be established; but as there must first be sufficient free accommodation in the district, not a single working man need send his children to the school charging fees above 6d. My right hon. Friend will see that it is only when the Department is satisfied that sufficient accommodation is provided without the payment of fees—that is, if you have given free education in every district—that a school may be established charging a fee above 6d.

MR. MUNDELLA: Yes, but the Elementary Education Act says the fees shall not exceed 9d.; but this will be exceeded, taking into account the 10s. grant.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: This is really a small point. There may be certain cases—they will be rare cases—in which ample free accommodation having been provided, then if school managers choose they may set up a school of this kind. How can it be said this is taking free education from the working classes? In these circumstances, how can it be said that the Government are taking away with one hand what they have granted with the other? I protest against the insinuation. It seems to me as if hon. Members opposite, on the strength of the very small changes made in the Bill by the House of Lords, intend to start an electoral campaign in which they will indulge in even greater exaggerations than they utter in the House of Commons. We have had gross exaggeration as to the effect of the Amendment, and I must protest against the importance sought to be put upon a very small change. I do not attach very great importance to the change, but I do attach importance to these imputations of motives.

\*MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot deny that this allows the raising of fees in what he calls graded schools from 9d. to 1s. That, as a matter of fact, is the effect of the clause, because the limit is now 9d., and the future limit will be 9d., *plus* the 10s. grant. What is, therefore, proposed is that where there is now a limit of 9d., there shall be in future the limit of 1s. Our objection is to the fees of high grade schools being raised after the 10s. grant has been made to reduce the 9d. fee by 3d. We strongly object to any educational authority still continuing to charge 9d. after the grant in aid has been given.

(7.10.) The House divided:—Ayes 101; Noes 71.—(Div. List, No. 402.)

Line 34, after "sanctioned," insert "or refused," the next Amendment, agreed to.

Page 3, line 6, leave out from "desired" to "and," in line 8, the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke.*)

(7.18.) MR. MUNDELLA: This is one of the most important Amendments made in the other House. As the Bill left this House it read thus:—

"If at any time after the expiration of one year from the commencement of this Act it is represented to the Education Department that there is in any school district, or in any part of a school district, an insufficient amount of public school accommodation without payment of fees for children over the age of three years and under the age of fifteen for whom such accommodation is desired, or where such accommodation is unsuitable for the wants of the population"—

the Department shall make inquiry, and so on. The Lords have struck out the words—

"Or where such accommodation is unsuitable for the wants of the population."

I am only repeating what I have said as to other of these Amendments, that these words were inserted in this House with the assent of hon. Members on both sides, with the assent of the hon. Member for Ashton-under-Lyne—who does not back up his words by his vote. It was agreed that the

words were not harmful, but necessary and desirable, and the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury stopped discussion after there had been four or five speeches, remarking "We do not object to the insertion of these words, as there appears to be a general desire for their insertion." Now, I do not wish to re-enter upon the argument we have had upon the word "suitable," but I do say that when it is represented to the Department that the provision is unsuitable, then the Department ought to listen to such representation, and it ought to be put into the Act that the Department shall listen to such representation. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War has said we are raising again the religious difficulty, and the hon. Member for Oxford University said he was surprised to hear the "No Popery" cry from this side of the House. The hon. Member is not quite fair in using that language. We have said we are not in favour of forcing Catholic children into Protestant schools, or Protestant children into Catholic schools. We say it ought to be fair all round, and the question of whether a school is suitable to the public local wants ought to be fully considered. My hon. Friend has quoted Mr. Cumin's evidence to show that unsuitability might exist on religious grounds, topographical grounds, or on the ground of fees. These words were freely accepted in this House, and yet without a word of protest the Government allow them to be taken out again in the other House, and now in the last days of July, and a few days before Prorogation, when the Government are always proportionately stronger in numbers than the Opposition, they come down and force upon us, in spite of their own promise, in spite of their voluntary concession, these Lords' Amendments, against which they raised no protest in another place. What is the objection to these words, "unsuitable to the wants of the population?" It is most unreasonable to take these words out without cause shown. Accommodation may be sufficient, and yet wholly unsuitable, as the Vice President knows perfectly well. The right hon. Gentleman has not yet answered the statement I have made. There are two other ex-Vice Presidents sitting opposite, and I put the question again—Has it not been the

rule during the past 21 years for the Department, in estimating the amount of accommodation, to deduct the Catholic schools as unsuitable for the general public wants? It is not reasonable that the Department should force Protestant children into these schools, and I say again, in common fairness to all parties, there should be some test applied as to whether a school is suitable or not.

\*(7.24.) MR. CHANNING: As the words were inserted upon my motion, I may be allowed to add my appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, that he should allow them to remain. I think if he will consider the argument advanced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby and by himself on a previous Amendment, he will see that that argument affords some ground in support of my proposal. The contention from the other side was that the word "suitable" did not run on the same lines as it does in the Act of 1870. Now, I contend that striking out these words and the word "unsuitable" in the 4th sub-section is really drawing the Bill on different lines to the Act of 1870 and the governing section of that Act. There the word "suitable" is used in regard to deficiencies of school accommodation, and here the words are applied exactly on the same lines, and with the same general reasoning behind them as in the Act of 1870. I remind the right hon. Gentleman, also, that there was considerable discussion on another Amendment which pressed the Government, perhaps, rather further in this direction, and it was on the suggestion of the Government—the First Lord of the Treasury, I think—that these words were accepted. This Amendment, of course, raises a much wider question than the previous one—a question of more vital importance, a question, I might say, of local rights, of local option in educational matters—the power of the inhabitants to make representation to the Department that the school accommodation is unsuitable, as well as insufficient. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will decide to retain the words.

\*(7.27.) SIR W. HART DYKE: I cannot see the force of the argument of the hon. Member and the right hon. Gentleman opposite. It appears to me we have already discussed this point fully in all its bearings, and have come to a decisive vote on the question of the

word "suitable." The right hon. Gentleman has challenged me to say what has been the policy of the Department, and to give any case where the Department has forced Catholic children into Protestant schools.

MR. MUNDELLA: No; I asked the right hon. Gentleman to say whether it had not been the custom of the Department, in considering the question of supply of accommodation in elementary schools, to deduct the Roman Catholic supply as unsuitable.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: That has been the case as regards the Metropolis, but not, generally speaking, as applied to the rest of the country.

MR. MUNDELLA: It has in large towns.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: But what I want to point out is that this has been adopted as part of the policy of the Department, and why, then, in the name of common sense, not leave well alone? Why not be satisfied with the result of experience—why emphasise this? I am tempted to believe—I wish to give every consideration to my opponents—but if you are not content to let well alone and rely on the well established practice of 21 years, if you will not do that, and wish these words inserted, then I am forced to the conviction that you mean something more than you are now stating. The hon. Member for Northamptonshire says it is a much wider question than the one we have already dealt with; and if he frankly tells us that, surely it is not the right way to tempt us to come to a different decision from that we arrived at on the last Amendment after exhaustive discussion. The rejection of this Amendment will seriously affect, or may seriously affect, the future policy of the Department as regards the working of the Act. I have shown that in the past policy of the Department there is no cause shown for the insertion of these words, and we are content to base our demand for the acceptance of the Lords' Amendment on the administration of 21 years, which has worked extremely well. The words are not necessary as applied to schools receiving the Government grant and protected by the Conscience Clause.

\*(7.30.) MR. H. H. FOWLER: I cannot but feel disappointed with the

speech just made. This is a much wider question—a totally distinct question—to that raised before. The right hon. Gentleman said the word “suitable” has a technical meaning in the Department, and, therefore, he objected to introducing that word in a previous section of the clause. He says the Department ascertained this difficulty too late to state it to this House, and, therefore, they inserted that Amendment in the House of Lords. But this Amendment is a totally different matter, and I will endeavour to show that the right hon. Gentleman's speech just now was not applicable to this Amendment at all, although it was to the previous one. It is worth while to note that the support to the Commons Amendment came from the other side quite as strongly as from this side, and this is a question which raises much broader issues than the last Division. This is the *crux* of the whole situation dealing with whether you are or are not to have free education, *bond fide*, throughout the whole Kingdom. Sub-section 4 of Clause 3 says—

“If at any time after the expiration of one year from the commencement of this Act it is represented to the Education Department that there is in any school district, or any part of a school district, an insufficient amount of public school accommodation without payment of fees for children over three and under fifteen years of age, for whom such accommodation is desired, or that such accommodation is unsuitable for the wants of the population,” &c.—

then, and then only, are the Education Department to interfere and compel the provision of free education. Now, what does the House of Lords propose? The words “or that such accommodation is unsuitable for the wants of the population,” are to be struck out, and there is to be simply an arithmetical problem, and nothing else. There are a certain number of children in a district, there is a certain amount of accommodation, and though it may be, from distance or quantity, entirely unsuited to the district, yet these people are to be deprived of free education. If I were arguing this question from a Party point of view, I should desire nothing better than that this Amendment should remain. The Amendment of the House of Lords reverses the spirit of the whole Bill as a Bill for free education, and I congratulate the hon. Member for the

*Mr. H. H. Fowler*

Evesham Division, the hon. Member for Salford, and the noble Lord the Member for Darwen on the fact that by the acceptance of the Amendment a great part of the virtue of the measure is taken out of it as far as free education is concerned. The intention of the Amendment is to put free schools and free scholars at a disadvantage. The right hon. Gentleman opposite says that these words have a technical meaning in the Education Department. Not at all. These words never appeared in an Act of Parliament before. You say you are to provide for a certain district a certain number of free school places, and that these are to be available for all the children in that district; but now you strike out those words and say that if in a large parish there are a certain number of places free, even though the school is unsuitable for the needs of the population—even though a river may divide the parish, or a mountain, as an hon. Member pointed out—the parents are to avail themselves of it for their children. I thought there was some force in the argument of the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary for War, that the Government have discovered a certain kind of technical meaning in the word “suitable” as applied to the 1st sub-section of this clause, and that, therefore, they felt in a difficulty in dealing with it; but they are now introducing an entirely new principle into the measure, which has nothing to do with suitability. This is a question of providing proper accommodation in each district. I would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether this is the mode in which Public Business is to be conducted in the House of Commons—that the Government are to accept an Amendment here and strike it out in another place for no reason whatever? It is due to the House of Commons and the character of the Government that they should consent to reinstate the words.

\*(7.40.) MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman suggests that this is a fatal stab in the back to the whole system of compulsory free education. I am not quite sure whether the right hon. Gentleman has sufficiently looked at the wording of the clause. If he will do so, he will see that the clause only deals with the case of a representation being made to the Department.

Where no representation is made, the Department will act according to their traditional practice, and with that practice the right hon. Gentleman and his friends have expressed themselves satisfied. It is asked why the Government now wish to omit these words, which they accepted before. It is because a great deal of new light has been thrown on these words by the speeches we have heard. We see that it will be possible in the future that a representation will be made, "this is a denominational school, and, therefore, is unsuitable."

MR. MUNDELLA: That is an after-thought.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I am very sorry that the right hon. Gentleman should give utterance to a misrepresentation of our motive. It has been pointed out by the hon. Member for Northamptonshire that these words will give an opportunity for a kind of religious local option. What does that mean? It means that, after the Bill has passed, a certain number of the ratepayers in every district will come together and say, "We will now make a representation to the Department that the public elementary schools in this district are unsuitable to the wants of the population. We do not consider them suitable, because they are denominational." In the interests of education and of peace, I think it would be most unwise that words which will give rise to such a religious difficulty should be left in the Bill. We have seen sufficient evidence of this.

MR. MUNDELLA: Nobody else has.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: Then what does local option mean? I hope the right hon. Gentleman will see the force of that argument, even if he does not agree with it. This point only refers to representations to be made to the Education Department. It does not fetter their hands. They will proceed as they have done hitherto. They will not allow unsuitable schools—schools that are unsuitable in the true old sense—to take the place of schools that are suitable. The right hon. Gentleman has dealt with difficulties which do not exist, and has ignored the real difficulty, which is the religious one.

\*(7.45.) MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth): I would suggest that it would be possible so to word the clause as to remove the objection of the right hon. Gentleman

the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The "representation" might be left out, and the clause might be worded somewhat as follows:—

"If the Education Department are satisfied that in any school district there is insufficient accommodation, or that such accommodation is unsuitable to the wants of the population."

According to my understanding of the right hon. Gentleman's argument that would meet his point.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I said that was unnecessary, because it is already the practice of the Department, and we do not wish to interfere with the practice.

\*MR. C. S. PARKER: If so, why not word the Amendment so as to recognise that such is the practice of the Department?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I do not know whether I may, by leave of the House, point out that the Education Department are to act under Sections 8 and 9 of the Act of 1870. It is clear, therefore, that the Department will take far more into consideration than simply to remove the mere insufficiency.

(7.47.) MR. ADDISON: I do not consider the reproach addressed to me by the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) to be well deserved, because while it is quite true that when the matter was under discussion I added my voice to urge the Government to accept these words, I did so on the ground that they seemed to be harmless and unobjectionable. But after reading what has been said, and after having heard the Debate to-night, it is plain to me that to some extent I was deceived by the ingenuity of hon. Gentlemen who brought forward the Amendment. Now it appears that this Bill, which is ostensibly a Bill for free education, is to be made a Bill for the establishment of universal School Boards. According to the argument of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, what is the meaning of the word "suitable"? Something was faintly said about its being suitable topographically—that is to say, suitable as to distance; but I should have thought that that would have been covered by the word "sufficient." It is absurd to say that a school is sufficient which is too far off for the children to attend it. The education authorities have themselves said that every public elementary school shall be

sufficient in that respect. If there is any school in England that is not suitable in that respect it ought not to receive the grant. We are told, again, that the word "suitable" means suitable to the feelings of those people who do not like religious education. It is plain that if that argument is good, whatever dislike Protestant children may have to going to Roman Catholic schools can hardly be dispelled by the dislike of hon. Members who represent Wales to any sort of denominational schools, especially those of the Church of England. I voted with the Government that the public elementary schools supported out of the taxes should be in every case suitable for all children sent to them; and when we are told that we ought to view with suspicion all that comes from the House of Lords in the matter of education, we ought to remember that the leader of the Government is in the House of Lords, and that no responsible Party leader has taken up the matter of education as Lord Salisbury has done, and his having done that for the last five years seems to be a special annoyance to the right hon. Member for Sheffield.

(7.52.) MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The two principles on which we supported this Bill were that it adopted the principle of free schools, and that where the fees were not to be entirely abolished it admitted the right of the parent to demand free places where they had not been provided; and in regard to the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that this will lead to local difficulties and local friction, unfortunately the principle which has been adopted of retaining fees in certain schools will inevitably lead to local friction. It seems to me that the right of the parent in regard to this matter is a very strong one. He is entitled to demand not only free accommodation, but that it shall be suitable for the wants of himself and his children. That is all we ask for in this matter. We know that in a large number of towns the fees are very high, and the managers of voluntary schools will not voluntarily introduce a system of free schools. It will be necessary for the parents to demand free places, and it will be an advantage to the Department to know whether it is a question of accommodation and whether the accommodation is suitable or not. We on this

*Mr. Addison*

side believe these words are quite as essential as the word "sufficient"; and that if the accommodation is to be supplied it must not only be sufficient, but suitable for the wants of the parents.

(7.55.) MR. POWELL J. WILLIAMS: The Chancellor of the Exchequer has put it that these words apply only to the representations which are made by the public to the Department upon the matter of the suitability of the accommodation. At the same time, when he tells us that the Department, acting for themselves without the interference of the public, are accustomed to take into account whether the accommodation is suitable, I should have thought, if the Department of its own motion did that, it might allow the public to do it of their own motion when acting without the Department. The fact is, we are giving a very large amount of money for the purpose of education without representative control, and everything that tends to give the persons interested in it a full right to appeal upon every point by which they are affected is one which it seems to me to be desirable to retain. Therefore, I am in favour of the retention of the words in the Bill which the House of Lords have omitted.

(7.58.) MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport): Like my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton (Mr. Addison), I pressed on the Government the insertion of these words, but, unlike him, I have not changed my opinion, and hope sincerely that the Government may yet give way and allow them to be retained. There seems to be no doubt as to what the traditions of the Department have been in this matter. It is said that cases have occurred in which Roman Catholic public elementary schools have been held to be unsuitable, and I think it right that they should so be held according to the manner in which they are conducted. But I do not stop there. It seems to me that it is possible for a public elementary school to be unsuitable for the wants of the population. A certain number of people live in a neighbourhood; they represent to the Department that a certain public elementary school is unsuitable for the wants of the district; the Department are convinced that that is the case, and, in spite of that, according to this Amendment, they are not to have the power to alter the state of things. We are told

that they say that every public elementary school must be suitable, but I am sure it is not so in the Act. I believe cases have been referred to where the education given in these schools is such that children of Nonconformists could not be sent to them with any sense of self-respect on the part of the parents. I say that such schools are unsuitable for the wants of the population. It seems to me to be of the utmost importance that where a foolish clergyman or manager acts in such a manner as to necessitate it, the Department should be enabled to come down upon him and say, "If you do not alter this mode of procedure we shall be compelled to put the Education Act of 1870 into force." I am content to leave it to the discretion of the Department to determine whether the complaints made to them are just. What I want to see done, and what I hope every Member in this House desires to see, is that the teaching provided shall be such as is suitable to the wants of the neighbourhood; and where the teaching is found to be unsuitable, I hope it will be in the power of the Department to put a stop to it.

\*(8.3.) COLONEL HUGHES: I do not see that there is any ground for mistrust as to whether in the future the words inserted in the clause may be used in a manner contrary to the practice in the past. Of course, the ratepayers will complain if the schools are found to be unsuitable to the wants of the neighbourhood. I do not think so badly of the future Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Education Department as to suppose they will extend the construction of the word "suitable" in such a way as to declare that a Wesleyan school is not fit for a Baptist child, and so forth; and I have no doubt that if the word "suitable" is re-inserted, the Department will simply follow the practice it has observed all along.

\*MR. ROBY (Lancashire, S.E., Eccles): The question of the use of the word "suitable" has given rise to a good deal of contention as to the mode in which it may be applied. In my opinion, there would be no difficulty in using it in any sense in which it ought to be used for the purpose of carrying out the intentions of this measure, and I think the Government are pressing much too strongly the argument they have used

with regard to the technical meaning of the word. A word of general meaning, such as the word "suitable," ought not to be considered a technical word except for some very strong reason; and all their argument comes to this: that hitherto they have been in the habit, in accordance with the construction of the Elementary Act, of interpreting the word in a particular sense. The Government admit that you may say the school or the accommodation is sufficient, but you must not say it is not suitable for the wants of the neighbouring population. Do they mean to say that for the future a locality is to be debarred or discouraged from addressing the Department and pointing out that a school, say in a large town like Stockport or Preston, is badly situated in point of site, or wretched in point of attendance, or insufficient in point of construction, or, generally, not adapted to the wants of the people, having regard not merely to the denominational, but to the special character of the population? The Government say, "We strike out this word 'suitable,' and will not allow the people of the locality to come to us and say they have a statutory right to object to the suitability of the school." Surely there should be no such objection to the use of this word as will prevent our securing that, when this great boon of free education is given to a district, it should not be made illusory or frittered away in the management of the school. I cannot think that, having regard to the security of the public in this matter, and to the good reputation of the Government, that they are wise in abandoning at a late period of the Session an Amendment which they accepted some time ago. On the contrary, I think they would do well to make some concession on this question.

(8.8.) MR. J. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): The defence of the Government for this Amendment is that it is unnecessary to re-insert the word "suitable"—because the Education Department acts on the principle of the clause as it stood, and, therefore, the word is unnecessary. The Vice President of the Council says, it is wise to let well alone, and that the word "sufficient" in the mind of the Department includes the word "suitable." If that be so, we are



letting well alone, because we only emphasise a practice which the right hon. Gentleman declares to be a good one. All we propose is to give legislative force to a practice which he says is already adopted by the Department. If this be so, what objection can there be to our proposal? The opposition offered to the introduction of the word "suitable" seems almost to prove that the Government have some ulterior motive, and that they intend in future to change the previous practice. If not, they would admit the introduction of this word. I cannot understand why, at this late period of the Session when time is so valuable, the Government should insist on forcing this Amendment upon the House.

\*MR. LOGAN (Leicester, Harborough): The arguments which have been used by those who have opposed the Lords Amendments appear to me to be unanswerable, and I do not intend to repeat them. I might have rested content to register yet another silent vote against these Amendments, but my duty and the trust imposed on me by my constituency bid me to protest in the most solemn manner against the other House vetoing a decision deliberately arrived at by the chosen Representatives of the people; and while, in one sense, I welcome these Amendments as helping us to educate the masses of the people as to the folly of a free people allowing any body of men by the mere accident of birth to—

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is going beyond the question raised by the Lords Amendments, and is not entitled to make these observations.

\*MR. LOGAN: If you had not stopped me, Sir, I should simply have said—

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is not entitled to continue these remarks.

(8.15.) The House divided:—Ayes 82; Noes 62.—(Div. List, No. 403.) (8.24.)

Page 3, line 9, after "case," insert—

"Which inquiry shall, on the request of the same persons as are entitled under section nine of 'The Elementary Education Act, 1870,' to apply for a public inquiry, be a public inquiry if the district is under a school board," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That this House doth agree with the  
*Mr. J. Bryn Roberts*

Lords in the said Amendment."—(Sir *W. Hart Dyke*.)

(8.54.) MR. MUNDELLA: I want to point out that this is simply a dilatory Amendment. It has no other object in the world than to prevent free education coming into operation as soon as possible. It restricts the action and freedom of the Department. If it does not do so, why did not the right hon. Gentleman, when he introduced the Bill, insert words like it? Why is a public inquiry necessary? The Education Department has to find out if there is a sufficient supply of free school accommodation. If the Amendment is accepted, a year or two will be wasted in departmental and public inquiries before the Department will be in a position to require the establishment of a sufficient number of free elementary schools, and thus free education will be prevented from coming into operation as soon as it ought. The Amendment will work in this way. First, after the lapse of one year the Department will come to the conclusion that there is good ground for holding an inquiry. After that inquiry six months must elapse before an order can be issued requiring the provision of further free accommodation, and, instead of hon. Members being justified in wooing the constituencies by saying, "Remember the 1st September and see what we have given you," they will have to say, "Wait until the 1st September, 1893 or 1894, before you benefit by our policy." I appeal to the Government to support us in disagreeing with the Lords Amendment and in making the Bill what it was when it left this House. It surely is an extraordinary thing that the Government have to be compelled to support the principle of their own Bill.

\*(8.59.) SIR W. HART DYKE: I think that the right hon. Gentleman must have altogether misunderstood the scope of the Amendment. In order to allay the alarm of the right hon. Gentleman, I may say that the only object of the Amendment is to place the Board schools on the same footing with the voluntary schools as far as regards public inquiry. It will be very rarely, indeed, that such an inquiry will be required. When the right hon. Gentleman says the Amendment is a dila-

tory one, and intended to prevent free education coming quickly into operation, I say it is nothing of the kind. The inquiries are to be public, but they will probably only be necessary in the rare cases of recalcitrant School Boards. The Amendment is a very small one, and I am utterly astonished at the extraordinary complexion the right hon. Gentleman has placed on it.

\*MR. ROBY: I do not quite understand the Vice President's argument. If the Department think fit they can order a public inquiry. How many of these public inquiries are we to have? Why make this inquiry compulsory? It will assuredly lead to delay.

MR. GOSCHEN: I should have thought hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite would have preferred that there should be a public inquiry in these matters. But my right hon. Friend does not attach an undue importance to the Amendment; and if it will facilitate matters, we will consent to a disagreement with the Lords Amendment. We shall do so with regret, because we consider a public inquiry is important. In any case, we trust it will not be imagined that the Amendment was made with any sinister object.

Question put, and negatived.

Other Lords Amendments agreed to.

Line 11, after "1870," insert "and every other section enabling them in that behalf," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: This is a purely drafting Amendment, and I am not going to criticise it; but I must say I prefer the original wording.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: Sections 9 and 10 are most drastic in their operation, and the object of the Amendment is to call special attention to them. The Amendment meets, to a considerable extent, a good many of the arguments with regard to "suitability," because it enables the Education Department to take into consideration many of the points raised by hon. Gentlemen.

Question put, and agreed to.

Line 14, after "fees," insert—

"Provided that whenever, and so long as any deficiency in public school accommodation in any district is in course of being supplied with due despatch, no requisition or order shall be issued in that behalf of the Education Department,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: I should like to ask you, Sir, whether this Amendment is not outside the scope of the Bill? This Bill was founded on a Resolution of this House to supply public money for the purpose of making a fee grant. The Government resisted any discussion in respect to the 17s. 6d. limit, and any other question affecting the Act of 1870, on the ground that an Amendment of the Act of 1870 was outside the purview of this Bill. This is an Amendment to settle such controversies as those which have arisen at York and Salisbury, with which this Bill has nothing to do.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: On the point of order, I think these words refer exclusively to the Bill before the House. My noble Friend the Lord President took the opinion of the highest legal authority in the country as to the effect of these words, and he was assured the words do apply exclusively to this Bill, and not directly or indirectly with the Act of 1870.

MR. MUNDELLA: In order to remove any doubt, I beg to move to insert, after "in," in line 2, the word "free."

Amendment proposed, after the word "in," in line 2, to insert the word "free."  
—(Mr. Mundella.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'free' be there inserted."

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: We are prepared to accept words which will make it perfectly clear that under no possibility should this proviso refer to the provisions of the Act of 1870. But I am not sure that the Amendment, with the proposed addition, will read well. I would suggest that we should insert after "in," in line 2, "such last mentioned."

MR. MUNDELLA: I am quite prepared to accept the right hon. Gentleman's proposal.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Lords Amendment, after "in," in line 2, to insert "such last mentioned."—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment as amended."—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke.*)

\*MR. CHANNING: I must protest against the Amendment even as amended. It is quite obvious the Amendment is made in the spirit of some words which fell from the noble Lord the Member for Darwen (Viscount Cranborne), namely, "any delay is of value." I protest against this Bill being used to enlarge the powers of voluntary schools with regard to the provision of public school accommodation. The words accepted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield do not cover the issue. We all know that when this Bill is passed the present system will rapidly become a free school system. Ought we not to give a ready means of bringing the choice of schools within the reach of the people by the School Board system?

MR. T. ELLIS: If the Government are sincere, the principle of the Bill is to give free education as soon as possible. We on this side are irreconcilably opposed to any obstacle being placed in the way of having, as soon as possible, free public school accommodation. I therefore hope my hon. Friend will divide the House against the Amendment.

\*MR. TALBOT: There is no intention by this Amendment to delay the provision of free school accommodation. What is intended is that where the inhabitants of a district prefer the existing voluntary system, they should be enabled to provide free accommodation under that system.

MR. S. T. EVANS: I also object to the words "with due despatch," and if my hon. Friend goes to a Division I shall support him.

\*COLONEL HUGHES: In a parish in which I am a lessee we have paid large sums of money to prevent a School Board being established, and we are prepared to pay more with that object in view. In 12 months we may not be able to complete the school

accommodation. If that is so, it would be very hard on us if a School Board were set up. I think this act of grace will encourage voluntary efforts.

\*MR. ROBY: I do not know what the object of the Amendment is. It is already provided that a School Board is only to be formed when the school accommodation that is wanted is not being supplied with due despatch.

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: I quite agree with the hon. Member for Woolwich (Colonel Hughes) that if the clause was necessary to carry out his views there would be a great deal to be said in favour of it. But there is to be an expiration of 12 months; then there is to be an inquiry, and then the Education Department are to direct that the deficiency shall be supplied. This is a provision which is totally outside the Bill. I shall certainly divide against the clause.

(9.22.) The House divided:—Ayes 78; Noes 48.—(Div. List, No. 404.)

Subsequent Amendments as far as the Amendment Clause A agreed to.

#### Clause A—

##### (Grouping schools)

"(1.) Where the managers of two or more public elementary schools in the same or neighbouring school districts, not being schools provided by a school board, agree to associate, and elect a committee for the schools in accordance with a scheme to be approved by the Education Department, the schools may be treated as one school for such of the purposes of the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1891, as may be mentioned in the scheme, and the committee may for such purposes be treated as the managers of the associated schools.

(2.) Where two or more public elementary schools are under the same managers, the said schools shall, if the managers so desire, be deemed for the purposes of this Act to be one school."

the next Amendment, read a second time.

\*(9.30.) MR. H. H. FOWLER: This is an entirely new clause. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will give us some explanation of it?

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: This was inserted in another place with the assent of the leaders of the Opposition there. The clause enables voluntary schools in any district to form themselves into groups with the approval of the Education Department for the purposes of this Act. The object is to make more operative Clause 5, which empowers managers

of two or more voluntary schools to pay the fee grants into a common fund. The new clause enables the Department to deal with these as one school for financial purposes when grouped together. The principle of grouping was accepted in Committee on both sides, and on this principle the clause is based.

MR. MUNDELLA: The 2nd sub-section of the clause not only admits the principle of grouping; it provides that—

“Where two or more schools are under the same managers, the schools shall, if the managers so desire, be deemed for the purposes of this Act to be one school.”

There is, then, no consent or control of the Education Department. I should like to hear what the right hon. Gentleman means to do about that; I do not think he means altogether to abdicate the functions of the Education Department.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: The earlier portion of the clause says that it shall be in accordance with a scheme to be approved by the Education Department.

MR. MUNDELLA: Not in the 2nd sub-section.

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: What we ask is the course the right hon. Gentleman means to take in reference to both sub-sections. I can quite understand Sub-section 1 as carrying out the principle of grouping, but Sub-section 2 contains a new principle, where two or more schools are under one management they shall, at the desire of the managers, be deemed one school, so that the schools of one denomination in a town may all be put under one management and be treated as one school, though there may be degrees of fees, high and low, and the grant applied to the whole as one school. The effect would be unjust, and I think before we pass from Sub-section 1 we ought to know what the Government propose to do with Sub-section 2.

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not think the two sub-sections need necessarily be taken together; they may be considered as two Amendments.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I personally was in favour of the clause as proposed by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Cranborne), for I favour the system of grouping, because, though some of my hon. Friends think it will strengthen the position of voluntary

schools, I think it will be a gain educationally, putting schools under a better Board of Management than now exists. But I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the provisions of Clause 5—or, as it now is, Clause 6—as to the 17s. 6d. limit govern these two sections? If he will add a proviso to that effect at the end I have no objection to the principle of the clause, but if it is intended to group together schools and by taking the average of subscriptions to augment the grant under the 17s. 6d. limit, I do see considerable objection. But I imagine the right hon. Gentleman will not object to the addition of the proviso.

\*(9.35.) MR. G. W. BALFOUR (Leeds, Central): I understand the proviso to Clause 5 is to guard against the danger of a double claim to exceed the 17s. 6d. limit being made in respect of the same sum of money. If schools were amalgamated under one management no such danger could arise, and if this new clause were inserted the result would be that voluntary schools might group themselves together, and when so grouped they would have similar advantages to those which Board schools have under a single Board management. It is true that by the grouping of schools there might be some cases where the 17s. 6d. grant would be exceeded where it is not exceeded now, but similar facilities are already possessed by the School Board. [“No, no!”] Yes; a School Board has at its disposal a fund received from the rates, which it can distribute among the various schools according to their necessities. This power will be obtained by voluntary schools in the same way as it is now possessed by Board schools.

MR. T. ELLIS: It seems to me that in accepting this Amendment we shall be taking a very long step. No doubt the clause will be the realisation of the fond hope of certain supporters of voluntary schools of having what is called Church School Boards, and that is a question which can be discussed on its own merits. We think that such a Board of self-elected managers is a very poor control indeed to have over vast sums of public money. But that is not the point I wish to call attention to. Here we have a great change proposed in the organisation of the educa-

tion of the country by means of a scheme of the Education Department, and I should like to call attention to what Members on either side have always insisted upon in regard to re-organisation by means of these schemes. Under the Endowed Schools Act and the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, under which local bodies make schemes of re-organisation, it has always been the rule for Parliament, not satisfied with the schemes made by local bodies and the Department, to insist that the schemes shall be open to every form of governmental and public inquiry, and ultimately be submitted for the sanction of this House. Now, I consider that to give power to a certain number of self-elected managers to draw up schemes relating to such a number of schools in a town or county without Parliament having any sanction or supervision of those schemes is a new step, and one not to be taken without great consideration. Therefore, I hope, whether the clause is accepted or not, this House will insist that anything in this nature shall be coupled with the condition that it shall be subject to Parliamentary as well as departmental sanction. There is a procedure in an Act passed some two years ago, the Technical Education Act, which should be followed in such schemes as are here contemplated, dealing with a large amount of public money, that the consideration of Parliament should be invited. Whatever the House may decide in regard to the first part of this clause, I hope there will be a strong opposition to the second part of it which may induce the Government to withdraw this second part. But before we come to that, I hope the Government will say they will agree to a proposal that all these schemes shall before becoming operative be laid before Parliament.

(9.40.) MR. MUNDELLA: We want to know the effect of this clause—whether Section 19 of the Education Act is to be applied to it. If it is not applied, then this is simply a device for evading and defeating the 17s. 6d. limit. Now, the hon. Member for Leeds says that School Boards have this power of grouping—of taking the average; but he is quite mistaken. Every school stands upon its own separate account, the object being to

*Mr. T. Ellis*

secure that a certain amount shall be expended on education in every school, failing which a reduction is made. Surely it is not the intention of the Government that schools which do not by the maintenance of a staff keep up efficiency are to remain in a state of inefficiency. Unless the proviso is introduced this will really repeal the 19th section of the Education Act.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman has not explained how this proposal would repeal the operation of the 17s. 6d. limit, if the schools were to be treated as under one management and as administratively and financially one school. I cannot see any objection, if you have a certain number of schools in different buildings but practically one school, to treating these as one school. That seemed to be desired by several hon. Members opposite when it was discussed in Committee, and I cannot see any objection unless the desire is to kill a school by its poverty. There is no objection to introduce words in the second part of the clause to require the approval of the Department if that is desired, but I do not understand there is any objection to the principle of grouping on its merits.

(9.45.) MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): The object of the Bill when introduced was that no fees in any fee-paying school should charge more than 9d., 3d. being paid by the grant; but by the amalgamation of a number of schools, though in some schools the fee may exceed 6d., the average of the whole number may bring them within the 17s. 6d. limit. To prevent this, I move that Sub-section A shall be subject to the proviso at the end of Clause 6 of the new Bill:—

“Provided that the fee grant received by each school in the first instance shall alone count as income of such school for the purposes of this Act and of Section 19 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876.”

If the object of the promoters of the new clause is to secure uniformity of management and facility in management, this will be secured, but evasions of the 17s. 6d. limit will be prevented.

Amendment proposed, before the first word “Where,” to insert the words “Subject to the proviso in clause five.”—*(Mr. Caldwell.)*

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

(9.50.) MR. MUNDELLA: In reply to the observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I ask the right hon. Gentleman does he intend, by an evasive and indirect method, to repeal Section 19 of the Act of 1876? He said a number of schools in different buildings might be regarded as one school; but does not the right hon. Gentleman see that by taking the whole of the schools of one denomination in a town and combining their revenues, there may be a certain number of schools with a poor staff and low expenditure, which, if they stood alone, would come under the operation of the 17s. 6d. limit, but which, under the clause, could be starved in the interest of other schools. If the right hon. Gentleman will insert words requiring that each school shall receive a share of the expenditure, we shall be content. We want to secure that the grant shall not be so distributed that it goes to the benefit of the fee-paying schools, leaving the free schools inefficient.

\*MR. G. W. BALFOUR: The object of the proviso was to prevent the same money constituting a claim to exceed the 17s. 6d. limit in two schools, but this cannot arise under the new clause. The 17s. 6d. grant cannot be obtained unless it is earned, and if it is earned the school cannot be in an inefficient condition.

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: The hon. Member for Leeds says the proviso was put in to prevent the fee grant being given twice over, but with all respect to him, I think he is mistaken. The object is to prevent the danger that might arise from the fee grant being made a common fund. If the fee grant to school A amounts to £50, and the fee grant to school B £100, and the grant is shared, then school A may receive £75 instead of £50. I protest against this attempt of the Government to abolish indirectly the 17s. 6d. limit. The Government have declared over and over again they would allow no interference with that limit, and yet now they are proposing to group schools together for the avowed purpose of doing away with the limit.

MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman is in error. There are many

purposes for which it is desirable to group schools together.

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: In an indirect way the grant of public money will be increased to certain classes of schools, although there is no Resolution of the House on which such a grant can be made. By this combination of schools—it may be schools in quite different parts of the country—the whole purpose of the Act will be evaded.

(9.58.) VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (Lancashire, N.E., Darwen): If this clause passes without the proviso, even though one school receives the fee grant earned by the other school, it would not be able to count that grant as against the 17s. 6d. limit. The 17s. 6d. limit was established to prevent schools, even though they earned large grants, from getting the advantage of the grant unless they showed contributions from other sources. If they can produce income from other sources that objection falls to the ground. Under the grouping scheme you may be able to secure, not only the voluntary subscriptions and the other income, but part of the fee grant of the richer schools may be given to the poorer schools. The whole scheme of the 17s. 6d. limit rests on two considerations; in the first place, that the school earns the grant, and, secondly, that it earns it without ill-treating the children. There is no reason why these two conditions should not be fulfilled. Under the Amendment as it comes to us from the Lords they must be fulfilled. Well, if the proviso of the right hon. Gentleman were inserted, and if it were provided that the grant handed over by the richer schools to the poorer ones should not count as against the 17s. 6d. limit, the House would be taking a step not at all founded on reason. The right hon. Gentleman said the clause was far-reaching. It is true that for all purposes of the Act if a scheme is set on foot it must be treated as a single one. I see no objection to that. The principle thing to do is to give elasticity to the system, which is in the interests of free education. The system we contemplate is this, that under the grouping system, where, say, six schools agree to work together, it will be quite possible to make five of them free, the remaining school to continue a fee-paying school. It seems an ideal system that the fee-paying

school which does not want the money should hand it over to those which do in order to make them free. Unless, however, the Amendment is passed in the form in which it has been sent down from the other House—that is to say, if the proviso is inserted, it will be impossible for that one school to charge adequate fees, because it will be limited as to its fees to its own excess of the fee grant.

(10.10.) MR. J. ELLIS: I believe that in regard to large towns such as the one I live in, if you group the denominational schools, such as the national schools, you will do away with subscriptions altogether. There is great diversity in the parish schools, and each parish takes special interest in its own school, and if you group the whole of the schools in a town together in pecuniary matters you must fail. Educationalists have wondered why national schools in large towns have not grouped themselves together for educational purposes. They have asked, "Why have they not grouped themselves together for the purpose of training the teachers? Why have they not grouped themselves together for the purpose of securing the advantages that the Board schools have?" Well, they have never done it, but when money is offered they always grasp at any scheme to make use of it for their own purposes. I believe that if they accept the money under the proposed grouping system they will fail, for when you draw from the whole locality for the support of the whole of the schools, local interest will die out, and the subscriptions will no longer come in. If the Amendment is passed I believe it will be fatal both to denominational schools and denominationalism. It seems to me that it is too great an alteration to make in a Bill which has passed this House, gone up to the House of Lords, and come back here. We do not know, nor can we know, what the effect of the clause will be, but it certainly seems to me that it will be injurious to many Church schools, and ought not to be passed.

(10.15.) MR. GOSCHEN: I would suggest that, if it will facilitate matters, the Government should propose to leave out the 2nd sub-section altogether, but we cannot accept the proviso of the right hon. Gentleman.

*Viscount Cranborne*

MR. MUNDELLA: Leave out the 2nd sub-section, but insert the proviso.

MR. GOSCHEN: No, we cannot accept that.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I do not see that there is much in the suggested compromise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because Sub-section 2 will have very little effect if Sub-section 1 is carried. Sub-section 1 is by far the more important of the two. A few minutes ago, when I first asked a question as to this, and when I discovered that the matter was governed by a proviso as to the 17s. 6d. limit, the right hon. Gentleman opposite gave his consent to the proviso by nodding his head. I should like now to ask him what his views as to the question are. Hon. Gentlemen opposite are mixing up two things, and are endeavouring by a side wind to obtain larger concessions than were originally intended as to the grouping of voluntary schools. We thought to strengthen the Amendment by this proviso, but it appears they meant something different. It seems to me a curious commentary on our proceedings that whilst we were precluded in this Bill from discussing the 17s. 6d. limit, we are now entitled to do so on a Lords' Amendment. I do not think that such a matter ought to be introduced into the Bill—at any rate in this form. I was not one of those who thought that the 17s. 6d. limit in itself was a satisfactory mode of obtaining subscriptions, but, at the same time, when hon. Gentlemen argue as though the 17s. 6d. limit had been introduced to injure the poorer schools, I think they forget that it was introduced—to see that subscriptions to these advanced schools would be properly maintained—by a Conservative Government. If under the clause all the voluntary schools of the Kingdom were grouped, the 17s. 6d. limit would disappear. What we desire is that while giving the fullest possible power of grouping of management to voluntary schools, each individual school shall be treated as an individual item in regard to the grant and in regard to the fee grant. I do not think the Government in a matter like this should depart from principles that have governed elementary education since 1876. If we are going to reform the 17s. 6d. limit, let us discuss it on

its merits, and not have it practically abolished by a side wind in this way. I hope the proviso will be accepted, so as to enable us to support a clause with which, in principle, I cordially agree.

(10.19.) MR. LLOYD - GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.): I wish to ask, if the Amendment has been moved in a *bond fide* spirit, and if it is simply intended to carry out Section 5, why not insert the proviso in that section? If it is incorporated, I should have no objection to the proposed alteration. The noble Lord the Member for Darwen tells us that this is an ideal system, because it will enable groups of schools to be formed in order that while one of the schools is fee-paying it may assist the others, the whole of which may become free. But the noble Lord ignores one very important possibility and contingency—that not only is it possible by the section to make one school fee-paying, but it is also possible, by the process he proposes, to make the whole of the schools in a group fee-paying. The noble Lord has been very free in his suggestions that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House do not understand the Bill. I am sorry I must retort by a sort of *tu quoque*, that the noble Lord not only does not understand the Bill, but does not understand the very section he supports. I shall support the proviso which has just been moved, and shall, when the time comes, move two or three Amendments to the same section.

(10.23.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 57; Noes 97. — (Div. List, No. 405.)

(10.35.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I propose to omit the words “or more.” It will be possible under the clause that two or more schools may be grouped together. Inasmuch as this grouping is not to be subjected to the proviso of Clause 6, it is desirable that this grouping should be restricted as much as possible. An unlimited power of grouping may permit the combination of schools in distant parts of the country where the public interests are widely distinct. There is nothing to prevent any number of schools in England and Wales combining under one scheme; there is nothing to prevent the trustees meeting in London

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and agreeing to associate all the national schools of the Kingdom, and then, if there is a Government in power as ready as is the present Government to meet the views of its clerical advisers, there will be no difficulty in getting the approval of the Government to any scheme, however inimical to the general public interest.

Amendment proposed, in line 1, to leave out the words “or more.”—(Mr. Lloyd-George.)

Question proposed, “That the words ‘or more’ stand part of the Amendment.”

\*(10.37.) SIR W. HART DYKE: I think the question of the number of schools to be grouped together may be fairly left to the discretion of the Education Department, by which every scheme will have to be approved.

MR. MUNDELLA: We do not doubt the discretion of the Education Department, but we do feel very strongly that the increase of grant should not be allowed under the form of these Lords’ Amendments. I shall have to appeal to the ruling of the Speaker on this point later on.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The Question now is the omission of the words “or more.”

MR. T. ELLIS: I should like to know whether it would be possible under the clause for the whole of the schools of one denomination in a county to combine under one scheme? If that is so, it should be carefully considered, for it seems to me a step outside the scope of this Free Education Bill.

MR. TOMLINSON: The clause itself supplies a limitation, “the neighbouring district.”

(10.42.) The House divided:—Ayes 99; Noes 52.—(Div. List, No. 406.)

\*(10.50.) MR. ROBY: I beg to move as an Amendment to the same clause to omit in line 2 the word “neighbouring,” and to substitute “district” for “districts.” The words as they stand are far too wide and indefinite, and a limit ought to be imposed. “Neighbouring districts” may extend from one to the other all across England.

Amendment proposed, in line 2, to leave out the words “or neighbouring.”—(Mr. Roby.)



Question proposed, "That the words 'or neighbouring' stand part of the Amendment."

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: The same phrase occurs in Clause 6, and the Amendment is unnecessary. When hon. Members seek thus to make the clause restrictive, I can only repeat that as to what are neighbouring districts, or as to the number of schools to be grouped, it must depend on the Department to deal in a common sense, practical way with any difficulties under this head. I hope the House will not accept the Amendment.

MR. S. T. EVANS: We have not yet heard a reply to the suggestion of my hon. Friend that these schemes should be laid before Parliament. The objection of the hon. Member (Mr. Roby) is a valid one. "Neighbouring districts" might be made to include districts extending from Cardiff to Holyhead, but the objection might be met by a proviso that the assent of the House should be required to every scheme.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: There is, as we know, a great disadvantage in the custom of bringing on educational schemes after midnight when they cannot be adequately discussed. I shall be quite prepared, if the desire is that Parliament should have early information, to present it in the form of a Return.

(10.55.) MR. J. BRYN ROBERTS: That would not be sufficient, because unless the Government were to take the initiative it would be impossible for any Member to raise the question of any particular scheme with the object of getting an expression of opinion in the House. I certainly think some closer definition than "neighbouring districts" is required.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what limit the Government propose to put on the word "neighbouring," and also whether they will admit Board schools into the grouping arrangements?

\*(10.58.) MR. GOSCHEN: In point of policy there is no objection to the grouping of Board schools, but there is a departmental difficulty in regard to rating which with voluntary schools does not arise. That is the only objection. There is no idea of including groups of schools over vast areas, and I think

discretion may well be entrusted to the Education Department.

MR. MUNDELLA: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that we are as anxious as he is to make progress, and I think he knows that when this Bill was going through Committee of this House we facilitated it at every stage. We are anxious to promote grouping for educational purposes, and we have no objection at all to giving power for it, provided that the grouping is not a mere cover for obtaining money which ought not to be paid.

\*(11.4.) MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I have been very anxious to see this Bill passed, and I have refrained from speaking upon it, but I think it is time to protest against the spirit in which the Government are trying to shove it down our throats to-night. Here we have a new clause brought up from another place, and we are not allowed an opportunity of discussing it thoroughly. I do not object to two schools being joined together if they are in the same district. I know from experience that that would probably be an advantage. I have for 20 years been manager and hon. secretary of the Church schools in my own parish, and, therefore, I know something about the management of these institutions. But what I do object to is the grouping together of different districts, or even of several counties as might occur under this clause. The word "neighbouring," I hold with my hon. Friends from Wales, should be taken out of the clause.

(11.6.) The House divided:—Ayes 109; Noes 55.—(Div. List, No. 407.)

(11.15.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I beg to move to insert, after the word "district" in the second line of this clause, the words "being within the same poor law union." I think there should be some sort of limit to the word "neighbouring." I think the powers under this clause ought to be confined to the districts within a Poor Law Union, and surely that would be ample for the purposes of this Act. If the Government desire to make progress with this Bill, they will be willing to accept this Amendment. I do not think it possible they can contemplate the grouping together of two or three counties for educational purposes; and unless they

do contemplate such a thing, they cannot have any objection to confining the operation of the clause in the manner I suggest.

Amendment proposed, in line 2, after the word "districts," to insert the words "if within the same poor law union."  
—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*(11.16.) *SIR W. HART DYKE*: It is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to acquiesce in the hon. Member's proposal. I have already indicated what the policy of the Department is to be in respect of this clause, but the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman would cut at the very principle of the clause. I am, however, willing to expunge the words "not being schools provided by a school board." The Government do not wish the House to be detained very long over this clause, and they are anxious to meet hon. Members opposite in a fair and candid manner. I must say that the Amendment I have suggested will throw some trouble and labour on the Education Department, but we are prepared, in the interests of peace and harmony, to consent to it.

*MR. LLOYD-GEORGE*: Will the right hon. Gentleman be willing to agree that no School Board schools shall combine with voluntary schools?

\**SIR W. HART DYKE*: Yes, Sir.

*MR. LLOYD-GEORGE*: Then on the understanding that the right hon. Gentleman will move the Amendment he has indicated, I ask leave to withdraw my Amendment.

*MR. GOSCHEN*: We will add words to the following effect: "Providing that schools provided by school boards shall not be grouped with other schools."

*MR. LLOYD-GEORGE*: I beg to ask leave to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

\**SIR W. HART DYKE*: I have to move the omission of the words in lines 2 and 3 "not being schools provided by a school board."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, in lines 2 and 3, to leave out the words "not being schools provided by a school board."

Amendment agreed to.

(11.21.) *MR. T. ELLIS*: I beg to propose an Amendment that, in line 5, after the word "department," the words "forthwith be laid before Parliament," be inserted. I may point out that this Amendment simply carries out the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

*MR. GOSCHEN*: Agreed.

\**MR. TALBOT*: But what will be done if Parliament is not sitting? It is not desirable that these arrangements should be delayed because they happen to be made in the Parliamentary Recess.

*MR. GOSCHEN*: It will have to be presented as soon as Parliament meets.

Amendment agreed to.

\*(11.22.) *MR. H. H. FOWLER*: I have now to move an Amendment which raises the whole effect of this clause, and if accepted it will prevent my submitting a point of order as to whether it is competent for the House of Lords to insert an Amendment authorising a grant of money. I think it will be admitted that the effect of the clause is to do away with the 17s. 6d. limit contained in the 19th section of the Elementary Education Act of 1871. [*Cries of "No, no!"*] Hon. Members opposite say "No," and in that case I shall bespeak their support for my Amendment, which will put the point beyond all question. I propose to add after "1891," in line 7, the words "except section 19 of the Elementary Education Act of 1876." If it is proposed to repeal that clause and to increase the grant by means of the amendment made in another place, then it will have the effect of largely increasing the education grant. This, I contend, the Lords have no right to do; it can only be done by a previous Resolution of this House in Committee of Ways and Means authorising the grant of public money for the purpose.

Amendment proposed, in line 7, to insert, after "1891," the words "except section nineteen of 'The Elementary Education Act, 1876.'"—(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*(11.26.) *LORD G. HAMILTON*: I think the right hon. Gentleman is somewhat unreasonable in the arguments he

has put forward. What is the proposal before the House? It is that under certain conditions several schools shall be treated as one school. The hon. Gentleman says they shall not be treated as one school because of a particular section of the Act of 1871. I have listened to the Debate which has now been going on for some hours, and it seems to me that the right hon. Gentleman does not grasp what Clause 5 actually does. What it does is to enable one school to subsidise another. I deny that the clause which has come down from the Lords will upset the 17s. 6d. limit. It will do nothing of the kind. The hon. Gentleman spoke of a considerable increase in the Education Estimates, but the total amount involved by the 17s. 6d. limit is under £40,000 a year. He has suggested that our object is to legislate for the education of the classes as against the education of the masses. I believe he concluded his first speech with words to that effect. But what is the practical effect of this proposal? There is no hardship whatever in any case where a school earns a grant. But sometimes a school does not do that, and then this clause will enable a rich school to assist a poor school to earn the money. I quite accept the objection urged against any extension of the 17s. 6d. limit, that it would prevent voluntary subscriptions coming in; but I wish to point out that this provision will simply enable the managers of schools in the same neighbourhood to combine their funds, and that the result will be that a poor school will benefit by being able to meet all the educational requirements laid down by the Code. The clause will only take effect in a limited number of cases, and recollecting that in the cases where higher fees are charged it is by the voluntary action of the parents, and bearing also in mind the spirit in which the Government have met hon. Gentlemen opposite, I hope they will not think it their duty further to delay the progress of the Bill by pressing this Amendment.

(11.30.) The House divided:—Ayes 58; Noes 105.—(Div. List, No. 408.)

(11.40.) MR. J. BRYN ROBERTS: I beg to move the insertion of the words "until the Education Department shall withdraw such approval" after "scheme,"  
*Lord G. Hamilton*

in line 7. In the course of events, it may be discovered that the grouping has led to abuse, and I want to give power to the Education Department, in case such a discovery is made, to withdraw approval. It is impossible in a matter of this kind to foretell the exact working of the grouping of schools. The discussion to-night shows it is very difficult to ascertain what the effect will be with respect to the different Acts of Parliament relating to education and the regulations of the Department.

Amendment proposed to the Lords' Amendment, after "scheme," line 7, to insert "until the Education Department shall withdraw such approval."—(Mr. J. Bryn Roberts.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: I recognise the spirit in which the hon. Member has moved the Amendment, but he seems to have the idea that once the Education Department approves a scheme the scheme cannot be altered. The hon. Member's fear is an exaggerated one. The Department must always retain a power to modify arrangements they have approved. For instance, if there be any such abuse discovered they can refuse the grant to a school. I therefore think the insertion of these words is unnecessary.

MR. MUNDELLA: I submit that the Education Department ought to have power to abrogate a scheme. I cannot see how, if a new scheme is found unsatisfactory, the right hon. Gentleman or any other Vice President can fine a particular school for the bad working of a grouping scheme; it is impossible to withhold the whole grant. Surely the right hon. Gentleman ought to have power to abrogate a scheme if it is found not to work well in practice.

MR. T. ELLIS: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will accept this Amendment. It is very necessary that the Education Department should have some power to revise or, if right, to withdraw a scheme. Ten or fifteen schools may be grouped together, and to withhold the grant may disorganise the whole educational facilities of an entire district.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: I do not wish to prolong the discussion, and will only

say that it is perfectly obvious that if the Education Department find a scheme is working badly they must have the power to try another. I confess I do not like the words the hon. Gentleman has suggested, but I will accept them on the understanding that, if necessary, they will be amended in another place.

Question put, and agreed to.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: In accordance with the promise I made, I beg to move to omit Sub-section (2) and to add at the end of the clause—

“Provided that schools provided by a school board shall not be grouped with any other public elementary school.”

We are working under pressure to-night, and, therefore, if these words are not deemed sufficient by the Government draftsmen, we shall reserve to ourselves the right to amend them.

Motion made, and Question, “That Sub-section (2) stand part of the Clause,” put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed, to add at end of the Amendment—

“Provided that schools provided by a school board shall not be grouped with any other public elementary school.”—(Sir W. Hart Dyke.)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

MR. S. T. EVANS: I think that the adoption of these words would prevent any Board school combining with another Board school. I would, therefore, suggest that the Amendment should read—

“Provided that no board school shall be associated with any public elementary school other than a board school under this section.”

MR. GOSCHEN: Yes, that is better.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed, at end of the Amendment to add—

“Provided that no board school shall be associated with any public elementary school other than a board school under this section.”—(Mr. S. T. Evans.)

Question, “That those words be there added,” put, and agreed to.

Question proposed, “That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said

Amendment as amended.”—(Sir W. Hart Dyke.)

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: I now beg to ask you, Sir, whether it is competent for the House of Lords to insert an Amendment of this character, the effect of which will be to increase the grant under the Act of 1870?

\*MR. SPEAKER: As I have said before, the question is one of inference and construction; but I have no hesitation in saying that if the 17s. 6d. limit will be exceeded in any particular school, the Lords have exceeded Privilege.

MR. MUNDELLA: In face of your ruling, Sir, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he does not think it desirable to safeguard this clause by adding a proviso?

MR. GOSCHEN: I will not argue the point now, because I am bound to admit that after the Speaker's ruling the question requires grave consideration.

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: I fully appreciate the difficulty of the right hon. Gentleman's position. He is Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, therefore, bound to carefully guard the financial operation of the Bill, and at present he is leader of the House and bound to guard its privileges to the fullest extent. I do not think it would be right to press for a decision now, and, therefore, I beg to move that the Debate be now adjourned. The Government will, therefore, have an opportunity of considering their position with reference to what is a very serious invasion of the privileges of this House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That this Debate be now adjourned.”—(Mr. H. H. Fowler.)

\*MR. G. BALFOUR: Sir, I understand your ruling to be that if this Amendment will have the effect of increasing the grant of any school it is a breach of Privilege. I wish to ask you whether, if that is only a contingent and indirect effect, the question of Privilege arises?

\*MR. SPEAKER: If the indirect effect of the Amendment will be such as is ascribed to it, the Amendment will be a breach of Privilege.

MR. GOSCHEN: Under the circumstances, I must assent to the adjournment of the Debate.

Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

Consideration of Lords Amendments to be resumed to-morrow.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES,  
1891-2.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS IV.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,075,357 (including a Supplementary sum of £806,225), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for Public Education in England and Wales, including Expenses of the Education Office in London."

(12.0.) MR. MUNDELLA: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, before he makes his statement, whether the fee grant should be included with the result grant in one Vote. It seems to me that they should be separate. We shall want to discuss the grants separately, and to watch the progress under the application of the grant from year to year. I submit, as a question of order, they should be separate. It is true we can discuss the fee grant though joined with the result grant; but I think unless they are separated, we shall have a state of confusion worse confounded.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is not a question of order to be decided by the Chair; it is a question for the Committee.

MR. GOSCHEN: If the right hon. Gentleman will not object to the combination this year, I will undertake that, if there is a general feeling in favour of that course, next year the Vote shall be divided as the right hon. Gentleman suggests.

\*(12.3.) SIR W. HART DYKE: The duty now devolves upon me, though at rather a late hour, to make the statement as to the educational work of the year ending August 31st, 1890. I have a two-fold duty to perform; for while I have to deal with what has been done in the way of educational work in the year ending August 31st, 1890, I have also

to deal with the amount required under the Estimate for the financial year 1891-2. I will not dwell at very great length on the educational work, because, no doubt, the chief educational interest of the day centres in the new work and the operation of the Code of 1890. Therefore, I shall content myself with a general statement as to the work done by the Education Department and the advance made in elementary schools. The grant for the financial year 1890-1 was £3,782,224, and the sum expended was £3,782,057, leaving a surplus of £167. That shows, at all events, a somewhat careful supervision on the part of the Education Department. The sum allowed for annual grants for day and evening scholars was £3,418,366, and the sum expended £3,415,183. The grant per day scholar under the old Code, up to September 1st, 1890, when the new Code came into operation, was 17s. 10½d. per head. Under the new Code it was 18s. 3½d., together amounting to 18s. 1½d. or 1½d. more than the Estimate, which made no provision for increased grants under the new Code. But the average attendance fell short of the estimate by some £30,000, and thus the Department were enabled to meet the increased charge under the new Code. The Expenditure in 1890 includes a sum of £3,530 for grants in respect of day training colleges payable under the Code of 1890, and not provided for in the Estimates. Now I turn to the Estimates for 1891-92, the first framed to meet the new Code. The sum asked for is £3,919,132, an increase over the year 1890-91 of £136,908. The increase of annual grants for day and evening scholars is £120,817, and there is also a considerable addition to meet grant for Day Training Colleges estimated at £11,150 for 1891. The remainder of the increase is due to increments in the salaries in the Department and outdoor staff, and also a not inconsiderable increase in the number of pensioners, something like 60 more teachers having received pensions. In 1890-91 the teachers receiving pensions were: 57 at £30, 272 at £25, 313 at £20; and now there are 83 at £30, 292 at £25, and 328 at £30. The average number of children on whom the grant will be paid is 3,794,156—an

increase of only 11,600 as compared with the Estimates of the previous year, but an increase of 40,000 as compared with the actual results of that year, which were foreseen when the Estimate for 1891-2 was prepared. The rate of grant per day scholar is estimated at 18s. 6d., being an increase of 6½d. over the Estimate for 1890-91, and of 7½d. over the rate per scholar during the last half-year of the old Code. But as the Estimate for 1890-91 was based only on the Code of 1889, the comparison should be with the rate actually earned under the new Code in the seven months of 1890-91, during which it was in force. Thus compared, the increase is 2½d., the rate actually paid in 1890-91 under the new Code being 18s. 3½d., and the Estimate for 1891-92 being, as before stated, 18s. 6d. The increase of 2½d. is required under two heads: the normal advance in proficiency and increased grants to small schools, under Articles 104 and 105, where the population is less than 500. A large number of these schools are inspected in the summer months, and, therefore, have not yet received these grants. It may here be interesting to compare the additional grants to small schools paid under the new Code up to the end of April last with corresponding grants paid during the same period in 1889-90. The additional grants to small rural schools paid under the new Code from October, 1890, to April, 1891, amounted to £26,875, and the additional grants paid under the old Code in the corresponding period of 1889 were £13,956—an increase in 1890-91 of £12,919. The rate of grant per day scholar under the new Code has come very near the estimate given when the Code of 1890 was prepared. The figures I am giving represent only the commencement of an entirely new departure for the whole educational system, and it is, of course, perfectly obvious that in many cases the managers of schools have not appreciated the advantage which is afforded them in the new Code. In 1889 the number of schools inspected was 19,310, in 1890 19,419, increase 109, or .56 per cent. School accommodation in 1889 was 5,440,000, in 1890 5,539,000, an increase of 99,000 places, or 1.82 per cent. The scholars on the register in 1889 were 4,755,000; in

1890, 4,804,000, an increase of 49,000, or 1.03 per cent. The average attendance stood at 3,683,000 in 1889, and at 3,718,000 in 1890, an increase of 35,000, or .95 per cent. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the register was nearly stationary. The percentage of passes in standard examinations were in 1889 89.10, in 1890 89.66. The scholars examined in Standard IV. showed an upward tendency, and exhibited an increased proficiency. In 1889 there were 973,000, and in 1890 there were 979,000, an increase of 6,000, or .62. With regard to cookery, the number of girls is steadily increasing. In 1889 there were 57,500, and in 1890 66,800, an increase of 9,300, and there is likely to be a still further increase. The number of certificated and assistant teachers had increased by 2,781, the numbers being in 1889 70,752, in 1890 73,533, but there had been a decrease of 787 in regard to the pupil teachers, so that the opportunity which is offered by the new Code to those who are unfit for the profession to devote their energies to other occupations has thus been made use of. There is nothing startling, I admit, in the rate of progress. It is satisfactory, no doubt, except in one point. The accommodation has increased largely, but I am bound to admit that the percentage of increase as regards attendance has not come quite up to expectations. Whilst the percentage of increase in the number on the register occasionally exceeds the percentage of the increase of accommodation the average attendance has fallen below the normal rate. Thus, the increase in the scholars on the register was in 1888 52,000, in 1889 68,000, and in 1890 49,000. During the same years the increase in average attendance has been 88,000, 68,000, and 35,000. This may, no doubt, be accounted for in one or two ways. In the first place, the estimate of population we made has not been realised by the Census. We may, perhaps, be taking too sanguine a view in regard to population, but there is an increase of 6,000 more than on the school register. There is one other element—that perhaps the scholars pass too swiftly through the standards. It is satisfactory to note that there is a considerable increase in the number of scholars in Standard

IV. I think there is also every indication that not only the standard of our education will be materially raised, but that efficiency in the schools is being greatly increased. With regard to the cookery classes, it is satisfactory also to notice how steady the increase is there. But I am not quite content with the progress made in the rural districts. Much remains to be done by combination and by peripatetic teachers in country villages in the same manner in which advantage has been taken of the Technical Education Act. Fair progress has been made in standard examinations and in the percentage of passes. The percentage of passes is 89·66, or 0·56 higher than in 1889. As this is the last record under the system of the old Code, I should like to give the percentage of passes according to the number of scholars in elementary schools in quinquennial periods from 1875 to the present date. In 1875 the percentage of passes was 79·74; in 1880 the percentage of passes was 81·20; in 1885 it was 85·14; and in 1890 we raised it to 89·66. I think this is a very valuable statement to be able to make with regard to the efficiency of our elementary schools. The old Code has done noble work in its time, and I trust that the new system which we are inaugurating will rather hasten than retard the progress of elementary education. During 1890 the number of pupil teachers fell from 39,397 to 29,610; whilst certificated assistant teachers, as was to be expected under the altered conditions, showed an increase of 2,781, or 3·9 per cent., compared with 2,069, or 3 per cent., in 1889. School expenses and the cost of maintenance per scholar in average attendance show an increase. In Board schools the increase has been from £2 4s. 6½d. in 1889 to £2 5s. 11½d. in 1890, or an increase of 1s. 5d. per scholar. In voluntary schools the increase has been 7d. per scholar, namely, from £1 16s. 4½d. to £1 16s. 11½d. Excluding London, the figures for 1889 are—Board schools £1 19s. 7½d., voluntary schools £1 15s. 9½d.; and in 1890, Board schools £2 0s. 7½d., voluntary schools £1 16s. 5d., an increase of 11½d. in the first place, 7½d. in the second place. In London the cost in Board schools has been, in 1889 £2 19s. 8½d., in 1890 £3 2s. 7½d., an increase of 2s. 10½d., and in voluntary schools there has been an

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increase of 5½d., namely, from £2 3s. 7½d. to £2 4s. 1d. This, generally speaking, is the statement which I have to make in regard to our educational progress up to August, 1890. It is true that I have no record in the shape of statistics to give to the Committee in regard to the alterations introduced by the new Code, but as far as the Education Department is concerned every indication we have tends to show that a great educational success will be achieved. The Inspectors, who are enormously relieved by the new Code, spoke well of it in every regard. There is not a single item in the Inspectors' Reports which have been presented to the House that can be produced in order to show that there is likely to be any failure connected with the Code as far as inspection is concerned. Again, the teachers in every case are making loyal use of the freedom which has been given to them in regard to classification and other matters. The Code had been in operation since September 1, 1890, and there are only very few instances which can possibly indicate that the teachers have failed to recognise the responsibilities imposed upon them under the new Code. In regard to this new Code, a difficulty meets us which I have already mentioned with reference to the school year 1890, the falling off in attendance. The change inaugurated by the Bill which we have been discussing to-night will place some onus upon the Education Department for watching very carefully the question of school attendance. Mr. Syngé, the Inspector for the Eastern Division, which includes the Counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Lincoln, Suffolk, and Essex, has referred to the obstacles in the way of ensuring regular attendance; the insufficient number of attendance officers, and the haphazard and unequal working that results from these officers having indefinite instructions and being left too much to their own initiative; the confusion resulting from differing bye-laws in adjoining districts; the dislike of Magistrates to enforce the law; the unwillingness of the Local Authorities to prosecute employers; the fact that the Act of 1876 mentions one age and the bye-laws another for total exemption. With regard to securing school attendance, it will be the duty of the Depart-

ment to watch closely the obstacles which may present themselves. In regard to the dislike of Magistrates to the enforcement of attendance by the law, I think the Bill which we have been discussing to-night will remove the chief cause that has prevented the attendance of children, namely, the poverty which can no longer be pleaded as an excuse for their non-attendance. We have heard on all sides that the freedom given to school teachers in regard to the classification of scholars is working admirably under the new system. I want to point out to the House what a valuable relief results from the freedom given to the teachers in regard to the general treatment of the curriculum. I stated long ago in this House my earnest wish to carry out the changes so as to give relief to the Inspectors. I have long been of opinion that there has been something vicious in our system hitherto, and I have always felt that the schools should be open to inspection any day and every day. Unless that is done we shall never perfect our school system as we ought to do. There can be no doubt that the new Code will give greater relief to managers, to teachers, and also to a great extent to Inspectors. We have done away with the system of payment by results on individual examination, and that alone will give immense relief to the Inspectors with regard to the disposal of their time. I should like, if the Committee will bear with me, to read a Circular issued on the 16th July, giving advice and instruction to Inspectors in carrying out this important duty.—

Sir,—It is hoped that the time which has been hitherto employed in recording in greater detail the results of the annual examinations may now be employed in paying visits without notice. Such visits will in future form an important factor of your annual Report upon a school, and will differ from the annual visit of inspection chiefly in this, that the character and intelligence of the lessons, which may be given in your presence, and the order, neatness, cheerfulness, and general bearing of the scholars will constitute the principal objects of your observation. Some time should also be spent in friendly conference with the managers (whose presence is very desirable) and with the teachers on the general character of the education given, and on special detailed points of school management or teaching on which your advice may be sought."

Now, Sir, I think that is a very im-

portant document, and I merely quote it in order to show that the Department are determined that the improvements instituted in the new Code shall not end in any futile manner, but that they shall be real and solid improvements as regards the education given in the elementary schools. Another point of considerable interest to which I wish to allude is the relief which is given in the Code of 1890 in respect to the teaching of English as a class subject. That relief has been alluded to by a very large number of Inspectors as a most important provision. Mr. Howard, one of our Inspectors, states this in his Report—

"Grammar has always been an unpopular subject, more especially in the rural portion of Dorsetshire. It is generally found to be too difficult a subject for the rustic children, and will in future, I think, be gratefully relegated in many instances to the second place, if not discarded altogether. The compulsory precedence of English as a class subject has for years been looked upon as a grievance by managers, teachers, and parents in this district, and the removal of this condition will be cordially welcomed by them."

What has been the result of this change? In the first place, it enables us practically to revolutionise our school system—that is to say, it enables us for the first time to deal in a broad and liberal manner with the intelligence of our children—to deal with the children as reasonable beings with hands to use and eyes to see, and to give them a class of education that will bring out their general intelligence and usefulness. It has been well said, all educational experience went to show that whatever they could do to cultivate the eye, hand, and the faculty of observation, quickened the interest and intelligence of the children, and would tell upon the whole course of education. This is the point I would emphasise here—that this relaxation in regard to English will enable managers and teachers of rural schools to give the children some kind of elementary agricultural education, for under this head agriculture will aptly come, and I venture to say the relaxation cannot be more profitably applied than in this direction. It has been said that we shall be overburdening the brains of the poor children, but I contend that the change will do nothing of the kind;



on the contrary, it will for the first time really relieve the pressure, and at the same time will enable the children, after they have learnt the three R's, to acquire a knowledge of elementary agriculture, which will enable them the better to get their living in future in the rural districts in which they live. Another point on which the Department has been much criticised is in relation to the teaching of drawing in the rural schools. There, again, we come to the point to which I have alluded. I venture to assert that there is many a child in a rural school who, though he would be much distressed if pressed far beyond the three R's, would be happy to continue to learn with the pencil in his hand—the pencil allied with the pen in his education. It is true that there is a difficulty with regard to teachers for drawing, and the subject cannot be applied to every school. But when I mention that the Science and Art Department has had to put a large increase on the Vote for drawing in the elementary schools, and that there has been an increase of 36 per cent. during the past few months in the number of scholars being instructed in drawing in our elementary schools (the total number being 43,650), it will be seen that the advantage is highly appreciated. What is it we wish to do with these rural children? Do we wish for ever to send them into the towns to struggle for a living, and to add to the population of districts already congested? Do we wish to see them continually pursuing this will-o'-the-wisp, a clerkship in the towns. No; we want to make them useful in the country districts. For 15 years I have been an unfortunate agriculturist. I have been among agricultural people nearly all my life, and I say advisedly that no better provision, no more important change, has ever been introduced into our educational system than that of drawing supplemented by manual instruction, and, as I have said before, a general elementary education in agriculture. If I wanted to employ a lad on my farm I should say, "Give me a lad who has been trained up in this system, who knows how to use his eye and hand; who knows how to trim a hedge straight; who is handy, and who would rather mend a gate (knowing how to do it) than be so

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clumsy as to break one, and I will take him on my farm, and will take care to retain him there, however much his parents may think that by some patent of their own he would be able to make a fortune in a town. I will not detain the Committee longer. It is a late hour, but I hope I may be forgiven if I have dealt, and dealt with some warmth, with regard to these changes, because they are important changes; and when the new mode is criticised, when it is said that it overburdens the children, it is, I declare, a libel upon it. It is a Code which gives freedom that no Code ever gave before. It introduces a change of a vast character, which will enable the children not only in towns but in the country to become useful citizens, and to get for the first time an adequate living in honest employment in the localities in which they were born and bred. There is one other matter I must allude to, and that is the question of evening schools. With regard to them great advance is being made. I have alluded already to the fact that the attendance has not risen according to the actual needs of the population, and I have alleged as one reason the swiftness with which the children now pass through the standards. It is of the utmost importance that the evening school system should be largely increased. Mr. Blakiston, one of our Inspectors, says—

"Evening schools which had almost died out in Bradford seven years ago are now rapidly increasing. They have, however, changed their character. Whereas their object used to be the rescue from ignorance of those whose education had been neglected in childhood, their present purpose is to extend the knowledge which has been previously acquired in some of the many excellent day schools. This year the number of scholars will be more than 2,000. It is very satisfactory to find that in four years the number enrolled has more than doubled itself."

The London School Board has made great efforts in regard to evening continuation schools. In 1889-90 the average attendance of evening schools was 6,779, and in 1890-91, in the winter, it increased to over 10,000, an increase of 49 per cent. In the towns in Lancashire, too, there is an equally good record of improvement. I hope that this is only a commencement. These changes the Department can only inaugurate. We can only do our best

by the changes we make to tempt school managers to undertake evening schools. The relaxations made in 1890 as to the subjects taught in evening schools are thoroughly appreciated, and I hope that within a year or two an enormous increase will be recorded throughout the country. It is one of the most important branches of the educational system, and it is perfectly lamentable to think how long this method of meeting the difficulty, which has met educationists at every turn, as to what is to happen to a child in the interval between passing the standards and going out to work, has been neglected. I hope school managers will take to heart the observations I have made, and that they will speedily, where they have not done so already, inaugurate a perfect system of evening schools. I do not think I ought to detain the Committee any longer, and I feel I must apologise for the disjointed nature of my observations. The time of the Session and the hour of the night at which I have had to make my statement are unfortunate for any one placed in my position. I hope the Committee will appreciate that, and forgive the disjointed nature of the remarks I have made. I have had to compress two or three subjects of the greatest importance into a very small compass, and all I ask the Committee is this, that they will give fair play to the proposals I have put forward. The Department have always had fair play from Parliament hitherto, and I am sure that they will have it in the future. I ask for the plaudits of the Committee for what is good in these proposals, and for their honest criticism of what is bad. I ask, further, for their confidence in the changes the Department have made, and for their encouragement in carrying out a work which is of vital importance to every man, woman, and child in this country.

(12.46.) MR. MUNDELLA: I think it would be a cruel infliction on the Committee to detain them for long at this late hour of the night in criticising the speech of my right hon. Friend. It is due to him to say that there is no occasion for any apology on his part. Having regard to the long hours the right hon. Gentleman has been in the House and the laborious duties which have fallen on him, I think

he is to be congratulated both upon the physical and intellectual vigour which has enabled him to hold out so long. I venture to hope that this will be the last time when the Minister for Education in this House will have to rise after 12 o'clock to make his annual statement, and I trust he will never be called upon again to make his statement so late as July 30. It ought to be made much earlier in the Session, and I will ask the right hon. Gentleman that next year he shall try to give the House the Report of the Committee of Council on Education two or three months earlier. I cannot understand, too, why the Reports of the Inspectors should not be delivered as early as March. They are sent in in January, and therefore it is only a question of printing. The right hon. Gentleman has to-night asked for a Vote unprecedented in amount. Such a Vote has never before been asked for in this House, and, moreover, no State, no Government, in the whole world has ever voted in one year so large a sum as this country is voting this year for education. The French Government, under M. Gambetta, made very large Votes, but they were for a special year, and no State has ever given so much as England is giving for ordinary purposes. The present Vote is for no less a sum than £4,750,000, and when free education comes into full operation the Vote may in two or three years be expected to reach the figure of £6,000,000, irrespective of the amount required for Scotland and Ireland. These are very big figures, and the question is, Are we getting value for the immense sums we are spending? I wish I could say we were, but there still remains a great deal to be done. The Department, I think, has been a little dilatory in seeing that adequate school accommodation is provided wherever it is wanted. The Reports of the Inspectors show that in many districts, in the North-Eastern Division especially, the accommodation is insufficient. There is one parish near Harrogate where there are 200 children who have to go by train to school. I should like to see a little more vigour and less dawdling on the part of the Department in exercising its powers in this respect. The Report I have in my hand says the School Boards of Leeds,

Sheffield, Bradford, Hull, Halifax, Middlesbrough, Hartlepool, and other manufacturing centres have been and are still building new schools and enlarging old ones, but in many cases have failed to keep pace with the growing demands. The Inspector complains that at York, although a School Board has been in existence two years, the schools lack sufficient class rooms, cloak rooms are required, and the ventilation is unsatisfactory. In many places, too, there is an actual deficiency of school places. I have received a letter from a clergyman, who states that at Colchester there are many children of 13 years of age who have not even passed the First Standard, and, unfortunately, it is in the sacred name of religion that the diffusion of education is in many cases impeded. He adds that the compulsory clauses are practically inoperative. I am well aware that much good work has been done, but we ought not to flatter ourselves that we have done all or half of what we ought to do.

(12.54.) MR. TALBOT: I cannot allow this Debate to close without congratulating my right hon. Friend on the interesting statement he has made under such adverse circumstances. There is one point which I wish to press upon the attention of my right hon. Friend. Much has been done in the way of securing pensions for the older class of teachers, but there is a small body of them—deserving, although small—who having entered the profession as pupil teachers between 1846 and 1851, now find themselves in some cases shut out from a claim to these pensions because they went to Training Colleges, and so deferred the period of their actual work. If they had begun to teach with less preparation, they would have had their claims recognised at once. It does not seem to be fair that they should be lost because they devoted longer time to their preparation. The right hon. Gentleman opposite was, I think, a little impatient in the observations he has thought fit to make. He should remember that there will necessarily be some deficiency in any system that is adopted, and also that the large sum of money it is proposed to vote, and which is greater than that which is paid by any other country in the world for educational purposes, might be enormously increased

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if great care were not exercised in consideration of these matters. Of course, there are weak points in our educational system; but what we say is that those weak points are becoming yearly less and less, and it is somewhat discouraging to those who have the management of our elementary schools, and who are doing the great work of educating the people, to be met by this annual complaint that we are far behind every other nation. On the contrary, I say that there is no other country which has made so much progress in education as we have made during the last half century, and that England at the present moment is not far behind other nations. I should like to press on my right hon. Friend the necessity of considering the rating question, which is one deserving of great consideration from two points of view. The excessive rating of the School Boards is undoubtedly a great burden to the ratepayers, and I trust that the rating of the school buildings will not be lost sight of, and that we shall have some assurance that it will not be overlooked. This assurance has been already given, as I understand, in answer to questions; but I shall be glad to receive a renewal of it upon the Estimates.

\*(1.0.) MR. MORTON: I do not agree with the remark of the right hon. Member for Sheffield in saying that we devote the largest sum of money given by any civilised country to educational purposes. I believe I am right in saying that a larger sum is spent upon this object in America.

MR. MUNDELLA: In America it is entirely a local contribution; not one penny is granted by the Central Government.

\*MR. MORTON: It does not matter how you get the money, whether from the Local Authorities or from the State, as long as the amount is all right, and there can be no doubt that the amount spent in America is much larger than in England.

MR. MUNDELLA: More than double.

\*MR. MORTON: The right hon. Gentleman says it is more than double, and I have no doubt he is right now, although he was wrong before. If I had not corrected him when I did a wrong impression would have gone abroad to the country, but what I want to do is to

increase this Vote as far as may be necessary. As I have said, we are not doing half what the Americans are doing. I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Vice-President of the Council what he meant the other day when he told us, in answer to a question put to him, that there was a rigid audit of the accounts by the Inspectors when they inspected the schools. I have had 20 years' experience in these matters in a practical way, which probably they know nothing at all about at the Head Office, and I say that even supposing there ought to be a proper audit, it is not likely that any one of the heads of the Department know anything about auditing accounts. With regard to the rigid audit spoken of by the right hon. Gentleman, I say unhesitatingly that during my 20 years' experience there has been no such audit in the schools with which I have been connected, and if there had been, I am quite sure a great many items would have been struck out of the accounts, and there would probably have been some struck out of my own accounts. I wish to ask whether it is proper that fees should be charged for religious and sectarian examinations, because one wishes to be careful as to what is done in this way. We know that the Diocesan Inspector regularly inspects the Church schools, and of course the Inspector has to be paid by someone. But we were told the other day it was wrong to put into these accounts anything for the Sunday schools or religious teaching of any sort; and, therefore, I wish to know whether it is right that these fees for diocesan inspection should go into the accounts submitted to the Department. I wish further to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it would not be wise to insist upon having successful teachers who are fitted for the work appointed as Inspectors of these schools instead of gentlemen who are appointed simply because they are clergymen or the sons or relatives of the aristocracy, but who know nothing whatever about elementary education. Another question I wish to ask has reference to the annual grants to the Training Colleges. This appears to be a new item. I believe that all the 44 Training Colleges mentioned here are sectarian, with three exceptions, and I do not think that that is a very satis-

factory state of things. I would add that we in this country are not so far advanced in elementary education as Canada was in the year 1860. The children there not only receive their elementary education free, but they also go to the Grammar Schools free, and if they pass a satisfactory examination, and their friends are willing, they can then go to the Colleges almost free. Moreover, in the northern States of the United States there is a much greater advance in connection with education than we are able to show. I do not expect we shall reach the level attained either by our own Colonies or the United States for many years to come, but we are advancing by rapid steps, and I for one should be glad to vote more money for educational purposes which we might easily be enabled to do by reducing our military expenditure.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) that the Department is fully alive to its obligations in regard to seeing that adequate school accommodation is provided. This and the other questions as to auditing accounts, and so forth, will be carefully considered. There are various articles in the Code of 1890 which provide the necessary securities, and I shall be happy to give the hon. Member a copy. It will be more convenient both for him and me that he should read them than that I should wade through them here at this hour of the morning.

\*(132.) MR. MORTON: I think the right hon. Gentleman might as well have suggested that we should adjourn this matter now. He says the hour is too late to go on with the discussion. I agree that he has had a very hard night's work; but the Government of the country must go on. I therefore move, Mr. Courtney, that you do report Progress and ask leave to sit again. I am anxious that the business of the Session should be brought to an early termination, but I want to go into these matters properly. The right hon. Gentleman has not answered any of my points satisfactorily. I do not press him to do so to-night as I am willing to go into the matter to-morrow, and, therefore, it is that I move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Morton.*)

(1.35.) MR. MUNDELLA: I would appeal to the hon. Member not to persist in his Motion. The House has spent a good deal of time on the question of education this Session. It was, I think, very unfair that the right hon. Baronet should have been called upon to make his educational statement at so advanced an hour of the night and at so late a period of the Session. I think it a very bad precedent and one which should never be followed in the future. The House is jaded. For myself I feel that I have been here too long to-night, and I hope that we shall now allow the Government to take the Vote. There will be nothing gained by our delaying it.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): If the Government get this Vote, will they consent to report Progress? As the right hon. Gentleman will see, most of the reporters have withdrawn. If the Government get this Vote will the Chancellor of the Exchequer be satisfied?

MR. GOSCHEN: It is not a question as to whether I shall be satisfied, but whether the Committee generally will be satisfied. I do not wish to take too many Votes to-night, but there is a great desire to make progress, and I think we might be allowed to proceed with the Estimates.

\*MR. MORTON: I would ask leave to withdraw my Motion, but, of course, I must go on with my criticism of the accounts.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

\*(1.38.) MR. MORTON [*Cries of "Divide!"*]: If there is any impatience on the other side, I must persist in my Motion for adjournment. I am willing to go on with the discussion of the Estimates, but I must not be interrupted. As to the audit of these accounts, the right hon. Gentleman told us the other day that there was a very rigid one carried out. It was on that statement that I based my question. He now says that it is an "adequate" audit. I do not say it is necessary that there should be a "rigid" audit, but it does appear

to me that it was deceiving the country to say that there was a rigid audit, when, as a matter of fact, there was nothing of the kind. I am sorry the right hon. Gentleman did not go into the question of appointing teachers to the position of Inspectors. I regret that he neglected that point, because I know he is thought a great deal of by the teaching staff outside, and I do not think it is fair to them that they should not have an opportunity of getting some of these appointments.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: That has been effected long ago.

\*MR. MORTON: There may have been one or two of these appointments given to teachers, but there have been very few. And now I desire to ask two or three questions on the figures themselves, and to move a reduction. I do not understand at all the case of the London Office. I do not object to the salary of the Vice President. He does his work pretty well, but I find that he has a secretary at a salary of £1,800, and it is on that item that I am about to move a reduction, because I find that the secretary in Scotland only gets £1,200. I see that this salary is "personal" to the present secretary, meaning, probably, that when there is a vacancy in the office the salary will be reduced. But I do not think the English secretary should be paid more than the Scotch. I do not believe there is more work to be done by this gentleman in the English Office than by the gentleman in the Scotch Office, for the latter is also a senior examiner. Altogether we pay much more for educational business in England than we do in Scotland. So far as I can see we pay quite enough for the Scotch business, and I think, therefore, there ought to be a reduction on this Vote. One of the senior examiners gets an allowance of £100 per annum. What does he receive that for? It seems to me an extravagant and unnecessary payment beyond the £1,200 a year salary. This senior examiner has assistant examiners, of the salaries of £800 a year. There are junior examiners at £600 a year, one of them being usually employed in connection with the Science and Art Department, and another in connection with the Civil Service Commissioners. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] This extra work is done, generally speaking, in office

hours, therefore it is unfair that these officials should get extra payment. [*Cries of "Divide!" and interruption.*] I should also like to know whether the architect gives the whole of his time to his office. I do not want to detain the Committee, but in order to obtain an answer I move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Sub-head A, Salaries, be reduced by £1,000."—(*Mr. Morton.*)

MR. H. J. WILSON: I wish to ask the Vice President of the Council a question with reference to Inspectors being promoted from the ranks of schoolmasters. Although when I raised this question a year ago, I got a promise that the claims of schoolmasters to these appointments should have favourable consideration, I believe no such appointment has been made.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: Since it has been decided to consider the claims of teachers to these appointments, there has been no vacancy in the Inspectorate which has not been absorbed.

(1.46.) MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): Having listened to the remarks of the hon. Member for Peterborough, I do not think he asked any frivolous questions, and I hold that he is entitled to an answer. At the same time, considering the lateness of the hour, I hope he will not press the Motion to a Division. I trust that next year the Estimates will be discussed at an earlier stage of the Session. It is not, however, advisable that we should now lay ourselves open to the charge of obstruction in connection with the passing of this Vote.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.): There has been no obstruction. The hon. Member for Peterborough ought to have an answer, and we should have been spared a good deal of trouble if the Vice President of the Council had done his duty. I hope my hon. Friend will take a Division.

Question put, and negatived.

Original Question again proposed.

\*(1.51.) MR. MORTON: As I did not trouble the Committee to divide, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will now give us an explanation with regard to the Inspectors under Sub-head C. Will he give us an assurance that qualified

teachers shall be eligible for these appointments in the future? It is only fair that those who do the hard work should have a chance to get the well-paid offices.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: The school teachers of this country know that they have always had my sympathy. I have stated already that we have decided to adopt the policy of not excluding teachers from these appointments, but since that decision has been come to no vacancy has occurred which could have been so filled.

\*MR. MORTON: These gentlemen want and are entitled to something more than the sympathy of the right hon. Gentleman; they want these offices. Now, I desire to get some explanation with regard to the allowance of £250 per annum to the Inspectors for travelling and personal expenses. The gross amount of that item is £20,000, but, in addition to that, there is an additional charge of £14,000 for travelling and incidental expenses. Is not the £250 a year sufficient?

\*(1.55.) SIR W. HART DYKE: I can only tell the hon. Member that the question of travelling expenses is carefully watched by the Department. They are necessarily considerable, but none are incurred that can be avoided.

\*MR. MORTON: I think we ought to have further explanations than that. If the agreed allowance of £250 is not sufficient, it should be increased. Why are there two items; why is not the whole sum properly set out.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: The Estimate is in its present form to enable Parliament to distinguish between the money paid for travelling and that for personal expenses.

MR. H. J. WILSON: I feel very strongly on the question of the promotion of school teachers. The right hon. Gentleman says there has been no vacancy in the Inspectorate. According to the Estimates there were 67 Inspectors last year, while there are only 65 now. Are there not two vacancies to be filled up? Again, there were 42 sub-Inspectors last year, while there are 45 now. Are the sub-Inspectors being made to do the work of the Inspectors, and are promotions to the superior ranks avoided?

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: When I said there were no vacancies I referred to the higher division of Inspectors. I will inquire further into the matter.

(2.0.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000 as a protest against the appropriation of a sum of money to denominational education in this country. It is very remarkable that while some of the supporters of the Government are engaged in opposing denominational endowment of Roman Catholics in Ireland, they sanction the spending of Imperial money upon Episcopal Colleges in this country.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item H be reduced by £1,000, part of the cost of Training Colleges."—*(Mr. Lloyd-George.)*

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): When the hon. Gentleman says some of the supporters of the Government are opposing the endowment of Roman Catholics in Ireland, let me point out that in Ireland we have a mixed system of State education, and that it is proposed to infringe upon that system. In England and Scotland the system is denominational. I am against denominational education, hence the position I have taken up.

DR. TANNER: The hon. Gentleman says he is opposed to denominational education. Trinity College, Dublin, is a standing protest against his remarks. I shall support the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs.

MR. J. BRYN ROBERTS: I beg to support my hon. Friend (Mr. Lloyd-George) in the Motion he has made. The hon. Member for South Tyrone said that the schools in this country are denominational. The schools in Wales are only denominational in the sense that they are controlled by one denomination.

COLONEL NOLAN: I hope the hon. Member for Carnarvon will withdraw his Motion. That Motion is based on the fact that a certain amount of opposition was raised to the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill the other day. I cannot stretch my conscience to vote against denominational education in England, because we are badly treated on that point in Ireland.

MR. S. T. EVANS: I trust the Government will not come to the conclu-

sion that we do not feel strongly on this matter because more Members from the principality do not take part in the discussion. I assure the Government that this is a matter on which we feel very keenly indeed. My hon. Friend the Member for Carnarvon is perfectly justified in bringing this subject forward, and I hope he will not be deterred from going to a Division by the remarks of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway.

(2.15.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 15; Noes 88.—(Div. List, No. 409.)

Original Question again proposed.

\*(2.23.) MR. MORTON: I am aware that indentures are sent from the Education Department, and that they provide that there shall be no Sunday labour? We in our parish have always stipulated that none of the teachers need do any Sunday work. After what we have heard to-night and what we see in the papers in regard to the employment of teachers, especially in rural districts, I should like the right hon. Gentleman to assure us that the condition as to Sunday labour shall be carried out.

\*SIR W. HART DYKE: I assure the hon. Member I shall do everything to see that the provision is carried out.

Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £327,067, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for Public Education in Scotland."

(2.22.) MR. CALDWELL: This is one of the most important of the Scotch Votes, and I am surprised we should be asked to take it at this hour of the morning. On every previous occasion when this Vote has been taken we have had a statement made by the Minister in charge of it. When the Government boast of having carried legislation, the people of Scotland will realise that it has been carried at the expense of attention to the affairs of Scotland. The attempt to force through this Vote shows the people of Scotland the absolute impossibility of their country's affairs being conducted by the Imperial Parliament. The Education Vote is the only Vote which is really of interest to

the people of Scotland, and seeing that the Government are not prepared to make a statement by way of explanation, I beg to move that you, Sir, do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. If the Government resist the Motion, I will not put the Committee to the trouble of dividing. I am prepared to go at length into the Vote, but I protest against us being expected to do so at this time of the morning. The people of Scotland will see that if these are the circumstances under which the Scotch Representatives are to conduct business in the Imperial Parliament, it is nonsense to have their work done in the Imperial Parliament. We cannot possibly get the Vote to-night, but I can go on for an hour.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: We may be able to come to some arrangement. I would suggest that we should postpone this and the Irish Education Vote, and make some progress with the non-contentious Votes in Class V.

MR. CALDWELL: This Vote is in its order, and I know a number of Members have left on the understanding that it was impossible that this Education Vote could be finished to-night, and the Votes in Class V. taken. I am ready to go on with the Vote, but if it is not proceeded with, I do not think the Government should ask us to take the Votes in Class V.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I must ask the Committee to consider what is the attitude of the hon. Member. In the first place, he objected to proceeding with the Vote. If we had opposed him he would have denounced us. We agreed to postpone the Vote, and suggested we should make progress with the Votes in Class V.; but, no, the hon. Member objects to our doing that. We will go as far as the Committee generally is willing to go, and no further.

\*(2.30.) MR. C. S. PARKER: I certainly support the view that we should put off the Scotch Vote until to-morrow. It is unprecedented that the Education Vote should be taken at such an hour as this, and without a full statement from the Lord Advocate, which we cannot expect at this time of night. As to taking other Votes, I may observe there are several to which Notices of opposition have been given, and Members giving those Notices have left the House, naturally supposing the Votes would be

taken in their order, so I do not think we should proceed with those Votes.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: We will take the Votes to which there is no objection.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I think the hon. Member for the St. Rollox Division (Mr. Caldwell) is perfectly justified, and I protest against the unwarranted construction put upon the hon. Member's action by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The whole proceeding is one of give and take, and, as the hon. Member has expressed his readiness to proceed, I do not see that there is any justification for the remarks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is the first time I have heard the Votes in Class V. described as non-contentious. There must certainly be Debate upon them, and I think it would be sharp practice to take the Vote for the Consular and Diplomatic Service unexpectedly in the absence of the hon. Member for Northampton, who we know takes great interest in that Vote. There are Votes in Classes VI. and VII. not the subject of Notices on the Paper, and these, perhaps, might be taken.

\*(2.32.) MR. GOSCHEN: Let us then proceed. I do not wish to force any Votes, and I accept the suggestion that we shall go on with Classes VI. and VII., excepting such as have Notices against them.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

#### CLASS VI.

2. £250,116, to complete the sum for Superannuation and Retired Allowances.

3. £6,600, to complete the sum for the Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions.

4. £9,647, Friendly Societies Deficiency.

5. £900, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain.

6. £3,114, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £9,447, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for Hospitals and Infirmarys, and certain Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances in Ireland."

MR. SEXTON: We shall have to raise a question upon this Vote, and it



would be convenient to postpone it now.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

#### CLASS VII.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £14,809, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Salaries and other Expenses of Temporary Commissions and Committees, including Special Inquiries."

MR. CALDWELL: This Vote includes the Scottish Universities Commission, upon which there is something to be said. I now move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."

MR. GOSCHEN: I think we might first take this Vote.

MR. CALDWELL: There is a matter to raise in reference to the Scottish Universities Commission. I do not oppose any Vote without reason.

\*MR. MORTON: We want to discuss the Royal Commission on Vaccination, and upon these Miscellaneous Expenses there is a good deal of information required; for instance, there are the fees for honours and dignities, an interesting topic. I hope Progress will now be reported.

DR. TANNER: I think it would be reasonable to report Progress now.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [29th July] reported.

Resolutions 1 and 2 (see pages 646 and 674) agreed to.

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £390,986, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Science and Art, and of the various Establishments connected therewith."

MR. SEXTON: There are two questions I recently asked in relation to this Vote, and I take the opportunity to recall them to the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury. I mentioned the mean

*Mr. Sexton*

and unsuitable character of the furniture in the National Library, Dublin, which does not harmonise with the permanent wood-work of the rooms; and secondly, the imperfect state of the supply of Ordnance Maps in the Library. As I mentioned, the only Ordnance Map of the City of Dublin is so old as to have only historical interest and it is useless for reference, for it would only mislead those who consult it. May I ask the right hon. Gentleman to give attention to these matters.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON, LEEDS, N.): As to the furniture I cannot give any answer, but I take note of the hon. Member's observation. As to the maps, if I remember rightly, I was informed that it was usual to wait until sets were complete before renewing them, but I will refer to the matter again.

Resolution agreed to.

Remaining Resolutions (see page 690) agreed to.

#### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.—(No 417.)

Read the third time, and passed.

#### LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS) [PAYMENTS].

Resolution reported,

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration, pensions, and allowances that may become payable under any Act of the present Session to transfer the Middlesex Registry of Deeds to the Land Registry, and provide for the conduct of the business thereof."

Resolution agreed to.

#### (LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS) BILL [LORDS].—(No. 428.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, with Amendments; as Amended, to be considered to-morrow.

#### EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL. (No. 416.)

##### THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

(3.4.) MR. LEA (LONDONDERRY, S.): I wish to refer to a particular Act which is included in the schedule, and in which I take a particular interest. For nine years the Act has been renewed in this Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, and the circumstance has on one occasion

been referred to by the Chief Secretary as "discreditable," and upon another occasion as "disgraceful." It is a discredit to the House that year after year we fail to deal with the question by a permanent enactment. The pledges we have had from the Government time after time have come to nothing. Once more I ask the Chief Secretary is it the intention of the Government to deal with the subject next year?

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): The hon. Member has referred to some Act, but as to what Act it is he has left us in ignorance.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I understood the hon. Member's reference to be to the Irish Sunday Closing Act.

MR. LEA: I said the Act in which I am particularly interested.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Undoubtedly. I adhere to the words I used, and which the hon. Member has quoted. I do not withdraw from what I said; but when the hon. Member asks me to promise Government time next Session, I can only say that such a pledge might have very wide-reaching consequences if the Bill should be opposed with the vigour it has met with in past years. I still think the Bill has a chance of passing in the hands of a private Member, but I will confer with my right hon. Friend and see if we cannot find means of putting an end to a disagreeable and troublesome state of things from a great measure such as this being included year after year in the Continuance Bill.

Verbal Amendments made.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

#### JUDICATURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL [LORDS].—(No. 403.)

As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment.

#### SCHOOLS FOR SCIENCE AND ART BILL [LORDS].—(No. 425.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, with an Amendment; as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

#### LUNACY BILL [LORDS].—(No. 430.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

#### TRAINING COLLEGES (IRELAND) [LOANS].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of any annuity that may be created for the repayment of any Loan made by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland under the provisions of any Act of the present Session relating to Expenditure by Training Colleges in Ireland."

\*(3.10.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I do not consider that it is expedient to do anything of the kind. Moreover, it is neither expedient nor reasonable for the House at a quarter past 3 o'clock in the morning to be asked to enter upon contentious business. If the Government resolve to carry this Resolution they will do so only after a great struggle. I now beg leave to move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. T. W. Russell.*)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The hon. Member is hardly acting fairly in this matter. I can quite understand his feeling that he ought to have an opportunity of expressing his views on the Bill. But what the Committee is asked to do now is not to pass the Bill, but to pass the formal Resolution which is necessary before we can take operative steps in the Bill as to money. We have determined to proceed in this way, because, in reply to hon. Members who objected to the Bill, I said I would alter the source from which this money is to be drawn. It was to have been advanced—not spent, but only in the first instance advanced—out of the Irish Church Surplus Funds, but I have now agreed that it shall be advanced from funds in charge of the Public Works Department in Ireland, and the hon. Member actually thinks that in spite of the concession we are making it is unreasonable to take the question at this hour of the night. I can assure the hon. Member we will not press on the Committee stage of the Bill at an unreasonable hour of the morning. We do not wish to deprive him of the oppor-

tunity of discussing Amendments before 3 o'clock. If the hon. Member is going to attempt to make this formal stage an occasion for defeating the Bill, he is descending to tactics which can only be described as sheer obstruction—tactics which I have always thought the hon. Gentleman would be the last person in the House either to practise or defend.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I do not think that is a fair statement for the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to make with regard to me. He has no right to say that I am descending to tactics of obstruction.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I said that if he opposed this formal stage, which only comes into existence in consequence of the concession I made to the opponents of the Bill, I shall regard it as obstruction.

\*(3.15.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Then I am afraid I must descend. There are occasions when a Member is bound by the duty he owes to his constituents, and to a great community beyond his constituency, to object to a Bill root and branch, even though he incur the risk of such a charge as that brought against him by the right hon. Gentleman—though I do not believe the right hon. Gentleman will be able to find anyone outside this House to agree with him that I ever joined in obstructing any measure. In the past I have seldom taken part in opposition to a measure the Government have introduced—and I am proud to acknowledge it—but this is a Bill the object of which is to hand a blank cheque to Archbishop Walsh and a similar blank cheque to Archbishop Plunket. We are to endow a Roman Catholic Training College and a Protestant Training College, and I am informed that the Protestant College it is proposed to buy under the Bill was presented to the Church Society when the Kildare Street Society was abolished, so that it is now proposed to buy back that which was given for nothing. I shall oppose this Resolution and the object with which it is proposed through every stage by every means in my power.

MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I do not wish to discuss this Motion, and so aid the hon. Member in his obstructive tactics, but I would urge the Leader of the House to divide against the proposal to report Progress.

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

MR. H. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.): I shall resist to the utmost this attempt to endow the Church of Rome. On most occasions I support the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, but I must tell him that there are many of his best friends in England who will resist to the utmost of their power this attempt at bargaining with the Church of Rome. He may seek to conciliate the Church of Rome; and I imagine that in his attempt to buy them he will be successful, but, in the long run, he will lose his best friends, and will find that the Church of Rome will sell him—

THE CHAIRMAN: I would call the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that the Motion before the House is to report Progress.

MR. H. BYRON REED: Then, Sir, all I will say is that at such an hour as this contentious business should not have been taken.

MR. FLYNN: I hope the Government will persevere with the measure.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I regret that the Government should think it necessary to proceed with the Bill at this time of the Session against the wish, pretty strongly expressed, of every supporter they have from Ireland. My objection to the Bill has not been removed by the concession made. I object to the measure as framed altogether, as it is merely giving a blank cheque to the ecclesiastics who have been mentioned.

\*(3.20.) SIR E. J. HARLAND (Belfast, N.): I also must express regret at my right hon. Friend having brought forward this Bill at this period of the Session. I can assure my right hon. Friend that in the North of Ireland the objectionable character of the course he has taken will be very keenly felt.

MR. RENTOUL (Down, E.): The only reason the Ulster Unionist Members are opposing this is because they regard it as the thin end of the wedge of the endowment of denominational education in Ireland.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I support the Motion, because we have never yet discussed this Bill, and because we should do so at an hour when we can get reports of our proceedings in the newspapers to awaken the conscience of England to the real purport of the Bill. I do not think it

right, after all the pledges the Government have given not to take contentious business, that this measure should be taken this Session.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must say I have been a good deal surprised and a good deal pained at many of the remarks which have been made this evening. I will not say I am pained by the speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down, but I am certainly very much surprised at it; for the change I made in the measure was to meet the views of the hon. Member and his friends, and I had reason to believe that it would meet with his support.

MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): I have the greatest objection to religious endowments of every kind, and I certainly must protest against entering upon a new one at this time of night.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.): The right hon. Gentleman says he brings this Resolution in as a concession to those who oppose the Bill, but I hold that he could very well have brought in this Resolution at a later stage. I cannot conceive what his object can be in endeavouring to force it on now when he could easily put it down for a later stage. It is absurd to expect us to discuss it when we have been sitting 12 or 13 hours.

(3.23.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 22; Noes 50.—(Div. List, No. 410.)

MR. LEA: As it is now half-past 3, I beg to move that you, Mr. Courtney, do now leave the Chair.

MR. H. BYRON REED: I beg to second the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Lea.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope the Motion will not be pressed. Hon. Members must see how important it is that we should finish this business to-night, because we cannot take two stages at one Sitting; and if the present stage be deferred until to-morrow, the next stage would have to be taken on a subsequent occasion, and the business would thus be prolonged.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: If we have to go on and discuss this Resolution to-night it will have to be discussed at great length. [*An hon. MEMBER: "Why?"*]

Because some of us think such a course necessary, and we are determined to have the matter fully discussed. I do not wish to use threats, but I have been accused of obstruction—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not use the word "obstruction" in reference to the hon. Member, but simply to describe certain conduct which deserved that characterisation.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Under all the circumstances, and notwithstanding what the right hon. Gentleman has said, I shall support my hon. Friend in his Motion.

(3.35.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 23; Noes 52.—(Div. List, No. 411.)

Original Question again proposed.

\* (3.48.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I think this is the most unreasonable course the Government have ever pursued, namely, that they should call upon me and on many of their best supporters to continue this Debate at the bidding of their bitterest enemies. The charge which has been made against myself, and, of course, by implication hurled at every man who has supported and stood by the Government in their bitterest hour of trial, is one which I and my friends resent and repudiate. The Resolution which has been put from the Chair declares that it is expedient to authorise the expenditure of a certain sum of money for a certain purpose which I need not recapitulate. I shall show to the House that this sum is not named in the Resolution, nor is it named in the Bill, and that is one of the great objections I have to the whole operation. We are called upon to give blank cheques to Archbishop Walsh and Archbishop Plunket, and to leave it to those gentlemen to fill up these cheques as they may think proper, and as the Board of Works may think proper. If it be expedient to expend this money we ought, first of all, to know how much we are to spend; and, secondly, we ought thoroughly to understand what it is to be spent for. We cannot do the first, because the Bill does not tell us, and we can only find out what the money is to be spent for by examining the objects the Government have in view. What are the objects of the Government as indicated by this Resolution and the Bill on which it is

founded? The system of national education in Ireland is 60 years old. It is a mixed system, as the Chief Secretary knows. It has been attacked for the last 30 or 40 years; but, notwithstanding that, it has done enormous good in Ireland. What are we asked to do now? We are asked to supply money to attack one of the outworks of that system, which has been so long assailed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. I say it is not wise or expedient to do this, and that we ought not to be called upon to do it at 20 minutes to 4 o'clock in the morning. Where is the promise of the Government about contentious business to-night? How can they expect that we can treat with anything like respect the promises which come from that Bench in the future? We were told no contentious business was to be taken. Here is a question on which nearly half the House will to-night vote against their own Government, and yet, in face of the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury, who is not here to take care of himself and his own honour, we are asked to go into this contentious business which one-half of us are determined not to go into if we can help it. The system of Training Colleges to which the Resolution points, and with which the Bill deals, was first assailed in 1883 by the then Government, and an arrangement was made by which certain denominational colleges received three-fourths of the cost of the teachers. This is practically what has been done in England, but it is not satisfactory. Nevertheless, we are asked to authorise a grant under this Resolution to enable these two right rev. gentlemen to recoup themselves for the buildings, the sites, the appurtenances, the fixtures, and, if some gentlemen below the Gangway get their way, the furniture also. I asked the right hon. Gentleman to make no concession, but I say his proposal to take this money out of the Irish Church surplus outrages the feelings of a large portion of the Irish people. It is a proposal that is not creditable to the Government. The first attack was made under the administration of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bridgeton. We are now called on to complete the work, and to do this at the bidding of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, and against the opinion of every supporter the Government have in Ireland. Is this

*Mr. T. W. Russell*

reasonable or fair? The House has been sitting for 13 hours, and yet the Chief Secretary forces me and others to remain here for some hours longer by pressing this Resolution. I say it is not only unreasonable and unfair, but in the course he is taking the right hon. Gentleman is inflicting great injury on the Government, because it is a course which does not commend itself to many of their supporters. I shall resist this Motion to the very last.

(3.55.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I think the hon. Member for Tyrone ought to be ashamed of himself for describing this Resolution as contentious business. The hon. Gentleman objects to taking this business after 12 o'clock, I presume, because he was afraid his speech would not be reported if it were delivered after that hour; but I would remind the House that in my presence and hearing the hon. Member for Tyrone appealed to the hon. Member for Camberwell to withdraw his opposition to the Bill, and that being so, it will require more cogent arguments than the hon. Member for Tyrone has employed to explain his own position in regard to this matter, and how it is he has been led to take two positions diametrically opposite to each other in as many weeks. The hon. Gentleman has taunted the Chief Secretary with accepting this measure at the suggestion and bidding of hon. Members on this side of the House. He does not seem to have taken the trouble to have read the public letter on which the Bill is founded. He does not tell us that the Resolution is supported by the unanimous vote of the Education Board itself. The hon. Member thinks himself a more valuable defender of the mixed system of education than the regular garrison. Who are they? The Education Board—gentlemen of undoubted *status*. These gentlemen unanimously supported the resolution of the Synod of Dublin, and have pressed it on the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. It is, indeed, at the instance of all the clerical representatives of the Protestants of Dublin—Protestants appointed to guard the interests of education—that this Bill is introduced. The hon. Member says this Bill is a blank cheque given to the Archbishops. I say it is nothing of the sort. He calls it an attack on the outworks of the mixed system of education. I say that neither in

Ireland nor in England has it ever been possible to apply the mixed system of education. If he refers to the Report of the Commission of 1870, he will find that they were unanimous in stating that it was of no use to attempt to do this. With regard to the 44 training colleges referred to, three only are secular, 41 being denominational. These colleges and buildings were provided 40 years ago at the cost of the State, and yet, at the present moment, the hon. Member sees something revolutionary in the proposal to apply this system to Ireland. All that is asked by the Chief Secretary is that what is done in England and Wales with the view of treating denominational colleges on an equal system should be done in Ireland, and in the opposition the hon. Member has offered to this proposal I can only infer that he is influenced by motives which he is either ashamed or afraid to avow.

(4.1.) MR. H. BYRON REED: I do not propose to enter into the merits or the demerits of this question at this hour of the morning. I merely rise to move that you, Mr. Courtney, do report Progress and ask leave to sit again.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is disqualified from making that Motion, as he has already seconded a similar Motion.

MR. KELLY: I desire to point out that the Synod of the Church of Dublin never made any such proposal as has been stated. What is all this anxiety about? Why is it thought necessary to declare that grown up Catholics cannot go to mixed training colleges without enormous danger to their principles? Again, what is it the right hon. Gentleman is going to pay for? Is it the buildings, and everything on the premises? I may be told that the money is only going to be lent, but there is no real security; the only security will have to be taken from the money necessary for the support of the colleges, and if that security is enforced, then the colleges will have to be shut up. It is absurd to look at this otherwise than as a gift, and I say it is a gift at the thought of which a large proportion of the English people will shudder. The people of England are strongly Protestant; they have no wish to attack their fellow Catholic subjects; they have no desire to inflict pain upon their

fellow-countrymen; but they will not support, either directly or indirectly, the errors as they believe of the Catholic faith. In voting against the Resolution I wish to explain that while I stated my principal objection to the Bill in its original form was that the money was to be taken out of the funds of the Disestablished Protestant Church of Ireland, I also declared it was a most unfortunate proposal to endow Roman Catholic training colleges in any shape or form, because the teachers of those colleges were among the most active propagandists of the Catholic faith.

(4.5.) MR. LEA: The hon. Member for West Belfast has censured my hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone for having, on a recent occasion, objected to the Training Colleges Bill being taken after 12 o'clock. I wonder how many times he has himself used the 12 o'clock Rule to stop Bills being proceeded with. He has done so hundreds of times, and I submit he has no right to charge my hon. Friend with vanity, because he desires that this Bill should be discussed at a time when the Debate may be reported in the Press. I know that my hon. Friend has a large amount of Blue Book evidence which he wishes to lay before the House regarding this Bill, and he certainly could not reasonably be asked to do that at 4 o'clock in the morning. I think the evidence he has to adduce will startle the House. This is a proposal to take the money of the Irish Church and to apply it to the support of denominational training colleges. I voted in 1868 for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and I venture to say that no follower of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian ever contemplated that the funds of that Church should go to the support of Roman Catholic training colleges.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Are we not discussing a Resolution the very pith of which is to prevent the money being lent out of the Irish Church Fund?

MR. LEA: At any rate, it is a Resolution to give the taxpayers' money for the support of Roman Catholic training colleges. The college buildings and appurtenances are to be purchased, and I should like to know if these appurtenances include altars and crosses? Why should the taxpayers of this country have to pay

for such things? The funds are to be advanced by the Board of Works. Is it not strange that hon. Members, who for 23 years have in this House attacked and condemned that Board—as the hon. Members for West Belfast and North Longford have done—should now be so enthusiastic in support of a proposal to entrust the Board with these powers in connection with training colleges? I think it is very hard the right hon. Gentleman should try and force this Resolution through at this time of the morning. I trust that Progress will be at once reported, so that the wearied officials of the House may get some rest.

\*(4.14.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The hon. Member for West Belfast assumes a position towards Members of this House which he has no right to assume. He has no right to ask why I dare do this or that. As a matter of fact, he is wrong in what he says, and I will now explain to the House the position I have taken up in this matter. The Bill has, no doubt, been before the House a very long time, but I think many Members have not had time to examine its provisions. After the speech of the First Lord of the Treasury on the 15th June I assumed the Bill would not be pressed, as it was not included in the right hon. Gentleman's list. Therefore, it was not deemed necessary to take active steps to oppose it. But when we found the Government determined to force it through the House, the Ulster Members were compelled to take active measures. The pressure from our constituents was such that we could not resist it. We know that hon. Members below the Gangway have shown they are quite as open to such pressure as we are. The hon. Member asks how I dare do such and such a thing. I ask him, in return, "Who made him ruler over me, and who gave him authority thus to question me?" I dare do it because it is my duty to do it, and I deny his right to question me in such a tone and such a manner. In 1883 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bridgeton said the Government were prepared to encourage and facilitate the establishment of training colleges under local management in Ireland by authorising the Commissioners to make grants towards their maintenance, and as the English system of training colleges was the outcome of

*Mr. Lea*

vast official experience the Government were of opinion it might with advantage be adopted by the Commissioners of National Education.

MR. SEXTON: The difficulty is this: In England all colleges are treated alike: in Ireland one college is placed on a different footing from the rest.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The English principle is to give grants in aid, and this was done under the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bridgeton.

MR. SEXTON: No.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: It was up to a certain point.

MR. SEXTON: The Marlborough Street College was treated differently from the rest.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: And one of the main reasons for opposing this Resolution is that the Marlborough Street College will be destroyed. By carrying this Bill you will cause the undenominational system to be doomed. The Catholic Bishops of Ireland were the first to strike at that system, and it was their action which necessitated the action which the Synod of the Protestant Church took in 1885. I wish to urge on the House that we are already doing in Ireland what is done in England. We are giving grants in aid. It is quite true there is an undenominational College in Dublin maintained by the State, but that is a result of the system. But if this Bill is carried we shall be going further than we have gone in England. Buildings have never been paid for in England.

MR. SEXTON: Yes they have.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Only partly.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Then give us a part.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: That is not the object of the Resolution, which is to give the whole cost of the building and appurtenances. That is entirely different to the English system, and I shall oppose it by every means in my power.

(4.22.) MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): Fifty minutes have now elapsed since the last Division was taken. I beg, consequently, to move that you do now report Progress. It is monstrous that the House should be called upon to sit here till 20 past 4 discussing a question of a very contentious character. I think the Government will be wise in consenting to my Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Cremer.*)

(4.23.) **MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** We have now had an opportunity of judging the merits of the case put forward by the opponents of this Bill. I will not discuss it now, but I shall be prepared at the proper time to show that this is not an attempt to promote Popery, as has been suggested, and that it will not effect a breach in the system of mixed education which now obtains in Ireland. I will further pledge myself to show that the Bill has been brought in in the interests of the Marlborough Street Training College, of which the hon. Member for South Tyrone seems to regard himself as the special guardian. But this is not an occasion on which to deal with these particular issues. I put down the Amendment transferring the duty of granting the loan from the Irish Church Surplus Fund to the Board of Works at the instance of that friend of denominational education the Member for North Camberwell. It was done to meet the objections of those opposed to the Bill, and that attempt to meet their wishes has been received in this way: that a Motion which is universally recognised as a formal Motion has been employed at a time when the House of Commons is utterly exhausted by its protracted labours, has been made use of to compel us to sit an indefinite period, and to force us—by a process of torture—to abandon the Bill. But I do not hold that I am obliged, after what has occurred, to adhere to this particular provision. I shall not ask the House to continue the

contest. I shall adhere to the Bill in its original form, and shall not renew the proposal made to-night, and I shall take care to make it thoroughly known that those who are responsible for returning the Bill to its original form are those who have chosen to pose this night as the special friends of Protestantism.

**\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL:** I heartily welcome the announcement of the right hon. Gentleman. A proposal to pay the money out of the Irish Church Surplus will give us better fighting ground. Any Motion to give money from that Fund for the support of Roman Catholic training colleges will outrage a good many people. I should like to know what the right hon. Gentleman would have said to such a proposal when he sat below the Gangway on this side of the House? What did he say when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian disestablished the Irish Church?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I was an undergraduate at that time.

**\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL:** Well, what would the right hon. Gentleman have said to such a proposal as this if he had been in the House?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Order, order!

**MR. H. BYRON REED:** I am inclined to think that, in the long run, the right hon. Gentleman will find his old allies are his best friends, and I hope, therefore, he will not press this Bill against their wishes.

Question put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress.

#### NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1889-90.

##### Accounts considered in Committee.

##### (In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved*, That it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March 1890, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £359,504 7s. 4d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended;

while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £741,897 12s. 5d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £382,393 5s. 1d.;

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £23,040 11s. 7d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such



receipts by a total sum of £32,078 11s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Navy Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £9,037 19s. 11d.;

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses ...	737,348	1	4
Total Deficits .....	345,916	16	4

(2.) *Resolved*, That the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Navy Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriations in Aid, in respect of the same Services; and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Navy Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Navy Services.

(3.) *Resolved*, That the application of such sums be sanctioned.

## SCHEDULE.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1889-90, Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure.	Deficiencies of Actual as comprd. with Estimated Receipts.	Surpluses of Actual as comprd. with Estimated Receipts.
		1.	2.	3.	4.
		£   s.   d.	£   s.   d.	£   s.   d.	£   s.   d.
1	.. Wages, &c. of Officers, Seamen, and Boys, Coast Guard, and Royal Marines ..	..	45,431 5 3	..	1,546 4 4
2	.. Victualling and Clothing for the Navy ..	..	85,405 9 11	16,605 14 7	
3	.. Medical Establishments and Services ..	..	9,300 4 11	846 5 7	
4	.. Martial Law ..	..	1,266 4 0	26 16 5	
5	.. Educational Services ..	..	4,650 16 8	95 4 9	
6	.. Divine Service ..	..	3,178 10 8	..	20 19 9
7	.. Royal Naval Reserves ..	..	7,491 6 1	44 6 9	
8	.. Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, &c. :				
Sec. 1	.. Personnel ..	..	17,995 5 5	2,379 19 3	
Sec. 2	.. Materiel... ..	305,024 2 2	..	..	14,392 11 2
Sec. 3	.. Contract Work ..	..	488,325 12 4	..	238 19 0
9	.. Naval Armaments ..	..	40,097 8 9	..	13,292 15 7
10	.. Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad ..	..	19,683 5 9	..	2,558 8 5
11	.. Miscellaneous Effective Services ..	49,741 8 1	..	680 12 9	
12	.. Scientific Services ..	..	4,239 16 10	2,237 4 1	
13	.. Admiralty Office ..	..	546 1 4		
14	.. Half-Pay ..	201 0 3	..	2 7 6	
15	.. Reserved and Retired Pay ..	1,610 18 0	..	1 0 0	
16	.. Naval Pensions... ..	1,879 17 10	..	120 19 11	
	.. Widows' Pensions and Compassionate Allowances ..	..	6,289 17 11	..	
17	.. Civil Pensions and Gratuities ..	..	7,995 6 7	..	28 13 3
18	.. Amount written off as irrecoverable ..	1,147 1 0			
		359,504 7 4	741,597 12 5	23,040 11 7	32,078 11 6
Net Surplus, £382,393 5 1		Net Surplus, £9,037 19 11			
		Net Surplus, £391,431 5 0			

(4.) *Resolved*, That it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March 1890, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz. :—

- (a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £136,275 19s. 9d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended ; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the Estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £354,636 12s. 0d. as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule ; so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £218,360 12s. 3d. ;
- (b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £77,400 18s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule ; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £206,861 16s. 5d. as shown in Column No. 4 of the

said appended Schedule ; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Army Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £129,460 17s. 11d. ;

- (c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses ..	445,486	8	0
Total Deficits ....	97,664	17	10

(5.) *Resolved*, That the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated appropriations in aid, in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Army Services.

- (6.) *Resolved*, That the application of such sums be sanctioned.

SCHEDULE.

No. of Vote.	Army Services, 1889-90, Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts.
		1.	2.	3.	4.
		£   s.   d.	£   s.   d.	£   s.   d.	£   s.   d.
1	General Staff, Pay Regimental Pay, &c.    ..	45,741   9   3	..	..	164,798   5   6
2	Chaplain's Department Pay, &c.    ..	750   7   9	..	34   10   0	
3	Staff of Military Prisons, &c., Pay, &c.    ..	..	104   9   0	..	56   0   4
4	Medical Establishments Pay, &c.    ..	..	11,638   12   7	462   15   5	
5	Militia Pay and Allowances    ..	..	5,775   7   11	..	2,126   2   11
6	Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances    ..	..	2,011   17   4	..	7   13   5
7	Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances    ..	..	3,301   9   9	..	26   3   8
8	Army Reserve Force Pay, &c.    ..	..	23,212   4   8	585   0   4	
9	Transport and Remounts    ..	..	39,861   0   6	..	1,424   0   1
10	Provisions, Forage, Fuel, and other Commissariat Services    ..	..	35,827   8   5	2,284   10   4	
11	Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies..	..	45,066   6   10	59,541   0   3	
	Carried forward	46,491   17   0	166,799   6   0	62,907   16   4	168,438   5   11

## SCHEDULE—continued.

No. of Vote.	Army Services, 1889-90, Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts.
		1.	2.	3.	4.
	Brought forward ..	£ s. d. 46,491 17 0	£ s. d. 166,799 6 0	£ s. d. 62,907 16 4	£ s. d. 168,438 5 11
12	Warlike and other Stores, Supply and Repair ..	..	110,400 3 5	..	20,375 15 6
13	Works, Buildings, and Repairs, Cost, including Superintending Estab- lishment ..	..	46,200 12 4	12,013 9 7	
14	Military Educational Estab- lishments Pay, &c. ..	..	4,373 15 8	..	2,720 6 8
15	Miscellaneous Effective Services ..	..	19,707 19 5	..	209 15 10
16	War Office Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges ..	1,134 0 10	..	30 3 1	
17	Rewards for Distinguished Services, &c. ..	1,216 0 6	..	179 0 0	
18	Half Pay ..	..	5,266 4 10	..	
19	Retired Pay, Gratuities, &c. ..	46,735 10 8	..	..	7,206 0 0
20	Widows' Pensions and Compassionate Allow- ances ..	..	142 4 10	2,270 8 9	
21	Pensions for Wounds ..	427 13 6	..	..	411 0 0
22	Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals (In-Pensions)	..	788 9 8	..	141 1 1
23	Out-Pensions ..	38,935 16 8	..	..	2,074 13 10
24	Superannuation Compen- sation and Compassionate Allowances ..	..	967 15 10	..	5,260 7 7
25	Retired Allowances, Mi- litia, Yeomanry, and Volunteer Forces ..	336 10 5	..	..	24 10 0
	Amount written off as irrecoverable ..	998 10 2			
		• 136,275 19 9	354,636 12 0	77,400 18 6	206,861 16 5
		Net Surplus, £218,360 12 3    Net Surplus, £129,460 17 11			
		Sum to be surrendered to the Exchequer, £347,821 10 2			

—(Mr. Jackson.)

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

## ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(Mr. Jackson,)—put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at half after  
Four o'clock a.m.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 31st July, 1891.

## BERKELEY PEERAGE.

Committee for Privileges met: Claim of the Right Honourable Francis William Fitzhardinge Baron Fitzhardinge considered: Then it was resolved, That it is the opinion of the Committee that no reason has been shown for departing from the resolution of this Committee of the 28th of June 1811, and the Order of the House thereon of the 2nd of July 1811: The Report thereof to be made to the House: Then claim of Randal Mowbray Thomas Berkeley considered: Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that the said Randal Mowbray Thomas Berkeley has made out his claim to the titles, honours, and dignities of Earl of Berkeley and Viscount Dursley: The Report thereof to be made to the House.

## REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR IRELAND.

Trimlestown Peerage (Claim to Vote for Representative Peers for Ireland)—Committee for Privileges met: Counsel heard to open the case of the Claimant: Witnesses examined; the Attorney General and the Attorney General for Ireland appearing on behalf of the Crown; and Committee adjourned *sine die*.

House resumed.

Trimlestown Peerage (Claim to Vote for Representative Peers for Ireland)—Ordered, That the Claimant do pay all the expenses attending the taking and printing the evidence, and also the cost of the examination of the evidence by an examiner appointed by the Crown Agent.

JUDICATURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL  
[H.L.]—(No. 151.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an amendment.

## RANGES BILL.—(No. 238.)

LOCAL REGISTRATION OF TITLE  
(IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 228.)

Returned from the Commons with the amendments agreed to.

VOL CCCLVI. [THIRD SERIES].

## EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on Monday next.—(The Lord Chancellor.) (No. 288.)

## PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on Monday next.—(The Marquess of Salisbury.) (No. 289.)

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY  
(RATES AND CHARGES) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

## REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendment reported (according to order.)

EARL WEMYSS: My Lords, there is an Amendment which stands in my name. I have been asked to move it. It was to have been moved by another Member of your Lordships' House. I am not conversant intimately with the subject, but what I am told is that as the Bill now stands it will materially affect a very great and important industry of South Wales. The steel manufacture in South Wales is very extensive. I believe there are about 1,000,000 tons of steel rails produced in South Wales in the course of a year, and I am told that the effect of this Bill as it stands will be to raise considerably the charges for the carriage in that district of steel goods. I am informed that it will nearly double them. If this Amendment were passed it would have the effect simply, as I am told, of leaving the charges as they are now, *plus* leaving this industry subject to terminal charges. This is the statement made to me; and I believe it was generally the object of the Joint Committee to lower rather than raise charges. Your Lordships having yesterday given a vote in favour of the railways against lowering charges where they ought not to be excessively lowered, it seems only fair that in this case this alteration should be made, and that this great industry should not be subject to the rise in charges which I am told will be the effect of the Bill.

\*THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, with regard to the last point which the noble Lord mentioned, that a

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by Contract with H.M.'s Government. An Asterisk at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

rise in charges will be the effect of the Bill, that is an entire misconception. We are not dealing in this Bill with actual rates, we are dealing with the maximum powers of the company, and it does not follow that because any change is made in the maximum powers, therefore the actual rates will be raised. But, my Lords, I do not think it can be made out that the effect of this Order upon the rates of the railway in question will be as the noble Lord seems to think, nothing but the raising of the rates. I have grave doubts of that; in fact I have a belief, amounting almost to certainty, that for the traffic which he mentions, taken as a whole, the powers will be actually lowered rather than raised by the effect of this Order. The Act to which I think the Amendment is intended to refer is what is known as the South Wales Act, 1855. I do not think there is any such Act as the Great Western Act, 1855; at least, I have not been able to trace it. But assuming that I am correct that the noble Lord who has given your Lordships the result of his information in this matter intends to refer to the South Wales Act, I will deal with it as if that were the case. My Lords, this is the same Act which was the subject of discussion yesterday, upon the Amendment of my noble Friend Lord Aberdare, who is not now in his place. The powers for coal and common articles of that kind, and for wrought iron, which is mentioned in the Act, are 2d. a ton a mile, that is inclusive of wagons. The effect of this Order is that for coal the powers in future will be 1½d. per ton per mile exclusive of wagons, with, as I explained yesterday, terminals of 3d., which cannot effect anything in the nature of raising such powers for more than six miles, that is only six half-pennies, and does not include any traffic which goes from siding to siding, which will be the case with a great deal of the heavy traffic. So far for the articles in Class A, but with regard to the steel trade it requires a little more explanation. The first point I should be inclined to take is this: it is rather a technical one. Steel is not an article mentioned in the Act; it is usually as a matter of actual practice classed with iron, and in our amended classifications we have put articles whether made of iron or steel in

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*

the same class. As I know I am correct in saying that steel is not mentioned in the Act, it will be an unnamed article, and therefore the highest power which in the case of this Act is, I think, 4d., would be the charge which, strictly speaking, the company would at the present time, be entitled to exact, if they could get it, which probably they cannot. Now, going back to the term used in the Act, "wrought iron," the effect of our Order is that some articles of wrought iron are in Class B and some in Class C. For those articles which are in Class B there is absolutely not only no raising of power, but there is a diminution for those of the articles which have been divided. Under, I venture to say, the more scientific classification which we are bringing into force, some of them will be in Class C, and for them there will be a slight raising of maximum power; but I am entitled to make this point, that, according to the proposal of the Board of Trade, all wrought iron articles, if declared to be undamageable, were in Class B. The Joint Committee, for reasons which seemed good to them, and after a very full discussion, and practically with the consent of both sides, altered the decision on this point, and the Order, as now laid on the Table of the House, is absolutely and in all respects in conformity with the decision of the Joint Committee on this matter; it comes up unaltered from the other House of Parliament, and I venture to think, under those circumstances, that it would be most unwise and injudicious for this House to make the alteration which the noble Lord asks for.

EARL WEMYSS: Might I ask the noble Lord one question? He said that under Class C there will be a power of raising the maximum above that paid on the articles previously. Will steel come under Class C now, and did it not do so before?

\*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: Steel is not classified. Some articles of steel are in B, some in C, and some are in Class 1. The initial figure for Class C is 1·80d., so that, as far as the conveyance rate is concerned, even for Class C there is no raising of power. As far as the conveyance rate is concerned, any raising of power to which I alluded is the effect of terminal which is given for Class C, and that, after a certain number

of miles are run, will be, of course, entirely worked off. Though the initial figures which we have given for Class C was nearly 1½d. less than the existing power for conveyance, it is 1·80d. by the scale of graduation which was put in the Bill for conveyance, it will be rapidly reduced; and though I was obliged candidly to say there would, by the conjoint operation of the classification and rate clauses, be some raising of powers, it is certainly very slight in Class C, and certainly not comparable as regards any maximum raising made in the powers of the company by the effect of the other provisions in the Order.

EARL WEMYSS: I beg to withdraw my Amendment.

\*LORD BALFOUR or BURLEIGH: The Amendment being, by leave, withdrawn, I would like, according to the notice that I have given, to ask the House to suspend the Standing Order, No. 39, for the day, in order that this Bill may be read a third time. It cannot, I think, prejudice anybody, and it will be a matter of extreme convenience to everybody concerned, to the Board of Trade, and I believe to the other House of Parliament, if all these Bills can be considered together in any subsequent stage they may have to go through.

Standing Order No. XXXIX considered (according to order) and dispensed with; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

#### LONDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY (RATES AND CHARGES) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

##### REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments reported (according to order).

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I wish to say one word with reference to what passed in your Lordships' House last night. Of course I am not going to ask your Lordships to revise the decision at which you then arrived, though the majority was a very small one; but I wish to say one or two words with regard to the merits of the question itself. I do not propose to make any Motion on the subject. I can quite understand that it was extremely difficult for the

House to comprehend the somewhat mysterious jargon of classes and letters and classifications and one thing and another with which my noble Friend Lord Belper and myself, who were on the Joint Committee, and my noble Friend opposite, are familiar, owing to our experience. The result was to leave upon my mind a sense that the decision which was arrived at was not in conformity with what is quite just to the London and North-Western Railway Company. I am not an upholder of the London and North-Western Railway Company or of any other railway; and I believe that in the deliberations of that Committee and in the votes which were given, as an individual I voted a great deal more on the side of the traders than I did in favour of the propositions put forward by the Railway Companies. At the same time, I think your Lordships intended that the Members who were appointed to sit upon that Committee should do the most pure and simple justice, as far as lay in their power, between the railways and the trading interests. A great many of our decisions passed without any remark; but this particular one, which happened to be in favour of the London and North-Western Railway Company, has, I am sorry to say, been reversed. I am not going to attempt to convey to your Lordships any detailed information on the subject; I am afraid that I failed last night, and I do not think I should succeed any better now; but having given, as your Lordships did, and as the Committee did, higher rates for the carriage of coal, special rates on these small Welsh railways, I do respectfully say that I think the House acted somewhat under a misapprehension in refusing rates of the same nature to those same railways with regard to the more manufactured article, slate. That is all I have to say except this: that at the last moment I asked if your Lordships could extend the charges of the London and North-Western within a farthing of what appeared on the special scale. I know that your Lordships were not willing to take that course, and I only hope and trust that the matter will be revised and reconsidered hereafter. I can only say that if that course were decided upon I should be most happy to be a member of a Select Committee to examine into the

merits of that one particular case, and to elicit the opinions and examine the persons upon whose opinions those changes have been made in the Bill. I feel certain that if the other members of your Lordships' Committee had been present they would all have agreed with me upon this point, as Lord Belper did last night. I only hope that this matter may subsequently meet with some reconsideration from Her Majesty's Government.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to order) and dispensed with; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

REDEMPTION OF RENT (IRELAND)  
BILL.—(No. 280.)  
SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN): My Lords, this is a Bill which carries out the provisions of one of the clauses, Clause 29, I think it was, of the Land Department Bill, which was introduced by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland last year, but was not passed. It has been before the country for about a year and a half. The clause, as it appeared in the Land Department Bill, has been modified in the case of this Bill, but merely in the sense of making the machinery of the Land Purchase Acts and the Fair Rent Acts applicable in every minor particular to the provisions of the present Bill. I may remind your Lordships that the Land Act of 1881, which conferred privileges upon tenants in Ireland, limited those privileges to leaseholders up to 60 years and under; and the Land Act of 1887 again modified that by carrying out the same policy, but including in its provisions all tenants who held leases up to 99 years. Now, with reference to those leaseholders who hold for longer terms than 99 years, who may be generically termed perpetuity leaseholders, I think it may be stated to be generally recognised that there is no worse form of tenure than land held in perpetuity at a rack rent by a tenant. Neither in England nor in any other country are such a tenure known; in Ireland it was only, I believe, in the year 1887 that it was enacted by an Act which was then passed through Parlia-

*The Earl of Camperdown*

ment that copyholders should be compulsorily enfranchised. Therefore, the main principle upon which this Bill is founded will, I think, meet generally with approbation, and will generally be found to coincide with the principles which have guided Parliament during the last few years. I may also say that in Ireland at the present time the Purchase Acts apply to these perpetuity leaseholders, whereas the Land Acts do not so apply. This Bill provides that tenants for over 99 years, holding at what the Land Commission may consider a fair agricultural value, may apply to redeem their rents subject to the consent of the lessor or the grantor by payment of a capital sum to be agreed upon, or in case of difference as to this capital sum, the matter is to be referred to the Land Commission; but in case the lessor or grantor does not consent, or delays unreasonably the procedure for redemption, it is provided in this Bill that though the redemption be not made, the lessee or grantee shall be deemed a present tenant which, as your Lordships know, under the Acts of 1881 and 1887 means a tenant who has the power of coming into Court and applying to have a fair rent fixed. To that extent he will be brought under the Act of 1887. Thus, there will be two alternatives: the perpetuity leaseholder will have the power, if his landlord consents, of redeeming his rent, and in the event of his landlord not consenting, he will be able to come in under the Act of 1887, and be made a present tenant and have a fair rent fixed. Thus, my Lords, I think entire uniformity will be secured, and a grievance will be reduced, not, indeed, a very large one, because, although I have no figures before me, I have reason to believe there are not more than about 2,000 tenancies of this character throughout Ireland, but inasmuch, as I said before, as the principle of a tenant holding in perpetuity at a rack-rent is one which has not met with favour during the past few years, I venture to hope your Lordships will read this Bill a second time, thus doing away, as far as we can, with the last of the grievances of the leaseholders in Ireland. I beg to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** My noble Friend, in placing this Bill before your Lordships, has certainly not indulged in much description; in fact, he has placed it before the House in a light which, when you read it, I think you will hardly believe applies to it. This Bill is really a much larger measure than my noble Friend's remarks would have led your Lordships to believe. I speak under correction, but I understood the noble Lord to say that this Bill applies to leaseholders who hold under unexpired leases of under 99 years.

**EARL CADOGAN:** Of over 99 years.

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** Your Lordships may put a "0" to that—it applies to men who have unexpired leases of 990 years, and it applies also to men who hold fee-farm grants. I must say I think this is certainly not a Conservative measure, although it is introduced to-night by my noble Friend. It is entirely a one-sided measure. It allows the tenant to force his landlord to sell to him at a price to be fixed by the Land Commission if the landlord and tenant do not agree; thereby, for the first time, introducing the pernicious system of compulsion. It forces the landlord to sell to the tenant, but if the tenant is in a position which would give the landlord any benefit by taking the same measures with regard to him that he can take with regard to the landlord, he is unable to do so. It is a one-sided Bill entirely: the tenant has the power of forcing the landlord either to sell the land to him at a price to be fixed by the Land Commission—

**EARL CADOGAN:** I am sorry to interrupt my noble Friend, who always understands these matters so clearly; but I hope, really, he will read Clause 1 with a little more care than he seems to have given to it. There is no power whatever in the tenant to force his landlord to sell at a price fixed by the Land Commission. It is provided, it is true, that in case the landlord and tenant disagree as to price the Land Commission may fix the price, but the Land Commission has no power whatever to force the landlord to sell.

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** If the noble Lord had only waited a moment he would have heard what I was about to say. What I said was

that the tenant can force his landlord to sell at a price to be fixed by the Land Commission, or if he does not do so, it allows the tenant to go into Court and to have what is called a "fair rent" fixed—but perhaps it is better to call it a judicial rent. That seems to me one-sided. I do not know whether my noble Friend thinks it is a fair thing that although the tenant can take the landlord into Court, the landlord should not be able to take the tenant into Court. There are many other kinds of leases in Ireland besides these leases let at full agricultural rents; there are many leases under which tenants hold at great advantages, and if the tenants are able to take the landlords into Court, why should not the landlords be able to take the tenants into Court? I cannot see the fairness of this sort of legislation; I think it is entirely unfair. My noble Friend rather led your Lordships to believe that the Act of 1881 was on these lines. At the time that Act of 1881 was passed I protested against it; but let me tell my noble Friend it was not upon these lines at all, as no leases were broken by it. Under the Act of 1881, at the end of a lease of 60 years landlords and tenants could both go into Court; but here, under this Bill and under my noble Friend's previous Act of 1887, he only allows one party to go into Court. In respect of that my noble Friend quoted the Act of 1881; but I think he should not have done so, because both this Bill and the Act of 1887 are drawn on entirely different lines to the Act of 1881. There is no doubt that this Bill is a most serious measure, though, as my noble Friend states, it does not affect a very large number of leaseholders in Ireland, because the great bulk of leaseholders (of whom there are many) do not hold at full agricultural rents, and it only affects those who hold at full agricultural rents. But it is letting in a system of compulsion. Again, it is breaking up and tearing to pieces in Ireland all contracts. The noble Lord said that this particular class of leases were only known in Ireland. If you take the present land system in Ireland, I do not believe such a system is known in any other country in the world. But I will not detain



your Lordships by dwelling upon this point. I would, however, point out to the noble Lord a particular clause in the Bill, the effect of which may not have been considered. He will see that by Sub-section 2 of Clause 2 the moment this sale has been carried out, the moment the landlord has agreed to sell to the tenant, and that the Land Commission has fixed the price, the rent-charges or other liabilities—that is to say, the charges on the holding—are to be transferred to the redemption money and taken off the land. Well, that may seem very fair, but let me point out to the noble Lord the effect of it. A landlord may in Ireland be paying 5 per cent. upon his mortgages; he agrees to sell under this measure; he can hardly refuse, because he is asked to sell with a pistol to his head. If he does not sell he has to go before the Land Commission. If he sells, all these charges are to be transferred to the land, and while he may be paying on his mortgages 5 per cent. interest, he will only receive, pending the time of fixing the price and proving the title,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Therefore, the landlord must naturally be so much out of pocket for all that time. I think that is a very great mistake, and that it would have been much better if this clause had been drawn on the lines of the Bill which was lately passed through your Lordships' House, and if the unfortunate landlord had, at any rate, been allowed to receive 4 per cent. from the tenant until such time as the title had been proved; but here you have a man who is obliged to sell, and he may possibly have to pay out of his own pocket possibly 3 per cent. more than he is receiving from the Government. I think that is a great hardship, and I hope my noble Friend will re-consider that matter. Then I would like to point out one other thing before I cease speaking to your Lordships, and it is with regard to the position of these leaseholders whom the noble Lord has referred to. Under the Act of 1887 those men were allowed to apply to the Court to have a fair or judicial rent fixed during two years. The Act of 1887 passed in August of that year, and they were given two years to apply to the Court: that is, they were given until August,

*The Marquess of Waterford*

1889. Then my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary gave them a further year, until August, 1890. He placed these leaseholders under the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, and gave them another year, which carried them on to August, 1891. On what possible principle are these leaseholders to be carried on from year to year under the Expiring Laws Continuance Act? If there was anything in the Act of 1887 which limited their powers of appeal for two years, then surely it should not be continually ripped up and still carried on. This is the system in Ireland which I object to entirely—this continual unrest. You never know where you are. If these leaseholders thought they had a hardship to contend with, they could have gone into Court at any time within the last four years. Why should they be placed in the Expiring Laws Continuance Act again? I would also point out to my noble Friend what I think would be a great improvement; that is, to bring them into this Bill—that is to say, to give them the same powers as he is prepared to give to these perpetuity leaseholders. If they like to sell to their landlords, let them do so; and if they do not like to sell to their landlords, let them have a fair rent fixed; but why they should be placed in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill every year I cannot understand, and I would suggest to my noble Friend whether he could possibly see his way to introducing some clause of that description in Committee, bringing in these leaseholders and admitting them to the advantages conferred by this Bill. Let us know, at any rate, how we stand with regard to them, and not be carrying them on from year to year, as they are being carried on at present. It is a very simple matter to do so. If you are dealing with these long leaseholders upon this principle as you do in this Bill, why should you not place the other leaseholders in the same position whom you let in under the Act of 1887? I do hope my noble Friend will consider it, and before the Committee draw up some Amendment to deal with it, or I could do so myself.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I have no wish to oppose this Bill—far from it; but I cannot help wondering when I read it what sort of reception

this Bill would have had if I had had charge of it sitting on the other side of the House. I expect I should have heard some pretty strong language from noble Lords with regard to breaches of contract and a great many other things. We have made great advances since 1881; and, of course, it is very encouraging and satisfactory to us on this side to find that the Act of 1881, which I have so often heard described on Conservative platforms in language of the most unmeasured kind, is now made the basis of all legislation in Ireland. I do not profess to understand thoroughly all the Irish tenures, but no doubt this must be a very peculiar tenure indeed, because, as noble Lords who have read the Bill will have observed, its operation is limited to that particular class of leases which, although perpetual, or let for long terms, are let for an agricultural rent. That, of course, makes a great distinction from the case in England where a small head-rent is paid, but where the circumstances are extremely different. Though I know nothing of the condition of these leaseholders or the special circumstances, I should certainly suspect that such a tenure is found to be an extremely undesirable one. My own feeling in the matter is this: I am rather doubtful whether it would not have been much better and fairer to have limited this Bill, as it is, in fact, a compulsory Bill, as I shall presently show, to compelling the tenant to buy of the landlord, or enabling the landlord to require the tenant to buy, either party requiring the other. That would have brought the matter to a complete conclusion, and would, at all events, have made an end altogether of the relations between the landlord and tenant. The tenant would then have become the freeholder. I should have thought that such an arrangement might have been made under the Land Purchase Act we have recently passed; that is to say, some assistance might have been given those tenants on certain conditions which would have enabled them to have bought out the landlords. I would also observe that the analogy which the noble Lord who moved the Second Reading of the Bill finds between the Copyhold Acts in England and this Act is really not a true one, because in the case of the Copyhold Act either party may compel

the other: the lord of the manor or the copyholder may compel the enfranchisement of the copyhold. Neither are these copyholds in England really in the same position, for this reason: In the case of a copyhold the lord's rights are, generally speaking, a very small part of the value of the holding, and the copyholder is, to all intents and purposes, the owner of far the larger interest in it. The rights of the lord are limited, in fact, to the receipt of a very small quit rent and of a fine which has become, in most cases, exceedingly small, because the fine was either fixed irrevocably at a very small amount many hundred years ago, or is now restricted by the operation of proceedings in the Law Courts to two years' fine. That is not the case here, for the landlord is in possession of the full agricultural rent of the land; and except, therefore, as regards his power of resumption of the land at the end of the lease, he is really in possession of the full value of the land in the same manner as the landlord who has let it in the usual manner. But I was going to observe that this Bill is in one sense compulsory. It is quite true that the 1st clause is, so far, not compulsory—that it does not say the parties are to agree together; but if they do not, they come under the proviso at the end of the 1st clause, and that proviso is a very drastic one indeed, because it simply converts this leasehold into an ordinary present tenancy under the Act of 1881. That is an entire, complete alteration of the position of the landlord and tenant. This certainly seems to me, upon the whole, to be the strongest measure ever proposed with regard to Irish land, and in that sense it may be said to complete what has been done previously. I may say that, looking to the very extraordinary nature of these perpetual leasehold tenures, and to the undoubted evils which must result from their continuance, it seems to me justifiable on the part of Parliament to compel a sale on fair terms. I doubt very much whether it was necessary or desirable to compel the landlord to adopt the alternative of agreeing with the tenant; and if the tenant does not agree with him, then that the tenant shall have the power of compelling him to sell under the Act of 1881. I greatly doubt whether that is a fair or reasonable

arrangement, but, as I have said, I should be quite out of court, after the part I have always taken and the policy I have advocated {with noble Lords on this side of the House, if I objected in any way to the principle of this Bill. I would only again remark that Her Majesty's Government have been educated very far, and this Bill is a proof of how far their education has gone in this direction, because in the earlier Act we did not deal with leases; the Act of 1887 did, and so does this, and it is curious that it should have fallen to Her Majesty's Government to carry the principle further than we originally intended.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: My Lords, I should not have interfered on this occasion but that I should not like to appear to pass in silence a measure of this kind introduced by a Conservative Government. The noble Earl opposite really rather applauds the Conservative Party for bringing forward and carrying through Parliament measures which he and his noble Friends had not the power of carrying themselves, and I think he alluded to the Bill of 1887. With regard to the Bill of 1887, which was introduced into and carried through this House by my noble Friend below me, I would remind your Lordships how that Bill was carried through. I will say that that Bill was not only distasteful to the Irish landlords, but to the Conservative Party in general, for it was breaking into the freedom of contract; and I, for one, deeply regretted that such a breaking into the freedom of contract and such a cancellation of leases which Mr. Gladstone promised in 1881 should not be touched for 15 years, should have been carried out by a Conservative Government and by the Conservative Party in 1887. But I would ask your Lordships to consider, why was it necessary that such a measure should be brought forward? For the simple reason that the Unionists knew they must bring forward remedial measures, measures which we considered it essential for the government of Ireland should be carried through Parliament. By passing that Bill we were enabled to secure those powers by which we have restored—as, I venture to say, we have restored—law and order in Ireland. With regard to the Bill which has been

*The Earl of Kimberley*

introduced to-day by my noble Friend, I confess I do not think it will do any harm; but, at the same time, I regret to see that there is again a breaking into freedom of contract in a measure brought forward by the Unionist Party. I speak subject to correction; but, if my memory serves me rightly, in 1887 the noble Earl made statements with regard to the inclusion of leaseholders in a manner diametrically opposed to the representations made on the introduction of the Bill on the present occasion. I should be the last person to wish to damage the Bill brought forward to-night, for I fully recognise that the Bill is a proof of the wish of the noble Lord and the Government to render the Purchase Bill a complete measure. I believe it will in no way damage any tenants, be they yearly tenants or leaseholders, who ought to be able to participate in the benefits of a Bill intended to benefit all classes connected with the agricultural interest in Ireland.

EARL CADOGAN: My noble Friend behind me has stated that when the Bill of 1887, which I had the honour to introduce in this House, was under discussion, I made statements with regard to leaseholders which were diametrically opposed to those I have now made. My noble Friend will not, I am sure, have forgotten that the whole object of the Bill of 1887 was to include leaseholders in the privileges which were conferred by the Act of 1881. It is perfectly true that in the Act of 1887 we did not include leaseholders beyond 99 years; but that I used arguments against the inclusion of leaseholders in the discussion on the Bill in 1887 I most emphatically deny. The noble Earl opposite appears to take a somewhat doubtful view with regard to this Bill, because while on the one hand he objects, to a certain extent, to the compulsory purchase which he contended was provided for under this Bill—

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: No; I beg the noble Earl's pardon; I said I thought it would have been much better if it had been a compulsory purchase and not a purchase which is connected with the proviso.

EARL CADOGAN: I was going to say that while the noble Earl did not object entirely to this Bill, he suggested that compulsory power should have been

inserted in the Bill which lately passed through Parliament.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I apologise for again interrupting the noble Lord. What I said was simply that I thought it might have been better if the first part of Clause 1 had been made compulsory, and if there had not been the indirect provision that the tenant should become the present tenant of the landlord if he did not agree. I made no reference to the Land Purchase Bill at all.

EARL CADOGAN: The noble Earl has complimented us upon the state of our education. Well, I can only say that we are not quite educated up to that point, because we deny that there is any direct compulsion in this Bill. We admit that at the end of the clause there is a certain indirect compulsion, because if the landlord and tenant do not agree, the alternative is given to the tenant to come in and become a "present tenant" under the Act of 1881. If I am asked to ratify the progress with which the noble Earl has been good enough to credit us in land legislation in Ireland in the direction of breaking of contracts—a progress which I confess I do not entirely understand myself—I would say, as has been said before, that we are driven to these measures entirely owing to the action taken by the noble Earl and his friends in passing the Act of 1881. I know the noble Earl denies that; but perhaps he will not, at all events, deny this: that the result of the Act of 1881 was to leave a large body of tenants in Ireland who have a substantial grievance because the privileges which were conferred upon tenants under the Act of 1881 were denied to leaseholders in Ireland. Then, I say, the passing of the Act of 1881 obliged us, and would have obliged any Government after a few years, to take into consideration the case of those tenants who, being leaseholders, were excluded from the benefit of that Act; and it was the necessity of remedying the apparent inequalities in the position of tenants in Ireland by which tenants who were not leaseholders were accorded privileges which were denied to tenants who were leaseholders—it was entirely the result of the Act of 1881 that induced Her Majesty's Government to pass the Act of 1887, and to still

further reduce those anomalies by the Bill which I now ask your Lordships to read a second time.

On Question, agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY)  
BILL.—(No. 283.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, I beg to move that this Bill be read a second time this day ten months. I have all along seen the irregularity with which this County Council has proceeded, and I had an Amendment on this Bill which would have prevented the County Council absorbing all the powers of Magistrates, Boards of Guardians, and the public. The ground on which I go is this, that all our reforms were granted on the principle that rating was to be the foundation of voting. That was the case in 1821 at the time of the Disfranchisement Bill. Sir James Scarlett, Lord Milltown, and my father all voted against Lord John Russell's principle of rents being made the basis of the franchise. My Lords, I have always been consistent, and I beg to move the postponement of this Bill.

Amendment moved, to leave out the word ("now"), and add at the end of Motion ("this day ten months.")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

\*EARL FORTESCUE: I feel that I owe an apology to your Lordships for having even for one moment yesterday intruded any observations on the House with regard the London County Council, but I ventured to do so on a Private Bill brought forward by a body which represents a population larger than that of some of the smaller Kingdoms of Europe and of many States in other parts of the world. The proceedings of that body, as I said yesterday, have confirmed the impression felt by many, and expressed by myself during the discussion of the Bill which established the London County Council. I mean the impression that the inclusion at all of the Metropolis, which had been carefully

excluded from the operation of the General Public Health Act some 15 years before, within the scope of the general Local Government Act, still more its inclusion with hardly any provision specially bearing upon the very special circumstances of London was very imprudent. We all know how this happened. The disclosure of a little jobbery, and the suspicion of more, on the part of a few members of the Metropolitan Board of Works, which had latterly lost any public confidence it ever may have enjoyed, caused a general demand for the immediate supercession of that body by some other authority. The Government hastened to comply with that popular demand, and, a general Local Government Act having been already announced, the Government, as it seemed to me, very inconsiderately proposed, and Parliament as inconsiderately adopted, the inclusion in it of the Metropolis with over 4,000,000 of population, concentrated round the Palace of the Sovereign and the Houses of Parliament, around the offices of the Ministry and the supreme tribunals of the vast British Empire. The inclusion of such a city with hardly any provision in the Act different from those which applied to all the Municipalities of the Kingdom, from such places as Manchester and Liverpool down to South Molton and Torrington, two ancient Corporations within 20 miles of my house in North Devon, comprising less than 4,000 inhabitants each, less than 1-100th part of the population of the Metropolis—I say the inclusion of the capital of the British Empire within the provisions of that Bill showed that the Government and Parliament ignored the lessons of experience in different ages, and about different capitals in the world. They forgot that Rome and Constantinople, each successively the capital of a great Empire, though smaller than ours, had special arrangements for their Government as capitals, differing from those concerning the other towns of the Empire. They forgot, also, the way in which more modern capitals have been dealt with quite recently in comparison—they forgot, for instance, what had been done at Paris and Washington. Warned by the experience of the overwhelming influence exercised by Paris over the rest of

*Earl Fortescue*

France during the great French Revolution of the last century, and, later, during the Three Days which drove the elder dynasty of the Bourbons from the Throne; Louis Philippe and his Ministers, very shortly after his accession, elaborated and carried out a most carefully-balanced plan for the government and local management of Paris. As to the chief feature of that plan I will not say more than that it consisted in spreading or dividing the management of works and the government of persons; placing the one under the *Préfet de la Seine* and his Council and the other under the *Préfet de Police* with his Council, so that neither could for a moment claim to be, or could be considered, Chief Magistrate of Paris. Notwithstanding that, Louis Philippe lost his Throne and fled in disguise to England; but the system survived his fall, which was more attributable to his own obstinacy in the first instance, and vacillation afterwards, I believe, than to any defects in the system. But the case of Washington is still more remarkable—the capital of the Great Republic of the United States. The wise and far-seeing authors of the Constitution of the United States, while part of what is now the City of Washington and the district surrounding it which were specially dealt with were still almost wild, the site having once been selected, arranged and carried that that city and the district around it should be under the special control of the Congress and of the Central Government of the United States, instead of being governed, as the other States are, to a great extent independently of the Central Government. Her Majesty's Government and Parliament ignored all the lessons to be derived from that past experience, ancient as well as modern; and they established, as I have said, a system differing very little, indeed, from that established in most of the market towns in England. I agree with that able and thoughtful statesman, Mr. Balfour—I forget his exact words—in saying that it was “just as well the inhabitants of London did not co-operate too energetically or act too vigorously in the use of their municipal rights and duties.” But we cannot say how soon this state of coma may be succeeded by a sort of municipal or even political phrensy. The first Chairmen of the London County

Council, Lord Rosebery (whose absence from this House, and still more the sad cause of it, we all regret), and Sir John Lubbock, a distinguished Member of the other House, have presided over the London County Council with dignity and efficiency. But we do not know how soon some popularity-seeking demagogue may succeed to that office, or what pressure he and the County Council, as I say, representing a population already greater than that of various Kingdoms, may put upon the Imperial Legislature and Administration, carrying on their deliberations and their official work in the very midst of them. Up to this time we have seen a good deal of apathy on the part of the inhabitants of London in respect of their local government; but that apathy has not been shared by the London County Council. On the contrary, as I predicted, though fulfilling very inadequately their duties, which were quite enough to occupy all their time, they have indulged in discussion on matters utterly beyond the scope of the duties entrusted to them by the Legislature. And they have already done this, although so recently constituted. More than that, as I predicted in the same speech, when they found that some of the improvements they contemplated would cost a great deal of money, they have brought forward confiscatory proposals. Happily, they were not allowed to carry them through this House. But we do not know how soon further confiscatory proposals may be brought forward by this body, in my opinion so imprudently established for the Local Government of the whole of the vast population of this Metropolis. I can only repeat the earnest hope which I expressed yesterday, that at the next election of County Councillors, and at all succeeding ones, we may find the inhabitants of London electing a body—there are a number of admirable men at present County Councillors—but a body composed of better, wiser, and juster Councillors, and a body more economical; for the very envelope in which this Bill is presented to us shows how fearfully under their management the rates have increased, though the rateable value of London has during the last 20 years pretty nearly doubled. And, besides this, I earnestly hope they will elect Councillors with more tact and of a

more conciliatory disposition, so that instead of driving to resignation men employed under them, who are of European reputation and of undeniable efficiency, we may find them electing Councillors, who will elicit hearty co-operation and zealous work in the management of the business of this great Municipality.

On Question, whether ("now") shall stand part of the Motion, resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

#### JUDICATURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]—(No. 151.)

Commons Amendment considered (on Motion), and agreed to.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered on Monday next in order to its being dispensed with for the remainder of the Session.—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

House adjourned at twenty minutes before  
Six o'clock, to Monday next, a  
quarter past Four o'clock.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 31st July, 1891.*

#### RANGES BILL.—(No. 399.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to. [Special Entry.]

#### LOCAL REGISTRATION OF TITLE (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 189.)

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

#### ENDOWED SCHOOLS FOUNDATIONS (ENGLAND).

Return ordered—

"Of Foundations in England, exclusive of the County of Monmouth, the Endowments or parts of the Endowments of which are, up to the 31st day of December, 1891, recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales as subject to the provisions of the Endowed Schools Acts, showing, in respect of

each Foundation, the name, place, county, gross income for the year 1890, date of any Scheme established under the Endowed Schools Acts, and of any amending Scheme established under those Acts or the Charitable Trusts Acts; and, if no Scheme has been established under the Endowed Schools Acts, whether any, and what, proceedings, and at what dates, have taken place with a view to a Scheme under those Acts."—(*Mr. Roby.*)

#### BANK OF ENGLAND (NOTE ISSUE AND SECURITIES, &c.)

Order [21st July], for a Return relative to Bank of England (Note Issue and Securities, &c.), read, and discharged.—(*Mr. Samuel Hoare.*)

#### BANK OF ENGLAND (NOTE ISSUE.)

Order [21st July], for a Return relative to Bank of England (Note Issue), read, and discharged.—(*Mr. Samuel Hoare.*)

"CONNOR *v.* RITSON," "GILSON *v.* LAWSON," AND "CURRAN *v.* TRELEAVEN."

Address for—

"Report of the Judgment delivered by the Lord Chief Justice of England, in the Queen's Bench Division, on the 14th day of July, 1891, in the three cases of Connor *v.* Ritson, Gilson *v.* Lawson, and Curran *v.* Treleaven."—(*Mr. Fenwick.*)

#### EXCISE LICENCES.

Copy ordered—

"Of that part of the General Order of the Board of Inland Revenue, dated 25th February, 1891, which relates to the issue of Excise Licences for premises not used exclusively for the sale of intoxicating liquors."—(*Mr. Brunner.*)

#### MINERALS (OUTPUT, 1860-90.)

Address for—

"Tabular Return showing the annual output of the principal Minerals produced in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with the Isle of Man, from the year 1860 to the year 1890."—(*Mr. Stuart Wortley.*)

#### RAILWAY RATES AND CHARGES PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

Ordered, That there be laid before this House the Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons on the Railway Rates and Charges Provisional Order Bills referred to them.—(*Mr. Hanbury.*)

MR. P. MAGAN, J.P.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.): I beg to move for a

"Return of the Correspondence between Mr. L. P. Hayden and the Irish Land Commission,

between Mr. Hayden and the Attorney General for Ireland, and between Mr. Percy Magan, J.P., and the Attorney General for Ireland and the Irish Land Commission, in reference to charges brought against Mr. Magan, of having fraudulently obtained money under the Arrears Act; and the Correspondence between Mr. Magan and the Lord Chancellor, in the same matter."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I object.

MR. SPEAKER: Then the Return cannot be moved now.

MR. HAYDEN: I understood that it would be granted.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): So far as the Irish Government are concerned, it is an unopposed Return.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I shall not object if the opposition to my Return is withdrawn.

MR. HAYDEN: I have never opposed any Return that has been moved for.

The Return was not granted.

#### QUESTIONS.

#### BOMBAY PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATES.

MR. D. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether, according to the existing rules sanctioned by the Secretary of State, at least a proportion of the three appointments of Presidency Magistrate at Bombay ought to be conferred on natives of India, and that if a European, not being in the Covenanted Service, is appointed, he must have certain special qualifications, and his appointment is subject to the approval of the Secretary of State; whether two of these appointments are now held by Europeans, and the third is vacant; whether there are native gentlemen qualified to fill the vacancy; whether Mr. Webb, proposed by the Bombay Government, possesses the qualifications required by the rules; and whether the Secretary of State will decline to confirm the nomination, and insist on a native being appointed?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.) (for Sir J. GORST): I have been requested by my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary for India to reply to this question. The answer to the first question of the hon. Gentleman is that there is no such rule.

The appointment of these Presidency Magistrates is by Section 18 of the Criminal Procedure Code vested in the Local Government without any limitation whatever. The Secretary of State has placed no restriction on the powers of the Local Government, so far as concerns the appointment of the Chief Magistrate and one of the junior Magistrates. But as regards the other junior Magistracy, he has directed that, unless the person to be appointed belongs to the Covenanted Civil Service, or to the Staff Corps, no person other than a native of India shall be appointed without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State. The reply to the second question is that it is believed that two of the appointments are held by Europeans, and that the third is vacant. The Secretary of State says, in answer to the hon. Member's third question, that he has no information. The reply to the fourth question is that Mr. Webb is well qualified, and has already held the office of Chief Magistrate some seven times, and has fulfilled the duties of the office satisfactorily. Perhaps I may say that I remember his appointment on more than one occasion. The reply to the last question is that the Secretary of State is still in communication with the Government of India.

\*MR. D. CRAWFORD: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there were not instructions by the Secretary of State, following upon the Report of the Public Service Commission, in which it was laid down that such appointments can be conferred on a European, not being a member of the Covenanted Service only, if he is a member of the Bar and acquainted with the language of the country; and whether Mr. Webb possesses either of those qualifications?

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The hon. Member must remember that I do not represent the India Office, and that I can give no information as to matters of detail. There is no doubt that as regards a great number of the uncovenanted appointments in India they are restricted, as the hon. Gentleman has pointed out, but that is not the case in regard to the appointment of the Presidency Magistrates. I am not able to say in what vernacular language Mr. Webb can conduct the business which

comes before him; but I can say that he was recommended to me on more than one occasion as being competent for this appointment.

#### THE MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT.

MR. ROBY (Lancashire, S.E., Eccles): I beg to put to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a question of which I have given the Under Secretary for India private notice, and which I believe the right hon. Gentleman is prepared to answer. I wish to ask whether, under the Merchandise Marks Act, 1889, it is a criminal offence, punishable with imprisonment or fine, for any person to sell, or expose for sale, sewing cotton with a false description of the number of yards applied thereto, unless he can prove his action to be innocent in the matter, and gives information as to the person from whom he obtained the goods; and whether, if so, the Government will take steps to make this known to dealers in India, and to give aid in the detection and punishment of offenders under this Act?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: My right hon. Friend has requested me to answer the question. It would be a criminal offence, under the Indian Merchandise Marks Act, punishable with fine and imprisonment, for any person to sell, or expose for sale, sewing cotton bearing a false description of the number of yards for sale, unless he can prove his action to be innocent, and gives information as to the person from whom he obtained the goods. The Government of India has taken every step to make the law known to all dealers, and there seems to be no necessity for further measures of publicity. The Government of India is always ready to give all the help it can in enforcing the provisions of the Act.

#### THE BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL.

MR. E. SPENCER (West Bromwich): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the advertisement branch of the *Board of Trade Journal* is under the control of the Department; if not, under whose control it is, and what are the terms of the contract; whether he is aware that the advertisements in the Journal are said to realise over £5,000 per annum; whether any copies are supplied to the contractors; and, if so, on what terms; are the contractors per-



mitted to send copies free of postage when soliciting advertisements, and whether it is with the sanction of the Department that the Royal Arms are used on the envelopes and circulars soliciting advertisements; and does the Department place at the disposal of the contractors an unlimited number of pages in the Journal for advertisements?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): The control of the advertisement branch of the *Board of Trade Journal* rests in the main with the Stationery Office and the Treasury. The Board of Trade recommend, but do not make the final arrangements. I think it would be better if they did. I am not aware that the advertisements in the Journal are said to realise the large sum mentioned by the hon. Member. The contractor, under his contract, receives 25 copies free of charge, and has the privilege of purchasing from time to time 1,000 or more copies at the net cost of press work, paper and sewing, on the understanding that the copies thus purchased are not to be offered for sale. The contractor is not, so far as I am aware, permitted to send copies free of postage when soliciting advertisements, nor has the Department given any sanction for him to use the Royal Arms on envelopes or circulars soliciting advertisements. The maximum number of pages to contain advertisements is fixed by the contract at 100.

#### THE DIAMOND-BACK MOTH CATERPILLAR.

MR. S. HOARE (Norwich): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether his attention has been called to the serious damage done to the turnip and swede crops in the eastern counties during the last fortnight by the diamond-back moth caterpillar; and whether, as the appearance of this destructive caterpillar is very rare, he will cause immediate inquiries to be made with the view of issuing suggestions to farmers as to the best course to adopt to prevent the total destruction of their turnip and swede crops which in many places threatens them?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. CHAPLIN, Lincolnshire, Sleaford): My attention has been called to the serious damage done by the caterpillar of the diamond-back

*Mr. E. Spencer*

moth to turnip and other green crops during the last fortnight in the eastern counties and other parts of the United Kingdom. I have already directed inquiries to be made, and they are now in progress in those districts where the caterpillar is understood to be most prevalent—namely, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, the Lothians, Fifeshire, and Forfarshire—and I hope to receive further Reports from those districts early next week. We have already distributed, in the form of a leaflet, all the information we possess upon the subject, but very little appears to be known at present either with regard to the origin of this pest or the most effectual means of coping with its ravages. I have therefore directed immediate experiments to be made in some of the districts which are most affected with the view of acquiring the best information that can be obtained. They will be commenced in Northumberland and in Norfolk, I hope, by to-morrow, in the latter county under the immediate supervision of Mr. Charles Whitehead, and in other districts subsequently if it should be necessary.

#### SCHOOL INSPECTORS AND POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether he is aware that Mr. W. C. G. Milman, Inspector of Schools, on July 22nd, at a grand fête of the Kineton and Ettington Habitations of the Primrose League, held in Chordshunt Park, in Mr. Milman's district, at which the Conservative candidate for the Division was present, took a prominent part in a pastoral operetta, and that after the operetta he attended a political meeting held in the grounds; and whether he will call Mr. Milman's attention to the Order of the Lord President of the Council of January, 1880, prohibiting the official staff of the Education Department from taking an active part at political meetings, and request him to refrain in the future from doing so?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): Even the ingenuity of the hon. Member might be taxed to discover political significance in a pastoral operetta, or whether the fact of Mr.

Milman singing in tune or out of tune can in any way affect the balance of Political Parties at the next General Election. The Department cannot prevent an Inspector attending a political meeting so long as he keeps within the terms of the Order to which I referred a day or two ago, and does not take an active part in the proceedings by speaking or otherwise.

MR. COBB: May I ask, for the guidance of people in the future, whether it is to be understood that although these gentlemen may not attend or take an active part in political meetings, they may yet take an active part in the entertainments of the Primrose League?

SIR W. HART DYKE: Of course, there must be limits to the active part taken in political meetings, but in this case I do not think that those limits have been exceeded.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): I know from my own experience that there have been a good many precedents in this matter. If the right hon. Gentleman will look them up he will find that severe remonstrances have been addressed to Inspectors in times past for taking a more or less prominent part at political functions.

SIR W. HART DYKE: The right hon. Gentleman was not, I think, present when I answered the question the other day—[MR. MUNDELLA: Oh, yes, I heard it]—when I stated that an Instruction had been issued by the Lord President insisting that Inspectors should not take an active part in political meetings. Of course, there is a distinction between attending and taking an active part, such as speaking from the platform.

#### TELEGRAMS AT OXFORD.

MR. MORRELL (Oxford, Woodstock): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he will consent to make arrangements for the delivery of telegrams without charge within the present boundaries of the City of Oxford?

\*THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University): I understand that what is desired is that the Receiving Office at St. Clements should be constituted an office for delivery as well as for collection of telegrams. I have had fresh inquiry made into this matter, and I am glad to say that I

think it will now be possible to meet the wishes of the inhabitants of Oxford.

#### WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he will lay before the House the designs which Mr. Pearson, R.A., prepared for the Royal Commission on Westminster Abbey for a monumental chapel or annexe to the Abbey on the site of the houses in Old Palace Yard, and also the evidence which, from a recent statement in the *Times* by Sir Henry Layard, it appears that Mr. Pearson gave in support of them; so that a full comparison may be made between this scheme and that for a chapel on the refectory site, the design for which is given in the Appendix to the evidence?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET, Dublin University): Mr. Pearson's sketch designs, referred to in the question, were prepared by him for the Royal Commission on Westminster Abbey, on the understanding that they should be treated as confidential, and the evidence mentioned in the question was given in explanation of those designs at a time when the general evidence had been long closed, and the Commissioners were actually engaged in considering their final Report; and when, therefore, no reporter was present. Under these circumstances, we could not publish these designs or the evidence in explanation of them with our Report. I have, of course, no power whatever now to add anything to that Report. I need hardly say that I should have no objection to Mr. Pearson's publishing these sketch plans in any way, and with any explanations he chooses, should he wish to do so. As to the last part of the question, the only design in relation to the refectory site prepared by Mr. Pearson was one suggesting a possible treatment of the interior; no such design was made by Mr. Pearson for the proposed monumental chapel at the south-east corner of the Abbey.

#### REFRESHMENTS AT THE ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE.

MR. COBB: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury who are the parties to the contract for supplying refreshments

at the Royal Courts of Justice; whether he is aware that, although there are numerous refreshment bars in the building, there is only one, which is underground, where tea and coffee can be obtained; whether he is aware that there are numerous instances of members of the legal profession having acquired habits of intemperance in consequence of the facilities which are afforded in the building of obtaining alcoholic drinks, and of the difficulty in obtaining tea or coffee, and that this is especially marked among those who are obliged to wait outside the Courts and in chambers for appointments to come on; and whether he will communicate with those who make the arrangements with the refreshment contractors to induce them to cause tea and coffee, and other non-alcoholic drinks, to be served at all the bars?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I am informed that the parties to the contract are the Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Elliott, the contractor. I have no knowledge of the details of the arrangements in the Courts, and I should be inclined to doubt whether there are numerous members of the legal profession who have acquired habits of intemperance through any difficulty in obtaining tea or coffee in the Courts; but I will communicate with the Lord Chancellor's Department, if the hon. Member wishes it, or perhaps the hon. Member will do so himself.

\*MR. COBB: I do wish it, as a representation would come with greater weight from the right hon. Gentleman. I may inform the right hon. Gentleman that he is wrong about members of the legal profession and habits of intemperance.

MR. JACKSON: Perhaps the hon. Member will furnish me with the names of the members of the Bar to whom he refers.

MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I beg to ask the Attorney General whether he is aware that it has been found necessary to procure a licence from the Magistrates to sell intoxicating liquors in the refreshment rooms at the Royal Courts of Justice; and whether the consent of the Magistrates ought, in like manner, to be procured for the sale of intoxicating liquors at the refreshment bars within the precincts of the House of Commons?

*Mr. Cobb*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): Licences are required at the Royal Courts of Justice because, being in several districts and refreshments being sold to the public, licences are necessary. I am informed that licences have never been considered necessary in the House of Commons on the ground that the buildings form part of a Royal palace.

#### BRITISH HONDURAS.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has seen the statement in the *Times* of Monday, that in April, 1890 the five unofficial members of the Legislative Council of British Honduras resigned their offices as members of the Council owing to a resolution being carried in the Council by the casting vote of the then Governor, for the payment of upwards of £4,000 out of the Colonies Revenues to a Mr. Hunter; and whether these moneys were paid pursuant to an award made at an arbitration which took place privately in London, and at which the Colony was not represented either by witnesses or counsel; whether the opportunity of inspecting the evidence taken before the arbitrators, and the documents in relation to the arbitration offered in this House nearly 12 months ago, will be extended to the ex-members of the Legislative Council now in this country, or to their legal representative; whether he is aware that the Administrator of the colony, finding it impossible to induce men of respectability to accept seats in the Legislative Council as unofficial members acting under the instructions of the Secretary of State, appointed the colonial surgeon, the colonial engineer, and two District Magistrates to act as unofficial members; whether, in nominating salaried officials to be unofficial members of the Legislative Council, the Administrator has acted constitutionally; whether he is aware that increased impost duties, imposed by the Council so constituted, have been declared by the Supreme Court of the Colony illegal and unenforceable; whether Her Majesty's Government intend to make any concession to the demands of the colonists for a return to Government by a popularly elected assembly, which obtained in

British Honduras for 200 years prior to 1870, when it became a Crown Colony, or a fuller measure of representation on the Legislative Council; and what instructions, if any, were given to the new Governor for dealing with the state of affairs at present existing in the Colony?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The statements in the first question are substantially correct; but with reference to one part of it I may state that Mr. HARRIS, of the Colonial Department, who was thoroughly acquainted with the case, was instructed by the Secretary of State to appear, and did appear, on behalf of the Colonial Government, and that the arbitrators did not think it necessary to hear witnesses. The award of the arbitrators cannot be re-opened, and the Secretary of State cannot undertake to submit the proceedings to persons not connected with the Government or Legislature. Questions 3, 4, and 5 were answered in my reply to my hon. Friend the Member for the Oswestry Division yesterday. Her Majesty's Government are not able to entertain the suggestion that the Constitution, repealed for strong reasons in 1870, should now be revived, or that the present Constitution should be otherwise materially altered; but they are willing to consider whether in certain cases the unofficial members may not have an increased power of giving effect to their views, and the new Governor has been instructed accordingly.

#### YARDLEY SCHOOL BOARD.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education if it is the intention of the Department to sanction the election of a new School Board for Yardley, by the ratepayers of the parish, on or before the completion of the term of office of the present Board in September, 1892?

SIR W. HART DYKE: It is not the intention of the Department to prolong the existence of the Yardley School Board beyond September, 1892.

#### SMALL HOLDINGS.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can

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state the intentions of the Government with regard to legislation on the question of "small holdings" of land?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): The hon. Member is aware that the intention of the Government to deal with this question was announced in the gracious Speech from the Throne. It has been impossible to do so owing to the press of other business during the present Session, but the Government have in no way departed from that intention, and my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Agriculture will introduce a Bill on this subject next Session.

#### THE SCOTTISH EDUCATION CODE.

MR. McDONALD CAMERON (Wick Burghs): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate what is the gross amount of reductions of grant under Article 32 of the Scottish Code during the past three years; for what are these reductions made; whether they have been earned by teachers; whether it is proposed to claim these sums as a contribution to a superannuation fund for teachers; and whether a draft scheme to this end is now being prepared by the Department, and what precedent, if any, is there for such a course.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Sir C. PEARSON, Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities): In the absence of my right hon. Friend I will reply to the question. The total deductions from the grants to day schools under the Scotch Code (all but a very small portion of which were made under one section or other of Article 32, for insufficiency of local income, defects in premises or instruction, or insufficient staff) amounted in 1888 to £5,735 7s. 10d.; 1889 to £5,840 19s. 1d.; 1890 to £4,859 4s. 5d. The deductions so made are from the grants paid to school managers, and the Department has no means of saying how far under any special arrangement any loss may fall upon the teachers. Any part of the Parliamentary grant not expended at the close of the financial year is annually surrendered to the Exchequer. No such claim as that referred to by the hon. Member is before the Department, nor is any such draft scheme as he indicates

—for which I am not aware of any precedent — being prepared by the Department.

#### SCHOOLMASTERS IN CONVICT PRISONS.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been directed to the alleged grievances of schoolmasters employed in convict prisons as regards classification; whether many of these schoolmasters, who have served for from 15 to 18 years, will be compulsorily retired before reaching the maximum pay of £200 a year; whether many of these men came into the service with the same qualifications, and whether the proportion of first to second-class men as fixed by a Treasury Minute is ignored; and if any steps will be taken to remedy the grievances complained of?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.) : I received Petitions from schoolmasters employed in convict prisons. These were considered, and in 1890 I recommended to the Treasury, and they sanctioned, an improved scale of pay to take effect from April 1, 1890, and in order to meet the complaints of slowness of promotion due to the diminished prison population, two special promotions were made to the first-class. All the existing first-class schoolmasters will attain their maximum before reaching the age of compulsory retirement. There is every probability that the three second-class schoolmasters who have served 15 years or more, will, by promotion, be able to obtain the same maximum. The arrangement sanctioned by the Treasury in 1869—namely, that the number of first-class clerks should be two-fifths of the number of second-class clerks—has not been ignored, and is observed at present.

#### POISONOUS LEMONADE.

DR. TANNER : I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been directed to the great number of instances in which lemonade has been proved by analysis to have been poisonously contaminated by lead; and whether further steps will be taken to prevent danger to the public in this regard?

*Sir C. Pearson*

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's) : My attention has not been directed to cases of poisonous contamination of lemonade by lead, but I shall be happy to consider carefully any representations which may be made to me on the subject.

DR. TANNER : Has the right hon. Gentleman seen any Reports from Aberdeen calling attention to cases which have been tested, and which showed that in many instances the lemonade had been poisonously contaminated by lead?

\*MR. RITCHIE : No, Sir; I have not seen any such Reports, and I am afraid that an Aberdeen complaint would not be addressed to my Department.

#### ENGLISH SAILORS ON BOARD CHILIAN VESSELS.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if information has been sent to the Government that a number of English sailors are detained against their will on board the Chilian vessel *Presidente Errazuriz*, at Lisbon; whether the French Consul has effected the liberation of all the French men on board; and if the English Consul has taken any steps in the same direction?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON : Inquiries have been made by Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, who saw all the English alone on board the *Presidente Errazuriz*, including two engineers. Contracts for Valparaiso had been signed by all, and they had expressed their readiness to continue in the ship. We have no information as to what action has been taken by the French Consul at Lisbon.

#### SAILORS DETAINED IN GOOD SUCCESS BAY.

MR. LEA : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if any information has reached Her Majesty's Government in reference to the shipwrecked British sailors alleged to be detained in South America, and to investigate the truth of the report, or effect their release, a gunboat has been sent?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON : H.M.S. *Garnet* has called at Good Success Bay to inquire

into the truth of the rumour, and the Commander's Report shows that the allegations were unfounded.

#### CROWN QUARRIES IN CARNARVONSHIRE.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in prosecuting the inquiry he has promised to make into the royalties charged upon Crown quarries in Carnarvonshire, he will give directions that Mr. Forster Brown shall investigate the grievances of the quarry owners by paying a visit to the quarries in question; and whether he will also give instructions that notice shall be given to the quarry owners interested in the inquiry of the date of such visit, in order to afford them an opportunity of laying their case before the Crown Surveyor?

MR. JACKSON: A Memorial addressed to the Commissioners of Woods by the lessees of seven Crown slate quarries in Carnarvonshire was received at the Office of Woods yesterday. According to ordinary practice, this Memorial will be referred to Mr. Forster Brown to examine and report on. There will be no objection to giving the Memorialists an opportunity of representing their views to Mr. Forster Brown.

#### AUSTIN BIDWELL.

MR. ROBY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can recommend Her Majesty to release Austin Bidwell, who has spent 18 years in prison, having been convicted of forgery in 1873, and sentenced at the age of 25 to penal servitude for life?

MR. MATTHEWS: I answered this question on the 14th inst., and I have nothing to add to the answer which I then gave.

#### CLERGY DISCIPLINE (IMMORALITY) BILL.

MR. S. T. EVANS (Glamorgan, Mid): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Government propose to proceed further with the Clergy Discipline (Immorality) Bill, or any part of it, this Session?

MR. GOSCHEN: I have not altogether abandoned hope of being able to proceed with this Bill.

#### ETIQUETTE OF THE BAR.

MR. COBB had upon the Paper the following Question:—To ask the Attorney General whether the custom of barristers practising in County Courts where their fathers are Judges, and having professional chambers in or adjoining the district of such Courts, is in accordance with the traditions and etiquette of the Bar; whether he is aware that Mr. T. E. Ellison, of the North Eastern Circuit, has his professional chambers at Sheffield, and practises in his father's Court, and that the Registrar and Deputy Registrar of the Court at Sheffield are uncle and cousin to Mr. Ellison; whether he is aware that Mr. D. M. Metcalfe, of the Western Circuit, has his professional chambers at Bristol, and practises in his father's Court; whether he is aware that Mr. Rupert E. C. Kettle, of the Oxford Circuit, has his professional chambers at Birmingham, and practises in his father's Court, and that the Registrar of the Court at Dudley is Mr. Kettle's brother, and the High Bailiff his brother-in-law; whether he is aware that Mr. Edgar Meynell, of the North Eastern Circuit, has his professional chambers at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and practises in his father's Court; whether he is aware that Mr. E. Honoratus Lloyd and Mr. T. Fitzroy Lloyd, of the North Wales and Chester Circuit, whose professional chambers are in London, practise in their father's Court at Chester; whether he is aware that in these districts there is a feeling among the public and the members of the legal profession that the custom of these barristers practising in their father's Court does not inspire confidence that justice is impartially administered; and whether he will call the attention of these gentlemen to the traditions and etiquette of the Bar, or call the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the facts? The hon. Member said: Before I put this question I wish to withdraw paragraph three, which relates to Mr. Metcalfe, as, since I put the question down, I have been informed that he has not practised in his father's Court for more than 10 years.

SIR R. WEBSTER: In answer to the hon. Member, I beg to say that I have already expressed my opinion upon this matter in reply to a question put to me

in this House during the present Session, to which I would refer him. I must decline to enter into the merits of any particular case, as I have no opportunity of knowing the circumstances, and no representation has been made to me in the matter. With reference to the withdrawal by the hon. Member of the third paragraph, I must express my regret that he should have made such statements without satisfying himself as to their accuracy. In a letter received to-day from Mr. Metcalfe, he says—

“So far as I am personally concerned, Mr. Cobb must have framed his question either without any inquiry at all, or he must have been guided by some very unreliable and incorrect information, for, as a matter of fact, I have not practised in any of my father's courts for 11 years. It seems to me that I have a right to complain that Mr. Cobb has thus used my name in the House of Commons without having had the courtesy to ask me if his information (if any) was correct, and without having taken the trouble to make inquiries, either of my father or of any well-known firms of solicitors in Bristol.”

\*MR. COBB: I regret very much having put down Mr. Metcalfe's name, but I may say that I received the information with regard to that gentleman from one of the leading Queen's Counsel on the Western Circuit. [*Cries of “Name!”*]

MR. A. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford): May I ask the Attorney General whether he has not received from a member of the Oxford Circuit, who was also named in the question, a denial of the accuracy of the statement?

SIR R. WEBSTER: With regard to Mr. Kettle, I think it right to state that some time ago that learned gentleman did consult me upon the subject of practising in his father's Court, and, on my suggestion, that gentleman has also given up such practice. That information, also, the hon. Member might have obtained had he thought fit to make inquiry.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): What is the hon. and learned Gentleman's information with regard to the other learned gentlemen named in the question?

SIR R. WEBSTER: I have no knowledge of the circumstances of those cases, and no representation of any kind has been made to me with regard to any of those gentlemen.

*Sir R. Webster*

#### PRISON UNIFORM IN IRELAND.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether Irish prison officials are obliged to wear the prison uniform when off duty, under pain of dismissal; whether he can give the date of such rule or order by the Prisons Board, and the particular circumstance which called for it; whether, since the issue of this order, prison officers have been assaulted and maimed in the streets of Cork, Kilkenny, Tralee, Belfast, and Kilmainham; whether there is any evidence to show that these attacks were attributable to the fact of the officers being easily recognised by their assailants, in consequence of their uniforms; and whether it has come to the knowledge of the Prisons Board that the officers regard this order making the wearing of prison uniform off duty compulsory as a constant source of personal danger; and, if so, whether he will cause such order to be cancelled?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): The General Prisons Board report that Irish prison officers are obliged to wear their uniform when off duty, but not under the special penalty of dismissal. This order has been in existence since February, 1879, soon after the establishment of the General Prisons Board. There have been a few cases in which prison officers have come into collision with persons outside, but in no case have the results been at all serious; nor is there any evidence that they were due to the officers being in uniform, while it is manifest that any officer can be easily recognised in the locality to which he belongs, whether in or out of uniform. The Board do not believe that the wearing of uniform is a source of danger. They have always been ready to permit in individual cases, where reasonable grounds are assigned, officers to wear plain clothes, but from an administrative point of view they cannot recommend a rescission of the order.

\*MR. P. O'BRIEN: Is there any reason why the prison officials in Ireland should not be allowed the same privilege in regard to wearing their own clothes as those in England? What is the special reason for the change?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid that I cannot answer that question. There is a difference, and I will endeavour to find out what it is, and what is the reason for it?

#### IRISH TEACHERS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has his attention been called to the resolution of the County Longford National Teachers' Association, representing that the annual sum given by the Treasury towards retiring gratuities to Irish teachers before the establishment of the pension fund (which is entirely an Irish fund) should be given annually to the pension authorities, so as to enable them to shorten the period of service for pension; and what are the intentions of the Government on the subject?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My attention has not been called to the particular resolution mentioned, but I may say in regard to the matter generally that the old system referred to, whereby the Treasury sanctioned small sums as retiring allowances in particular cases of national school teachers, was superseded by the Act of 1879, which considerably improved the position of teachers with regard to pension, and provided for the fund a capital sum of £1,300,000 from the Irish Church surplus, the former Treasury contributions being thereupon abolished.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Commissioners of National Education have yet considered the application for a retiring gratuity made by the late teacher of Derrycra National School, County Down, in November last, accompanied with the necessary medical certificate of permanent incapacity; and will it be further delayed in view of the rule of the Commissioners that, in the event of death before receiving the gratuity, payment will not be made to the teacher's family?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The case of the teacher mentioned has been before the Commissioners of National Education, who, however, were precluded from coming to an early determination owing to circumstances adversely affecting the

teacher's claims. The Commissioners have now had a further Report in the matter, and the case will be disposed of by them forthwith.

#### THE WICKLOW MAILS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether the mail car, which has been plying for many years between Tinahely and Kiltegan, County Wicklow, is about to be discontinued; and has he received a Memorial from the chief inhabitants of the district, pointing out the inconvenience likely to arise by the contemplated change?

\*MR. RAIKES: It has been decided that the day mail car hitherto working from Tinahely to Kiltegan shall be replaced by a car working from Baltinglass—the object in view being to effect a much desired improvement of postal service at Kiltegan—the distance from Baltinglass to Kiltegan being less than five miles, whereas the distance from Tinahely to Kiltegan is 10 miles. A Memorial against the change was received, but I think it did not originate with the chief residents of Kiltegan, and referred mainly to the question of passenger traffic. The balance of postal advantages was, in my opinion, clearly in favour of the change—the same interval for reply at Hackelstown as at present, namely, two hours five minutes, being maintained.

#### INSPECTOR ROGERS, ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if the attention of the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary has been called to the language used by District Inspector Rogers, Royal Irish Constabulary, Carrick-on-Shannon, to his men in the Petty Sessions Court, as reported in the *Roscommon Herald* of 25th July; and if his conduct was rebuked by the Bench?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have sent over to Ireland for a Report, but it has not yet been received, and until I get it I cannot answer the question.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I will repeat the question on Monday.



# ORANGE DEMONSTRATION IN SOUTH DONEGAL.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the report in the *Donegal Independent* of 24th July, that Mr. David C. Pearson, who is clerk of the union of Donegal, attended at, and presided over, an Orange demonstration at Raw Mill, South Donegal, on the 12th instant; and, if so, whether it is in accordance with the regulations of the Local Government Board that such officials should take part in political demonstrations?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My attention had not been called to this case until I received the report which the hon. Gentleman was good enough to forward to me. There is no rule of the Local Government Board of the nature indicated in the question.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): This is the case of a gentleman who occupies a public position presiding at an Orange demonstration, and why does it not come within the rule laid down by the Education Department?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is quite true, and no doubt there is an order which prohibits servants of the Crown and Inspectors of Schools from taking part in political demonstrations. The hon. Gentleman will see, however, that the gentleman mentioned in the question is a servant not of the Crown but of the union, and I believe that no rule has been laid down in such a case. On the contrary, in all parts of Ireland these gentlemen have, from time to time, attended meetings of this kind.

In reply to a further question by Mr. SEXTON,

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said: The clerks of some of the southern unions in Ireland have been very violent partizans.

# REGISTRATION OF TITLES (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. FLYNN: I had intended to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether, under the Local Registration of Titles (Ireland) Bill, parties are bound to register all dealings relative to land with the Clerks of the Crown and

Peace; whether these officials are now bound to attend to all their official duties in person, including regular attendance at the Quarter Sessions, as also at the different Assizes held throughout the year; whether some of these officials (some 8 or 10), are now between the ages of 70 and 80; and, under all the circumstances connected with these offices, whether these officials are bound by Clause 10 of the Privy Council Order, which appeared in the *London Gazette* of 19th August last, which requires all Civil Servants to retire from the Public Service after they have attained the age of 65 years? At the request of the right hon. Gentleman I beg to postpone the question.

# RELIEF WORKS IN MAYO.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the works on the relief road Bohola, County Mayo, are stopped, or about to be stopped; and, in view of the fact that this necessary work is nearly completed, whether the Irish Government will authorise this work to be proceeded with for an additional week or two until it is fully completed?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must ask the hon. Member to defer the question. I have not yet received a Report.

MR. FLYNN: I will repeat it on Monday.

# H.M. GUNBOAT "SPANKER."

MR. MORROGH (Cork, S.E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he has seen a paragraph in the Cork papers, with reference to the break down of Her Majesty's gunboat *Spanker*, of the "Western" Fleet, now engaged in the annual Naval Manœuvres; whether this gunboat has sailed, or is about to sail, to Plymouth or Portsmouth, to have the necessary repairs effected; and whether these repairs could be done at Haulbowline Docks?

MR. CHAPLIN (for Lord G. HAMILTON): The report in question has not been brought to the notice of the First Lord of the Admiralty. The accident to the machinery of the *Spanker* occurred soon after she had left Torbay, and it was, therefore, the convenient and natural course to take her to Devonport. The defects to the *Spanker* have been

already made good, and she is now with the Western Fleet engaged in the manoeuvres.

**CORK AND MUSKERRY LIGHT  
RAILWAY COMPANY.**

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether steps have been yet taken to admit the Cork and Muskerry Light Railway Company as a party under the arrangements of "The Post Office (Parcels) Act, 1882;" and, if not, will he state on what grounds?

MR. RAIKES: The question is really one for the London Railway Clearing Committee, and not for the Post Office. The 9th section of the Post Office (Parcels) Act, 1882, prescribes that Railway Companies shall be parties thereto, and amongst them includes all railways authorised after the passing of the Act. I am informed that the Cork and Muskerry Company's undertaking was authorised by the Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (Cork, Conchford, and Blarney) Confirmation Act, 1886. I have no knowledge whether the Company named has taken any steps to establish its right to share in the arrangements of the Post Office (Parcels) Act.

DR. TANNER: May I ask why the reply to this question has been so long delayed, and whether there has been a correspondence between the Post Office and the Railway Clearing House on the subject?

MR. RAIKES: No time has been wasted. No correspondence has reached me.

DR. TANNER: As it is an important matter to the town of Macroom, will the right hon. Gentleman secure the advantages which the district wants?

MR. RAIKES: I will look at the correspondence to which the hon. Member refers, and if I can find anything to justify further action it shall be taken.

**IRISH MESSENGERS AND PORTERS.**

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Civil Service messengers and porters are now allowed extra pay for overtime work; and whether, in the case of the Irish messengers and porters, they will be allowed the maximum rate of pay per day from the date the seven hours' system came into force?

MR. JACKSON: It is difficult to give an answer to such a general question. I should say that, as a rule, they are not paid for overtime.

**RELIEF WORKS AT FIRKALE.**

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a Memorial from the inhabitants of Glengarriffe, including two Justices of the Peace and the Protestant Rector, praying that the road now in course of construction at Firkale may be continued until it is connected with the Bocarna Road, a distance of 200 yards; and if on inquiry he is satisfied that this road will be a great boon to the people of Mucra, Bocarna, and Firkale, he will grant the prayer of the memorialists?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that the relief works referred to by the hon. Gentleman have been finished to-day, or will be finished to-morrow, up to the point to which it is thought necessary to finish it.

**COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES BY  
MILITIAMEN.**

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland, in the case of Constable Courtney, who was recently awarded by the Grand Jury of County Cork £1,000 compensation for injuries inflicted on him by Militiamen, whether the cesspayers of the County of Cork were responsible at law for damage committed in an assault by members of Her Majesty's Forces; and whether the assault in question was committed by Militiamen belonging to another county?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. MADDEN, Dublin University): The Grand Jury of the County Cork, in making an award of compensation to Constable Courtney for injuries inflicted on him by Militiamen, were acting under their statutable powers. If any section of the ratepayers felt aggrieved it was open to them to traverse the presentment before the Assize Judge. I understand that, as a matter of fact, the Militiamen did belong to another county.

MR. FLYNN: Was there not a representation made by the Irish Office to the Secretary for War suggesting the desirability of the War Office paying a portion of the money?

MR. MADDEN: I can hardly answer that question.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Attorney General whether the cess-payers of a county in England could be obliged by law, by order of the County Grand Jury, to pay compensation to a constable or peace officer who had been maimed or received injuries while in prosecution of his duty from Militiamen members of Her Majesty's Forces, and belonging to another county?

SIR R. WEBSTER: The powers of a County Grand Jury in England are limited to the making of presentments for offences and the inquiring into bills of indictment submitted to them, and do not extend to the making of a rate, as suggested in the hon. Member's question, for compensation to injured constables.

#### CLONAKILTY AND ROSSCARBERY EXTENSION RAILWAY.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any Government assistance will be afforded the Clonakilty and Rosscarbery Extension Railway; whether a deputation from the district in question, who went to Dublin and had an interview with the Under Secretary, Sir W. Ridgeway, were informed by him that their request would receive every consideration; whether a similar assurance was given by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at Skibbereen to another deputation on the same proposed railway; and whether, having regard to the benefit of the large fishing and agricultural interests in the district, the Government will give material assistance to the work?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Application for assistance has been received by the Government, but the Government have no money available, nor would they feel justified, at the present time, in making an advance.

#### ORANGE PROCESSIONS.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on Sunday, the 12th of July, Mr. D. Dunn, P.L.G., of Rostrevor, County Down, accompanied by another ratepayer of the same place, waited on Mr. Horner, J.P., to swear an informa-

tion that if an Orange procession was permitted to pass through the village of Rostrevor on Monday, the 13th of July, a breach of the peace would most certainly follow, and that Mr. Horner, though bound as a Magistrate to receive this information, nevertheless refused, and declared his intention of leading the Orange procession in person; whether the information was subsequently sworn before Mr. Charles Leslie, J.P., and notice served on the police that the information had been laid; is he aware that these facts having been brought to the knowledge of Mr. Horner, he insisted on the procession passing through Rostrevor when he headed it himself, and that a disturbance actually took place as anticipated, and an Orangeman was sent for trial on a serious charge arising therefrom; and, if the facts of the case be as stated, whether the Lord Chancellor proposes to take notice of Mr. Horner's conduct?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that the Magistrate mentioned did, in the exercise of his discretion, decline to take the information, but he at once communicated with the local constabulary officer, who took steps to increase the extra force of police already ordered. The Magistrate does not appear to have declared the intention attributed to him, nor did he, as a matter of fact, lead the procession. A disturbance did take place, in which it is represented the processionists were not the aggressors, but as the case is *sub judice*, I am precluded from entering into details.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Is this gentleman a paid Resident Magistrate?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will address a question to my right hon. Friend the Attorney General, or put it on the Paper. I cannot answer it off-hand.

MR. CRILLY: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that, notwithstanding the reports in the public papers, this man was not at the head of the procession?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The statement that he led the procession does not accord with the information I have received.

#### DR. CARR.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can

state what are the medical qualifications of Dr. Carr, who signed the certificate (lately presented to the House) as to the health of the hon. Member for East Belfast?

MR. GOSCHEN: Dr. Carr, who signed the certificate as to the health of the hon. Member for East Belfast, is a member of the Royal College of Surgeons and a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. I am informed that he also holds a qualification for the practice of medicine in France.

#### SCOTLAND'S EQUIVALENT FOR THE FEE GRANT.

MR. JOSEPH C. BOLTON (Stirling): I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the announcement made last evening of his intention to postpone the allocation of Scotland's share in the fee grant is causing considerable dissatisfaction in some parts of Scotland; and, if so, whether, considering that hon. Members for Scotland have acquiesced in the postponement of that payment under the idea that it was the general wish of the people of Scotland, he will allow Scotch Members to have an opportunity of reconsidering the matter?

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers the question, I should like to ask him whether hon. Members who represent Scotland in this House have not cordially agreed in the proposal that the matter should be postponed until next Session?

MR. GOSCHEN: A communication was made to me by a right hon. Gentleman opposite, who represents a Scotch constituency, to the effect that I might take it for granted, as far as he had been able to ascertain, that the Scotch Members were quite in accord with the policy of postponing this matter until next Session. I have, however, received a telegram from one town in Scotland expressing disappointment at the postponement, but I am not sure whether that disappointment does not rest upon a misapprehension. It is stated in the telegram to which I have referred that they are afraid that the payment of the grant which they had anticipated will be postponed until next year. The House will remember that, although postponed now, it is perfectly

certain that the money will be voted within the present financial year, and possibly that statement may clear up and allay the apprehensions of the constituencies in Scotland upon the point. I would also say that it has been put to me that action has already been taken upon the view that the particular class of ratepayers in Scotland will receive relief. If so, that, of course, is premature, because the mere opinion of a Minister that a certain course will be taken cannot be assumed to afford a basis for administrative action. With respect to the hon. Member's question, I think that, looking at the matter from the point of view pressed upon me by hon. Members for Scotland, I cannot depart from the arrangement to postpone the subject until next Session.

MR. JOSEPH C. BOLTON: The telegram I have received speaks of the postponement of the Government grant until next year as a source of disappointment.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

SIR W. HARCOURT (Derby): The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested that I should ask him to-day what fixtures the Government have been able to make with regard to Public Business in the future. I have also to ask the right hon. Gentleman a question of great importance as regards the privileges of this House. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman what course he proposes to take with reference to the constitutional objection that was raised by my right hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. Fowler) last night in reference to one of the Lords Amendments to the Education Bill. That was an objection which affected not only the Lords Amendment to the Bill, but the rights of this House. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will feel that the House is entitled to know at once the course which the Government propose to take upon a question of such grave importance, which not only affects the Bill itself, but the rights of this House. He will feel that the question is one which should be maturely considered at a time when it can be properly discussed by the House.

MR. GOSCHEN: With reference to the last question of the right hon. Gentle-

man, I need hardly say that the Government frankly accept, as they are bound to do, the decision of Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker being the highest authority on these questions and the guardian of the privileges of this House, and he having expressed an opinion that a breach of privilege was involved in the Amendment of the Lords. The course we propose to take is to negative the Amendment of the Lords, and to substitute for it an Amendment which will in substance contain all that part of the Amendment to which no exception can be taken from the point of view of privilege. The Amendment we shall propose will guard the clause by enactments to the effect that the aggregate amount which the grouped schools will be able to earn under the clause shall not exceed that which they would have received under Section 19 of the Act of 1871. Of course, the House will not expect me at this moment to commit myself to any particular words, but we shall in that way guard the privileges of the House and, I trust, remove the objection which has been taken to the Amendment of the Lords. I think that in that way we shall best meet the ruling of Mr. Speaker and the views of even the most jealous guardians of the privileges of the House. With regard to the business of the House, the right hon. Gentleman asks me what fixtures are to be made. The fixtures must depend upon an hypothesis, and I will assume as a starting-point that we shall finish Supply to-night. I assume that as the hypothesis, and, basing myself upon that, we should then take Bills to-morrow and the Report of Supply, and on Monday we shall take the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill and proceed with the consideration of the matters that may have to be discussed in reference to it. On Tuesday we shall take the Indian Budget, and on Wednesday various remanets which we have not had time to dispose of previously. In that case we should be able to adjourn the House from Thursday until Saturday, when the Prorogation will take place.

SIR W. HARCOURT: In reference to the Lords' Amendment to the Free Education Bill, I do not quite understand the course the right hon. Gentle-

*Mr. Goschen*

man proposes to take. The first, the fundamental, thing we have to do is to reject the Lords' Amendment. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will take care that there appears upon the Journal a record that this particular Amendment is an invasion of the privileges of this House. After having rejected that Amendment I do not know what course the right hon. Gentleman proposes to take. I can understand amending an Amendment; I do not know what will be done with respect to an Amendment that is absolutely rejected. There is no such thing as amending an Amendment of the Lords which is in breach of the privileges of this House. This is a grave matter affecting the rights of the House of Commons, and I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will not make any proposal except that of rejecting the Amendment without giving due notice to this House so that we may consider it. Therefore it will be very important to know when a question of that importance will be discussed, and the words should be printed so that we may see the effect of any alteration the Government have to make, and how it will bear upon the education question and upon the rights of this House. The right hon. Gentleman has not said when, supposing matters to go on as he contemplates, he will take the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

MR. GOSCHEN: I thought I said that on Monday we shall take the Second Reading, on the hypothesis that we finish the Report of Supply on Saturday. That would be the first business, and then we should take the Lords' Amendments to several Bills. I hope we may be able on Monday to deal with the Lords' Amendment to the Education Bill; and I will endeavour to secure that due notice is given of the precise manner in which we shall propose to deal with it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Perhaps I may be allowed to submit that there is a precedent with regard to the method of dealing with the Lords' Amendment. It arose upon the Coroners (Ireland) Bill. The Clerk was then Sir Erskine May, and Mr. Brand, the Speaker, ruled that it was for this House to reject a Lords' Amendment absolutely, and to leave it to the Lords to make any subsequent Amendment; it was not for this House

to amend an Amendment which was in its essence bad.

MR. GOSCHEN: I quite understand that we cannot amend the Lords' Amendment but must negative the whole clause. The question is whether, having negatived it, we can send up to the Lords an alternative clause. ["No, no," *from the Opposition.*] I have been advised that that was the course open to us. There is another course, which is simply to negative the clause. It is a question of convenience which of the two courses is to be preferred at this juncture. I simply say I have been advised on good authority that we might send back another clause. If we do not do so, if the House thinks it the better course to negative it simply, we should do so.

SIR W. HARCOURT: I venture to think that the last named course most comports with the dignity and privileges of this House. A clause which is an invasion of the privileges of this House has been sent down by the Lords; what we have to do is to reject it; it is for the Lords to amend it, or to substitute another proposal which shall not be open to that objection. Therefore I hope we may take it for granted that that will be the course suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that we need waste no further time over it, but that will be the end of the question so far as we are concerned.

MR. MUNDELLA: I had hoped to speak upon the Amendment, but if it is for the convenience of the House I will not take advantage of the opportunity.

\*MR. TALBOT (Oxford University): May I ask what business will be proceeded with to-morrow?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I presume that the Report of Supply will be taken first, and if an announcement to that effect is made, I think it may facilitate the discussion of Supply to-night. I am afraid that the Post Office Vote cannot come on until very late.

MR. SEXTON: What do the Government propose to do in reference to the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Is it intended that the Amendments to the Factories and Workshops Bill shall be taken as the first Order on Monday?

MR. GOSCHEN: I am afraid that I cannot answer the last question; I must

reserve the point. Of course, we are all agreed that the financial business, on which the termination of the Session depends, must have precedence. On Saturday the first business will be Report of Supply, and then the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill, the Clergy Discipline Bill, and other small Bills.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman say at what hour the House will meet to-morrow, and if any hour will be named for the Adjournment?

MR. GOSCHEN: The House will meet at 12 o'clock, but I am afraid that I cannot fix an hour for the termination of the business. Sometimes it does not facilitate early business if an hour is fixed for rising.

*Hi There!*

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.—MR. STOREY AND LORD LONDONDERRY.

MR. STOREY (Sunderland): I am extremely sorry to obtrude a personal matter upon the House again, but I have consulted you, Sir, and with your leave I wish to make a brief explanation. In another place the Marquess of Londonderry made a few days ago an allusion to a statement which I felt it my duty to make in this House. Of course, I do not intend to discuss the remarks of Lord Londonderry. I have no right and no inclination to do so. That statement stands for what it is worth. The noble Lord, however, made one observation in reply to my statement which I am compelled to notice. I had myself stated that the money for the bogus prosecution against me was not taken, or meant to be taken, out of the public funds, as it ought to have been if it were an honest prosecution. I stated, further, that Lord Londonderry must have found the money. To these statements, under cover of a joke and a play upon my name which is not particularly original, and which if it had been uttered here would have been thought a trifling vulgar, that noble Lord gives a distinct contradiction. I, therefore, propose, with the permission of the House, to state, with the utmost brevity, the authority upon which I made them. On the 29th of May, or thereabouts, there was a meeting of the Joint Committee of the Durham County Council, who have charge of the police. The Clerk of the Peace reported that an

application had been made for money to defend the civil actions for damages brought against the police, and that demand was acceded to. Thereupon a member of the Joint Committee said to the Clerk of the Peace, "Where did the money come from for the summons cases?" and the Clerk of the Peace replied, "I do not know; we have no application about them." The member then said, "What I should like to know is, who found the money in the summons cases—Mr. Storey's and the others?" On this Colonel White, the Chief Constable of the county, said, "The colliery owner found the money." Upon which Mr. Briggs, the Magistrate who has been sufficiently prominent in these transactions, touched Colonel White upon the arm, and whispered something to him which my friends could not hear. But the effect of it was that Colonel White said, "Yes; I don't care; the owners did, and they paid Strachan, the counsel's, fees." That is what passed on the 29th May. In the early days of June a Magistrate of the county, who is also a Member of this House, wrote to Colonel White and asked, "Have you authorised this charge against Mr. Storey?" and "Are the county funds being used for the purpose?" In his reply Colonel White said, "Mr. Storey has taken much pains to instigate a civil action against the police for damages," and he concluded, "The costs of counsel in the summons case were defrayed by the colliery owner, but the County Authorities have decided to pay the expenses and damages arising out of the baton charge." I do not know whether Lord Londonderry has any knowledge of the fact or not; I do not know whether Lord Londonderry or Colonel White is speaking the fact; but I think it due to the House to state the authority on which I made my statement. I do not suppose this money will now be paid by the colliery owner, or in any way of which I can take legal hold; but, attaching belief to the utterances in May and June of a person who ought to have known the facts, I must say I cannot accept Lord Londonderry's disclaimer as either accurate or sufficient.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. SEXTON; I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he con-  
*Mr. Storey*

siders that the general despatch of business will be facilitated by putting Report of Supply down before the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill?

MR. LEA: Are we to understand that the Training Colleges Bill will not be taken to-night?

MR. GOSCHEN: No; it will not be taken to-night. In reply to the hon. Member for West Belfast I may point out that Report of Supply does not usually take much time, and it is essential we should get it this week, if the Prorogation is to take place next week.

MR. SEXTON: Has it not occurred to the right hon. Gentleman as an old Parliamentary hand that advantage might be taken to discuss Report of Supply at great length, simply to prevent the Training Colleges Bill being reached?

MR. GOSCHEN: It has occurred to me that there might be a lengthy discussion under such circumstances, but on the other hand, if the Training Colleges Bill were taken first, Report of Supply might be thrown over to next week, and there would be some reason to complain that the Session is being unduly prolonged.

MR. LEA: Is there any intention of taking the Coinage Bill to-morrow?

MR. GOSCHEN: Yes, Sir; if there is time. It will come on after the Training Colleges Bill.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: Does the President of the Board of Agriculture intend to take the Markets and Fairs Bill?

MR. CHAPLIN: If possible.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Turbary (Ireland) Bill; Metalliferous Mines (Isle of Man) Bill; Post Office Acts Amendment Bill. Amendment to Amendments to—Public Health (Scotland) Acts Amendment Bill, without Amendment; That they have passed a Bill, intitled, "An Act for codifying the Law relating to the Sale of Goods." [Sale of Goods Bill [Lords.]

#### CHILDREN'S LIFE INSURANCE BILL.

That they do communicate a Copy of Report, &c., of the Select Committee appointed by their Lordships in the

present Session of Parliament on the Children's Life Insurance Bill, as desired by this House.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1891-92.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

#### CLASS IV.

1. £327,067, to complete the sum for Public Education, Scotland.

(4.43.) THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): There is an increase in the Vote as compared with last year of £25,486, due almost entirely to the larger amount given for day and evening scholars. This increase arises in the first place from the higher rate of pay for each scholar, and in the second, from the increase in the aggregate attendance. During the year the rate of pay for each scholar has been 19s. 3½d., which is the highest point yet reached, and the estimate for next year is no less than 20s. 2d. The progressive advance of the amount earned per scholar since 1873 is striking. In that year it was only 9s. 10½d., and any stoppage in the increase has been due entirely to the anxiety of the Department in insisting that for each increase in the rate there shall be a corresponding high degree of efficiency. There is an increase in the aggregate attendance from 503,100 to 512,690, and at the present time out of every 100 children of school age in Scotland, 82 are on the register and 63 in daily attendance. The average attendance has been steadily increasing over a course of years. Since 1881, while the population has increased by 8 per cent., the attendance of school children has increased by 25 per cent. The total number of children presented in the higher standards has been smaller this year than in former years, and this is due to the fact that there are now more children who are working to improve themselves in the lower standards, and fewer who are forced up, although unfit, into the higher standards. The total number of presentations, including those under the Third Standard, is 474,873, against 469,518 last year. This increase is largely in the lower standards.

8,908 being children in Standard III. There is this year a percentage of passes in all subjects of 80.54, while last year the percentage was 79.9. There has been a steady increase in the percentage of passes. The actual number passing in Standards V. and VI. has increased by more than 1,000; but there is a decrease of passes in the Third Standard. The conclusion to be drawn from that is that the decrease of presentations is due, not to the falling off in the upper standards, but to the fact that children who, under the system of individual examination, would have been presented in Standard III., now drop into standards under Standard III. The figures show that there is no falling off in the amount of the sound education in the higher standards, but the diminution is due to the school authorities keeping the children in the lower standards because they think they are better employed there instead of being mechanically raced through the higher standards. The results as regards class subjects are improving, and the record there is quite satisfactory. There are two rates of payment—one of 2s. for a good pass, and the other of 1s. for a fair pass. At the former rate the payments are increasing, while at the latter rate they are decreasing. As regards special subjects, there is a somewhat ambiguous result. There is an advance here in presentations, but the results are less satisfactory. It would seem to be worthy of consideration whether too much attention may not be given in some instances to special subjects, and this again suggests whether a concentration of special subjects might not be better than the diffusion of them over a large number of schools. The Committee are aware that a novelty of some importance was introduced recently by the Scotch Education Department in the shape of a merit certificate for proficiency in purely elementary branches as an encouragement for sound work, and in the hope that it would be, if not an introduction to, at all events a recommendation in, seeking service. After conference with the Local Educational Authorities the scheme has practically received their unanimous approval. With regard to the education of the blind and of deaf mutes, it is too early to predict what will be the work-



ing of the new system, but it is satisfactory to see that it has been started and is in progress. I present the Vote to the House in the belief that there is ground for reasonable satisfaction, and that, despite the uncertainty of recent changes in the working of the educational system, the main current of education is steadily flowing in the right direction; and I trust that the changes already made and others which are in contemplation will go in the same direction in regard to this main element of national prosperity.

(4.50.) MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): We have in former years had the advantage of a whole sitting for the discussion of the Scotch Educational Estimate, but during the last two years it has been hurried through at the end of the Session without much consideration. I think it is very unfair if the Reports of the Inspectors are not made public at an earlier date. The country ought to have an opportunity of considering those Reports as well as the Report of the Department. The latter Report professes to give a correct idea of the progress of education in Scotland since 1872. The average attendance is given as 213,549 in 1872 and as 512,690 in 1890. The apparent increase is most remarkable, and undoubtedly it is the intention of the Department to convey to the people of Scotland the idea that the attendance has practically increased by 140 per cent. since 1872. But the fact, as pointed out recently in a letter to the *Glasgow Herald*, is that the average attendance has not really increased more than 10 per cent. The explanation is simple. The Department are comparing the present state of things with a state to which it is in no way comparable. In 1872 only one-half of the children were in State-aided schools. In 1871 there were 542,000 children in school attendance in Scotland. That was before the Education Act came into operation, and in those days there was no inducement to return as at school children not in attendance. The percentage of children in attendance was 70; in 1881 it had increased to 80 per cent., and since then it has remained practically stationary. In order properly to compare the attendance in 1872 with that of 1890, we ought to take the aggregate attendance of children both in the

Mr. J. P. B. Robertson

State-aided and in the non-State-aided schools. The curious fact is, that although a School Board is entitled to see that every child is attending school, and has the most ample means of information, up to this moment the Department cannot give us any information regarding the total number of children in State-aided and non-State-aided schools. That is information which we ought to possess. If we had it the utter hollowness of this pretended progress in education would be apparent. In 1872 more than half the children attended non-State-aided schools. The effect of the School Board system has been to shut up these private schools, and to transfer some 200,000 children from them to the Board schools. We want to know, for the purpose of comparison, what is the number of children in State-aided schools to-day. I do not suppose that as long as the present Government is in power we shall get this information. I asked the question in 1877, and the answer I got was that the Department had the information for 1872 but not for later years. Why have they not got it for later years? Because they have wilfully shut their eyes to it. The information could be got within a fortnight or three weeks. Table B of the Report of the Commission assumes that one-seventh of the children are attending higher-class schools. It is well known that most of these higher-class schools have been closed, and that not a fourth of the children are attending them now. The table proves too much, because it shows that there are 24,000 more children attending these schools than there are in Scotland at the present time. After I had put a question on this point, a foot-note was added to the table stating that the number to be deducted as attending higher schools is not nearly as high as one-seventh. I maintain that the only object of putting this table in is to mislead. I find from the Return that the accommodation in the schools was for 723,840, and the Education Department gives an elaborate calculation to show that the school accommodation in Scotland exceeds the number of children who ought to be at school by about 30,000 places. That is a pure arithmetical exercise. The school supply is based upon the average attendance. There are 723,840 places and an average

attendance of 512,690, so that the real excess of accommodation is 211,150. To conceal the fact that there are 211,000 places vacant at a cost of about £2,000,000, the Department gives this elaborate calculation. I object altogether to a series of arithmetical calculations which are true in themselves, but are calculated to mislead and have no bearing on the exact state of affairs. During the past year the number of children under 7 years of age has increased by about 12,000, the number between 7 and 13 years by 4,000, and the number between 13 and 14 by 112, whilst the number above 14 has decreased by 229. The increase in the schools is an increase of children under seven years of age, and above seven years of age the increase has not been equal to the increase of population. In England the presentations to Inspectors amount to 90 per cent. of the school register, whereas in Scotland they are only 81 per cent. of the school register. Of course, if you keep your duffers away from the Inspectors and have all the bright children present, the percentage of passes will be higher than would otherwise have been the case. I know of a teacher who out of his own pocket paid the expenses of children who had left the district in order that they might attend the inspection. We ought to know whether there will be a greater number of children presented in Scotland than there are now. In Standards III., IV., and V. there is a total decrease of 4,553 in the presentations, without taking into consideration the increase of population. Now we come to the question of the passes of children between three and six. In the year 1888 the progress of education was such that the number of passes increased by 10,704. In 1889 the increase was 8,433, but in 1890 there was a decrease of 233. The decrease of passes in Standard III. this year was: in reading 3,623, in writing 3,111, and in arithmetic 1,376. Such a state of matters never existed in the educational history of Scotland before. As to specific subjects, we find that this year there were presented to the Inspectors 556 more children than were presented the year before. We find, however, a decrease in the passes of 256. In 1889 the increase in the passes in specific subjects, as compared with the previous

year, was 2,931. Then, in Standard VI. we find that in 1889 there was an increase of 959, whilst this year there is a positive decrease of 67. The Lord Advocate told us that the Government Grant last year was 19s. 3½d., which he said was the highest there had ever been. The Report says, however, that the grant has decreased from 19s. 3½d. to 18s. 11½d. for each scholar in average attendance. I think we are entitled to an explanation why we are told from the Treasury Bench that there is an increase, whilst the Report says there is a decrease. The Report attributes the decrease in the number of children attending school above 14 years of age—

“In large measure to the increased attendance of infants and to the earlier age at which the standard of exemption from attendance is reached.”

The increased attendance of infants has, however, only taken place during the last two years; and how is it possible that the standard of exemption can have affected the attendance of children of over 14? I do not see any connection. I can quite understand that if a child is sent to school earlier he will be withdrawn earlier, but why on earth should A's child of 14 be withdrawn because B's infant child is sent to school earlier? Certainly there has been a considerable increase in Standard V., but a child of over 14 years of age is not bound to attend school at all. One would have thought that the Department would have made some inquiry to ascertain how the decrease in the higher standards was brought about. We do not hear of any inquiry having been made on the subject. The speech of the Lord Advocate would make it appear that education is going on satisfactorily in every respect, and I feel bound to refer to facts with which the Department ought to be acquainted, and ignorance of which would prove them to be utterly incompetent for their position. I shall endeavour to point out the causes of the decline in education. Some may say that the abolition of fees in the lower standards has influenced the attendance in the higher standards. That is a matter for inquiry. The Department ought to have inquired in what schools the decrease has taken place, and whether fees are charged in

the higher standards in those schools. Do the Government want to promote Scotch education? If so, and they find the numbers decreasing after the age of 14, why are they doing nothing to help education after that age? There are only 14,000 children who would be affected by the abolition of fees after the age of 14, and yet the Government stood out against extending free education to those children. Has the change in the examination had anything to do with the matter? The Lord Advocate said the School Boards probably kept the children longer in the infant department before sending them to the upper departments. But the result of that would be that the children would be better trained in the infant department, and one would consequently expect better results in the higher departments. I have no hesitation in saying that the result of the introduction of the collective examinations has been to lower the standard of instruction generally in the schools. There is another cause, which is, I believe, largely in operation. Why, for a great many years, has the attendance in the higher standards been increasing in Scotland? Because you have been gradually killing the middle-class schools. The children imported from those schools have been running up your educational results. Having killed the middle-class schools practically, as far as you can kill them, you now find a decrease in your higher standards. When we take the results of secondary education in Scotland as a whole, what do we find? My hon. Friends who sat on the Departmental Committee will bear me out when I say that the result of their inquiry was to show that secondary education in Scotland was in a state of decline. You have the Board school competing for the middle-class people against the private school and, with the aid of the grants, killing the private school. The Education Act of 1876 provided that in order to obtain the grant a school should not charge more than 9d. a week in fees; but the School Boards have been put up to a dodge whereby they can really charge more than 9d. a week and return their schools as not charging more than 9d. I will not, however, go into that question now. What I say is that you cannot have secondary education without also having

*Mr. Caldwell*

an Elementary Department as a feeder, the profit made on the elementary education helping to pay the enormous cost of the secondary education. You have taken away the younger children from the elementary schools and have thus to a large extent killed private school enterprise. I find that the attendance at the Universities gradually went up in 1880, but since then the increase has been arrested and there is a positive decline. This shows that secondary education has got a blow in Scotland, and that it is not able to work against the present undue and unfair competition of the Board schools. If you entirely killed private school enterprise the number of children who go in for secondary education would decrease, no matter how much money was spent on the Board schools, because the teachers would know that they had no competition to face. I come now to the Highland schools. The grant given this year for those schools is £5,972. We are told that the object of this special grant is to increase the attendance, and I think we are entitled to ask what has been the effect upon the attendance. There is a special grant for 210 passes. We want to get a list of the schools where those passes have taken place, and to know how far there has been an increase to account for those passes. You have taken over the management of certain schools, and I want to know what was the attendance before you took them over, and what it is now. The Highland grants altogether come to about £10,000, and I should like to know what have been the general results of those grants. The Accountant General's Report shows what have been the results from a ratepayer's point of view. I think that in the Island of Barra a rate of 4s. in the £1 has been reduced to 1s., and in another parish there has been a reduction from 2s. 6d. to 6d., so that the proprietors are getting 3s. in the £1 off their rates in one case, and 2s. in the other. We want to know whether the £10,000 is granted for the benefit of the people, or for the purpose of reducing the taxation of the landlords. In conclusion, I have only to say that I think on the present lines the education of Scotland will go down whatever money is spent. Apart altogether from the question of money, you

are preventing the people having any interest in education. You have not got interest and enthusiasm on your side. You are killing them in the private schools, and you will reap the result of your policy. You are spending £1,196,340, in addition to the Science and Art grant, on your schools, and yet the number of children who are being educated has only increased by 10 per cent., and you are getting poor educational results.

(6.0.) MR. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I think the Report of the Department, and the exposition of it by the Lord Advocate, have been most satisfactory. We are accustomed to have satisfactory statements on this subject, and I think the Scottish nation regard the experiment that they have made in the way of national education as one that has borne, and continues to bear, a rich fruit. It may be that there is anxiety as to the early age at which children are withdrawn, but I have no doubt that some effort will be made to meet that. The point to which I wish to draw the Lord Advocate's attention refers to technical and intermediate education. I think the State, so far as it can exercise its function, is now called upon to frame a policy with regard to intermediate education. It appears from the Report that, as regards technical instruction, not very much has yet been done by the School Boards, who are the agents for disseminating it under the Act of 1887. That Act does not place us so favourably as England is placed by the English Act passed two years later, when County Councils were established, and which enabled the framers of the English Act to take advantage of those bodies for the administration of technical education. With regard to secondary education, the Report points out that it is in many respects weak, and that such schools as exist have many difficulties to struggle with, and that the struggle is not maintained with particular success. Everyone who knows anything of Scotland will confirm that view. As a link between the elementary school and the University, secondary education lacks vitality and energy. We shall have a large sum at the disposal of the country next year, and there will be many claims upon it.

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Any money given in relief of rates should not be dribbled away in minute sums to individual ratepayers; and so long as that evil is avoided, I acknowledge that the claim of the ratepayers is a strong claim. I trust that the amount at disposal will be such as to encourage the Government to consider also the claims of intermediate education. I do not believe, in my conscience, that the Lord Advocate, the Secretary for Scotland, and the Government would be in the least disinclined, if they have the means, to take that subject into their favourable consideration. I should be the first to protest against any expenditure of public money which took a fanciful and luxurious aspect. But I very much mistake my fellow-countrymen if they would not warmly welcome a well-considered plan of intermediate education, as beneficial to the industrial classes as it is to the classes above them in the social scale. It would enable the hewers of wood and drawers of water to take part in developing the higher branches of the occupations in which they are engaged. This is an object which, if carefully and prudently worked, will commend itself to the approbation of the people of Scotland. I think that such an application of public money would be approved of under two conditions—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now going outside the Vote.

MR. CRAWFORD: The Report of the Department divides the subject into technical and intermediate education, and, differing from England, the Department has power to inspect the secondary schools. Under these conditions, may I ask whether I am out of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is entering into the question of the appropriation of additional grants, which is outside the Vote.

MR. CRAWFORD: I know that there are other points to be discussed by hon. Members around me, and I will not pursue the matter further.

(6.10.) MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I hope the Government will give us some information, if possible in the form of a Return, as to the number of schools in which fees are charged in any, or all, standards, the number of scholars in each parish or School Board district who pay these fees, and the number of schools. What I

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wish to know is to what extent, under the grants to Scotland, education is already free. I do not think it would be desirable to take these figures until after the holidays, because I think the Minute of the Department came into effect only about June. If the Government would be good enough to obtain the statistics in some week of September, the information would be extremely useful when we come to consider the appropriation of the sum of money which falls to Scotland. As to the result of abolishing fees, the Inspectors bear testimony that it has had the effect of largely adding to the number of infant children in schools. On the other hand, all the Inspectors are equally unanimous that the result of limiting free education to the Fifth Standard is a diminution in the number of children in the higher standards. I am sure that this is a matter which must engage the most serious attention of the Government. There can be no question about the feeling which exists as to the early withdrawal of children. I know the right hon. Gentleman will say that the School Boards of Scotland are not bound to charge fees for children between three and five years, or over the age of 14. That is quite true. And one point I wish to learn is to what extent the School Boards of Scotland avail themselves of the power which they have of making education entirely free for the children of the elementary schools. The opinions of School Boards must not be taken without qualification. The School Boards are elected on a peculiar principle. They represent sects, interests, coteries, cliques, and associations, but they do not represent the bulk of the people of Scotland. The School Boards of Scotland are remarkably shrewd about keeping down the rates, and the question of children between three and five is likely to be determined by them rather upon considerations of economy than considerations affecting the interests of the children, or the education of the working classes. I trust, therefore, the Government will not be solely governed by the representations which no doubt they will receive from the School Boards, for I am perfectly confident that their views are not the views entertained by the people of Scotland. The Government must take

*Mr. Hunter*

a broad view of the question, and I hope they will see the great impropriety of holding up to the School Boards a false standard, because the fact of the Government saying that they are not bound to pay the fees under a certain age, although technically legal, would have a damaging effect.

(6.20.) **MR. J. PARKER SMITH** (Lanark, Partick): In Scotland we have now had a few years' experience of free education, and I think it is almost time that the Lord Advocate should say here what effect it is having on attendance and so forth. I hope he will be able to give us in the pages of the Report some account of what is happening in this matter. We are also entitled to ask how the new Code, which has been in operation for half a year, is working. As to free education, while it is increasing the number of infant children attending the schools, there is an unfortunate diminution in the higher standards. In England the number of children under five years in attendance is 10 per cent. of the whole number of children attending. In Scotland it is less than 2 per cent. That shows a very different state of circumstances. The larger number of children in attendance in Scotland are between the ages of five and seven—an age when they are capable of admirable discipline, as evidenced in the great schools of Glasgow. But it seems to me a very doubtful expedient to get these children to school between the ages of three and five years. Certainly the unsatisfactory feature of the Report is the diminution in the higher standards. The Inspectors speak of the difficulty of keeping the children at school up to the higher standards. I should like very much to see this point elucidated by figures, and I should like to know whether the Lord Advocate would be willing to give a Return on this point, giving the percentage of children under the age of 10, 12, 14, and 15 who pass the examinations? I believe that a means of checking this diminution in the higher standards would be to give greater elasticity to the new Code, and the Government might do something to encourage the children to stay longer at school. We have heard that all compulsory education should be free. I do not know whether anybody is pre-

pared to enunciate the converse, that all free education should be compulsory; but certainly free education gives a justification or opportunity for going in the direction of securing that the children pass the higher standards before they are exempted altogether. As to the secondary schools, they are at present very hard pressed by the higher class of public schools, which tread upon their heels very closely. Parliament has done all it can in the matter; money is needed, and money, I hope, will come. I can only say that while I would be exceedingly sorry to make the secondary schools the slaves of the Education Department, still I think a great deal could be done by putting them under its control. I am glad to see by the Report that during the Recess the Department will spare no pains in gathering information with regard to the present condition of secondary schools and endowments in Scotland. It is a wider promise than that given by the Lord Advocate in reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow. I suppose we may take it to mean that the inquiry will be into the whole question of these secondary schools, and that we shall have the full information before us. I hope the Department will also give information as to any change in the destination of the funds, which hitherto have been devoted to primary education, and which are now set free from secondary education. There is one point on which I should like an explanation. We have lately crossed the 9d. limit, and it was recently laid down by the Public Accounts Committee that we have acted upon an interpretation of the law which, in their opinion, is a wrong interpretation. As this involves some hardship to the schools which acted on the former interpretation of the law, I should like to hear some explanation on the subject from the Lord Advocate. In conclusion, I beg to join with the hon. Member for Lanark in congratulating the Lord Advocate and the Government on the satisfactory condition of education in Scotland.

(6.40.) MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I have not the enthusiasm for private schools possessed by my hon. Friend the Member for St. Rollox. I do not suppose they are animated by the disinterested motives which my hon.

Friend has attributed to them. All I can say is, that they have shown a greater zeal in many cases for the reduction of the rates than for the education of the people. I think some means ought to be taken by the Education Department to ensure that the money that accrues to them in excess shall go to increase the quality of the education rather than to reduce the fees. I have spoken to members of School Boards as to the teaching, and they have said that they satisfy the Department. On inquiry, I have found that satisfaction was caused by merely meeting the minimum requirements of the Department. That is not a gratifying state of matters. As to the subject of collective teaching, I am bound to say that, when I introduced it before, the Lord Advocate met me in a fair spirit; and on looking to the Report, I am glad to see that the Board are, on the whole, satisfied with the system. I would like the Government to consider whether that system could not be extended, knowing as I do that it would give greater elasticity to the arrangements of schools, and also that it would make more rational the work of the Inspectors if the Standard Codes were included in this system. Another point is, that no encouragement is given by the Department to teaching beyond Standard VI. The School Boards do not want any grants; all they desire is that subjects shall be given them for examination beyond Standard VI., and they are prepared to meet the expense. As regards secondary schools, I think that the Department should have the power to introduce among them higher standards than those now existing. They should provide a more efficient and more numerous staff of teachers. I think that is the only way in which any rational steps can be taken to meet the requirements of intermediate or secondary education, in the rural districts of Scotland particularly. In the case of towns, they have more income and more favourable circumstances. I think the interest taken by this House lately in educational questions, and the grants made by the Department, should encourage local School Boards to keep children longer at school where there is a desire in that direction on the part of the parents.

(6.48.) MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I wish to call attention to the question of the training colleges of Scotland. It has been my custom for some years past to take a Division upon this question; but I shall not upon this occasion, in the absence of so many Members for Scotland, put the House to the trouble of a Division, which would afford no true indication of the real opinion of the Scottish people on this subject. The Report of the Committee of Council, as usual, contains an allusion to this subject, which is in the nature of an excuse, and, therefore, being an excuse, is a condemnation of the system of management. It says that, although these colleges are denominational, it is but little more than in name, and that they are conducted with the utmost care, so as to respect any differences in religious views. We depend upon these colleges for the supply of schoolmasters in Scotland; and even though they are denominational but in name, still that very fact is evidence of the necessity for some reform. I wish the Lord Advocate and the Department to take heart of grace, and declare that these institutions, which almost entirely depend upon public support, should cease to be denominational, even in name. Many of us object to the training of public schoolmasters being divorced from the more liberal culture of the Universities. We hold that the benefit of the Universities should be extended to the rising generation of schoolmasters. I do not know what is the exact position of this question, and whether or not it is in the hands of the Commission. The subject has been before the Government in one shape or other for a very considerable time, and I suppose you have, at all events, some University institution to which a portion of the rising generation of schoolmasters might be drafted. Possibly, the University of Aberdeen and other Universities might be invited to take charge of part of the work of training the schoolmasters of the public elementary schools of Scotland. I hope the Lord Advocate will give us what information he possesses upon the subject, because I feel sure it is a matter of the greatest interest to the people of Scotland and to all who are concerned in the work of education.

(6.54.) MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth): I think the Government may be congratulated on the Debate on the Education Estimates. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not consider it a left-handed compliment to his speech if I say that it seemed to me as good an education speech as even the people of Scotland could have expected to have compressed into the space of ten minutes. In these matters Scotland, from her history, has perhaps given the lead to England. As regards free education, we know, of course, that it has been so; but on this question of free education in Scotland, I could have wished that the Report had given us a little more light and leading than I find in it. My hon. Friend mentioned the number of 38,000 as the number of school seats in excess of the demands of the population, but he also pointed to a table which seems to show that a very different result might be obtained—Table 9 in the Report. That Table shews that the average attendance is 517,738 out of a population of 728,340, leaving a difference of about 150,000. We have an additional £300,000 of expenditure in Scotland, and we naturally look for some educational results therefrom, and certainly the chief result appears to have been the increased attendance of children. There has been a complaint that Scotland does not equal England in the attendance of infant children, and I certainly think that if the former country is beginning to get hold of the neglected classes at an earlier age, thus being able to subject them to a salutary and beneficent discipline, a real and distinct gain will accrue to the community. Then we have the fact of the falling off in the higher standards. I do not think the School Boards are altogether responsible in this matter; but, on the other hand, I do not think it well that the whole responsibility should be thrown upon the Central Department. I think there are ways in which the Department could encourage the attendance in the higher standards. The Department might say that if the pupils passed before the age of 13, they should not be allowed to go to work, and so lost to the school at the most profitable age; the Department might say that

they should go on to the Sixth Standard. Whether or not that proposition would excite the opposition of the people is very difficult to say; but the Department might do something in the way of giving pecuniary recognition of work in the higher standards, and work towards the University. In reference to what the hon. Member for Dundee has said, I agree that it is necessary we should have an improvement and an extension of the teaching staff. Parents will not need compulsion to send their children where good teaching is to be obtained. I trust the Lord Advocate will consider the point, and be able to give us some assurance with regard to it. At present there is a great strain upon teachers, from which it is desirable that they should be to some extent relieved. If the Department would give some encouragement to the teachers in the higher grades out of this extra money, then the children would be able to receive sufficient education to start them in University studies. The case of the training colleges is important and urgent. I think I know, from recent information, how this matter stands, for it is but a few hours since I attended a deputation to Dover House on the subject of training colleges. Here is the difficulty that arises: We have given all this for free education, but the practising schools in connection with training colleges have lost considerably in their finances. They were receiving 9d. a week, or, say 30s. a year, for each pupil in the practising schools, and that enabled us to give them all the advantages of the schools at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, without any charge on the Estimates. 30s. from the parents paid the expenses, the staff of teachers being provided from the masters in training. But now the difficulty has arisen thus: These schools will get only the new grant—11s. to 13s.—instead of 30s. The question raised to-day was whether these practising schools should be treated as national rather than as denominational schools, whether they have not a fair claim to some of this public money. They are an essential part of the system for training teachers. I do not suppose the Lord Advocate can give us an answer yet, but it is a matter of serious consideration how these practising schools are to be kept alive. It was recommended by the Departmental

Committee that there should be required from teachers a rather longer discipline in connection with practising schools—that the present period of 12 weeks should be considerably increased. The Member for Dundee has raised in a practical form, in connection with the question of training colleges, a point which is important and urgent. All I wish and say is this: that it seems to me the Education Department has an excellent opportunity of experimentally trying a new system by favouring the demand made by the hon. Member (Mr. Robertson) on behalf of the Universities of Dundee and St. Andrews—that they may be allowed to train teachers. In some form or other the special training of teachers must be continued, and it might be done by the application of the same principle of a grant for their training at the Universities as at the Colleges. I am quite willing that the training of teachers should be transferred to hands entirely unconnected with churches, provided that it is a special training, and perhaps the first step in that direction would be to give the Dundee and St. Andrews Universities the power asked for, while the practising schools might also be nationalised. If Church Bodies no longer find it to the interest of their denominations to support these schools, then we might relieve the denominations of those practising schools and organise them as national institutions. Individuals, of course, could be retained on the staff under the new management, though changes may be made in the system of training. Without developing the subject, I merely express the hope that more attention will be paid by the Department to evening schools both in town and in rural districts.

(7.10.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I acknowledge with pleasure the great moderation which hon. Gentlemen have exercised in discussing this Vote, in which they take great interest, and the manner in which they have accommodated the length of their speeches to the time at the disposal of the House. I am sorry my hon. and learned Friend the Member for North East Lanark should have found that this is not the occasion for entering on a subject in which he takes an especial interest; and I do not think I shall go wrong if I say



that his speech—or so much of it as was delivered—has been noted, and shall receive attention in proportion to the importance of the subject discussed. I will do my best to answer the questions put to me, taking the subjects in order. The hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter) has asked for further information regarding schools in which fees are paid, and he wishes to have a statement as to the number and condition of these schools. In relation to the important and interesting subject he has discussed, my impression is that the hon. Member for North Aberdeen will find most, if not all, the information he desires in the present Report; but if not, I shall be prepared to consider whether any further information with regard to schools in which fees are charged, and the number of scholars paying them, can be given. As to the number of children who are paying fees over the Fifth Standard under the Minute recently abrogated, about one-half of the children were paying fees; but the result of the Minute of the 11th June will be that that proportion will practically disappear, and only the small number of children over 14 still in that standard will pay fees. I think it would be premature to make a statement, as desired by the hon. Member for Partick (Mr. Parker Smith), on the general effect of the remission of fees on attendance. I must wait for more matured experience to be able to speak as to actual results. In the opinion of the Department, the system of collective examinations works well. At first it was confined to the lower standards, but under the Code of 1890 it is applied to all the standards.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND: There are certain grants given on the results of individual examinations in Standard VI.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I do not think that is for examinations under the standard; the system has been extended to all the standards. I think the hon. Member for Sutherland is in error in his criticisms as to teaching above the Sixth Standard, but grants are paid for specific subjects. With regard to the question which came before the Public Accounts Committee, payment will be allowed, after due inquiry, in all cases where the rules that are this year for the first

*Mr. J. P. B. Robertson*

time definitely laid down by the Public Accounts Committee have been contravened. In future not only must the average fee not exceed 9d., but not more than one-third of the scholars must be paying more than 9d., and deductions must be made in the fees returned only for subjects (1) that are optional; (2) that are outside the necessary two hours of secular instruction; and (3) for which no grant is claimed. In each case the Department will ascertain the exact facts. I acknowledge the good sense and forbearance shown by the hon. Member for Dundee in abstaining, under present circumstances, from his time-honoured Division on the subject of training colleges. The subject of University training of teachers has been for some time under the consideration of the Department, and now the University Commission has it under consideration. The Department has submitted to the Commission proposals which have been made by some of the Universities, and I do not doubt that St. Andrews and Dundee Universities will have a special claim on the attention of the Commissioners. It is obvious that in this matter the action of the Department must, to a considerable extent, depend upon the new University arrangements. The present moment is not opportune for dwelling on the subject. The hon. Member for Perth has raised another point regarding the table of attendances given in the Report of the Scotch Education Department. I cannot say that I am a great partisan of the table, but the note that is added I consider to be sufficiently explanatory. The substance of the statement to which the table is applied will be found in the body of the Report. I trust I shall not again incur the somewhat kindly censure of the hon. Member for Perth for undue brevity. I do not undervalue the importance of the subjects he has touched upon, but I think it will be in accordance with the general wish if I follow the example of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who have treated this as a business matter, realising the conditions under which the Session is now closing.

(7.20.) MR. CALDWELL: I think the Committee will acknowledge that the criticisms I ventured to offer on the Report of the Education Department showed that I had made some

inquiry into the subjects I dealt with, and, as this is the first occasion of the kind I remember, I think I may be allowed to express some surprise that after criticising the Report of the Department, as I have found it my duty to do, the Lord Advocate has not said one single word in reply to that criticism. It is not a matter in which personally I have any feeling whatever, and no doubt everything I said of importance will be reported in the Scotch newspapers. I gave facts capable of proof on inquiry, and those facts in my speech will appear before the people of Scotland. It is a personal slight which I consider unworthy of the Lord Advocate, and it is utterly without precedent for a Member of the Government, after listening to a Debate on an important subject like this, to reply to every individual Member who spoke on the subject, but not to say one single word in answer to the criticisms offered by myself. If the Lord Advocate thinks it is a clever and convenient way of treating a speech pointing out defects in the Education Report, he is welcome to think so, but perhaps the real reason is that the Lord Advocate cannot reply to the facts which I brought forward. I did not make assertions merely; I stated facts which carry their own conclusions. Perhaps the Lord Advocate found that on those facts no reply is possible. We all know that it is more prudent when you have no reply for your opponent not to attempt one, and so I will not deny the prudence of the Lord Advocate. No doubt considerable time has been taken up in attacking the Report of the Department, but let me point out that on former occasions the Ministerial statement on Scottish educational matters has occupied an hour and a half, and the whole evening has been given to the discussion, and it is necessary that even more time should be occupied now, because we have reached a condition of affairs in Scotch education that is utterly unprecedented. For the first time in the history of Scotland there has been an arrestment of educational progress, if not an absolute decline. An important matter like this deserves serious treatment, and I think it would not have been right if I had made random charges against the Department without supporting my attack with facts. It was

necessary to lay the foundation and clear away the cobwebs in this Report of the Department, and having shown the actual state of facts, to inquire into the causes, and indicate how they should be dealt with in the future. I venture to say that, looking at the matter in a serious light, there are ample reasons for asking the attention of the House on the present occasion, and though the Government think it convenient to ignore the facts, the facts remain and demand attention. There has been no reply to what has been said by the hon. Member for Sutherland in regard to examinations. You have abolished individual examinations, as I predicted you would have to do, and this is the only opportunity we have of drawing a comparison and showing the effect of collective examinations *versus* individual examinations. The Department may think it convenient not to answer my speech, but I do not think that those who read that speech will think that the subject has been dealt with in a manner too extensive, or otherwise than in the interests of education. I am quite content to allow the Lord Advocate to do what the right hon. Gentleman knows no other Member of the Government has ever had the discourtesy to do in this House—namely, not to reply to criticisms made. This shows the difficulty under which we labour in not having the Secretary for Scotland in this House, and in having the Scottish business managed by the Lord Advocate, who replies to us with all the subtleties of legal acumen, but without those courtesies and amenities which we receive from every other Member of this or any other Government. We have had no reply, and I assume there is no reply to make. There are other matters we were prepared to discuss, but I will not take them up just now. It is evident that this subject is to be hurried through the House, and that no time is to be given to Scotch matters. They are left until the end of the Session, when nearly all the Scotch Members are away and discussion is not possible. Looking at the enormous sum we are giving from Imperial sources towards this object, at least one evening should be devoted to the discussion. Whatever boast the Government may make, and undoubtedly will

make, as to their legislative achievements this Session, the people of Scotland shall know that they were performed by the Scottish Estimates being hurried through at the end of the Session, when most of the Scottish Members were absent, by the Western Highlands Bill being taken early in the morning, and by the Education Vote itself being brought on at half-past two in the morning, sought to be taken without a word of explanation, and postponed by a species of bargaining unworthy of the Government and of the House.

\*(7.30.) MR. MORTON (Peterborough): Whatever cause of complaint the hon. Member may have, I think the Scottish Members have been treated better than Members representing English constituencies were treated last night, when the English Education Vote was not commenced until after 12 o'clock. I am glad to think the Scottish people have been treated a little better, although not, perhaps, so well as they deserve. I am sorry that it should be necessary to go into these matters here. I am of opinion that it would be much better if all these local matters were dealt with in Scotland, and if the Imperial Parliament were not troubled with going into them at all. However, as we have to deal with them it is our duty to make a few inquiries. I would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether he does not think that the office in London could be removed to Edinburgh in the interest of education in Scotland. I see that in the office in Edinburgh—under sub-head "K"—there are officials whose salaries amount to £640. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he does not think that this office could be transferred to London, and that office in London under sub-head "A" transferred to Edinburgh. That would be something in the way of Scottish Home Rule, and as I am in favour of Home Rule for Scotland as well as for Ireland, I should not object to it. Then, I would ask the Lord Advocate if properly qualified teachers have an opportunity in Scotland of obtaining the posts of Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, and so on? I have seen somewhere a statement to the effect that they have that opportunity, but I wish to obtain precise information on the point—information which, pos-

*Mr. Caldwell*

sibly, at some future time may guide us in dealing with England. As to sectarian training colleges, something was said about them just now; but I did not gather that the right hon. Gentleman gave any reply. Early this morning we had the courage to take a Division against sectarian training colleges in England, and I am sorry that hon. Gentlemen representing Scotch constituencies have not had the courage to do the same. At any rate, unless we can get an assurance from the Lord Advocate that changes have been considered in regard to this matter, I may feel it my duty to move a small reduction in the Vote as a matter of principle. I will not go into the accounts, as I fully and frankly admit that Scotland is the only part of the United Kingdom where something like economy is considered in connection with the public offices.

\*(7.36.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: In reply to the hon. Member I have to say that it would be impossible to disturb the Scotch Education Department to the extent of removing the office from London to Edinburgh. The Minister responsible for Education in Scotland must be in his place in Parliament, and moreover, the whole system of education in Scotland must be very much in touch with Parliament. The Department in Edinburgh is an accountant's office. It is found convenient to maintain this office, but I can assure the hon. Member that it is not a separate establishment performing double work or anything of that kind. As regards the appointments to Scotch Inspectorships, teachers are under no disqualification. The Department choose for these positions men of experience in educational work, and so long as they get efficient teachers the whole field is open.

MR. MORTON: Does the Department appoint teachers?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: Certainly appointments have been made amongst gentlemen engaged in educational work of some kind or other. The Department, however, make it a rule to take the best man wherever he is found. As to the question of training colleges, I do not know whether the hon. Member is fully acquainted with the point raised by the hon. Member for Dundee. The hon. Member adverted to the question of training colleges, but is he alive to the

fact that at present the question of supplying educational training to teachers in the Universities is mooted, and effectually mooted, before the University Committee? The Universities would be in competition with the training colleges, and the hon. Member has acknowledged that the Universities would be formidable competitors to the training colleges were they to enter the field.

\*(7.40.) MR. MORTON: I am not quite satisfied with the answer I have got—especially having regard to the way in which the Lord Advocate finished up. I will not now deal with the question of the Universities however, as they will come under another Vote. I am surprised at the right hon. Gentleman's statement in regard to the Education Office, and it does not appear to me to convey a very good reason for the Vote. I do not wish to put the Committee to the trouble of a Division, but I must say I very much regret that on the sectarian question the Scotch Members have not had the courage to follow the example set them by the English and Irish Members last night. I hope they will yet have the courage to move the reduction of the Vote—and if they do I shall be happy to vote with them. I hope the day is not far distant when Scotland will have Home Rule, and when all these local affairs will be managed in Scotland, for the benefit of Scotsmen. I am sure that they will be much better managed than they are at present by South Kensington Scotsmen.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I have some doubts as to whether the training colleges are the best colleges for training teachers. You want training colleges where you can get teaching of a particular character. My objection is not to the colleges, but to their sectarian character. I object to enormous endowments being given over to the Churches. It is not right that they should be given over in this way, and you cannot expect under such a system the same efficiency that you would have if you had a national system.

MR. CALDWELL: I do not intend to discuss the matter further on this Vote, but when the proper Vote comes on I shall certainly refer to the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Advocate—as I should to the conduct of any Member of the Government who

acted as he has done in this Debate. I shall take the opportunity then, if I see fit, to go into this subject at as great a length as the necessities of the case require. I say that without any feeling or temper. Discourtesy is a thing which the Lord Advocate can monopolise. I will not say one single word which could be interpreted as in any way rude or in any way angry. I shall bear myself with dignity and state my case with prudence and great patience when we come to the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

\*(7.45.) MR. MORTON: Before the Vote is taken I desire to put a question to the Lord Advocate which I promised the hon. Member for Haggerston to put. I desire to ask what are the hours of work in the Scotch Education Office in London?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: Seven hours.

MR. CALDWELL: Again I would refer to the conduct of the Lord Advocate. While he will not say a word in reply to me he has been kind and considerate to questions put by every other Member who has spoken on this side of the House, including the Member for Peterborough (Mr. Morton).

Vote agreed to.

2. £506,539, to complete the sum for Public Education, Ireland.

(7.49.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I desire to point out that, while there is an increase in the Education Votes in the case of England and Scotland, in the case of Ireland there is a decrease, from £933,000 last year to £927,000 this year. In spite of all our protests, some Irish Votes, for purposes which we consider useless, grow year after year, yet we find that a heavy reduction occurs in this Educational Vote. Moreover, we find that whilst the cost of administration and inspection, and the salaries of the higher officials, are maintained at an undiminished amount, the reduction—and it is a heavy one—takes place in the item for the salaries of the teachers. That is precisely the item which we should be glad to see increased. The result fees have fallen short this year by £18,000, and that, I have no doubt, means a considerable increase of hardship to a very hard-working and poorly-paid body of men. I think the time has

come when we may claim from the Chief Secretary some statement of a fundamental character as to his opinion about the continuance of this system of payment of teachers in Ireland, which has been abandoned in England. The system of payment by result fees, I say, has been abandoned in England, and 24 hours have not passed since the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council congratulated himself, the House, and the country on the fact. Still, we have heard nothing as to the system being brought to an end in Ireland. We hear of no intention of abandoning it. It exists in Ireland in a very aggravated form, because whilst you pay half the amount absolutely, the payment of the other half depends on an appropriation from local resources. This leads to very undesirable results in regard to the frankness and candour of the teachers, as it causes a tendency to paint the local receipts in too glowing colours. With regard to this Vote, the Irish Members stand in a very peculiar and very exceptional position. By the Customs and Excise Act, a sum of £78,000 was given last year to Ireland in aid of the salaries of teachers. We do not yet know how far that allocation has resulted in practical benefit. As a matter of fact, that money is still due, and the fact illustrates the Oriental manner in which the National Education Board in Dublin are pleased to discharge their functions. We have also yet to ascertain not only the mode of the distribution of the new grant to Ireland, but the principle upon which that distribution is to be based. Therefore it is difficult at present to discuss the Vote so far as it concerns the salaries of teachers. The operation and the principle of the Act of next year are hidden from us. The Chief Secretary will have next year not only a Local Government Bill for Ireland, but also a Bill for the allocation of the free education grant. I presume that in connection with the latter, he will make some proposal for securing the compulsory attendance of children at school. This is a question which, in regard to Ireland, would have to be approached with the greatest circumspection and with the greatest possible care. In a comparatively wealthy country, where the parents do not

*Mr. Sexton*

depend on the labour of the children, it is an easy matter to direct that parents shall be obliged to send their children to school, but in Ireland the people are so exceedingly poor that the labour of the children, even at a tender age, in some parts of the country is essential to the family. We have carefully to consider to what extent and on what gradations we must oblige parents to send their children to school. There is the question of age and also that of distance—and the latter is an important matter in a country where the children are very poor, badly clothed, and sometimes shoeless. It is apparent that the principle of compulsion in regard to education in Ireland will have to be very carefully considered. The question will resolve itself very much more into one of detail than of principle. Then it appears to me that the right hon. Gentleman can hardly approach the drafting of his Bill—certainly he cannot submit it to the House—without obtaining some precise authoritative information as to the condition of the people of Ireland. I would suggest the appointment of a small Commission, not an ornamental one, but a working Commission, who will present a Report by the end of the present year. If such a Commission were appointed, the right hon. Gentleman might find it extremely useful even beyond the scope of the question indicated. The time, I think, has come when there must be an overhauling of the system of so-called national education in Ireland. It requires examination from beginning to end, and the right hon. Gentleman could not do better than choose the present time to inform himself and the House on other matters which have been and will be the subject of controversy. We are not willing any longer that this National Board should be wholly nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. That may have been all very well generations since, when the Irish people had not either by their own reflection or by following the example of this country, educated themselves up to a higher conception of their rights. Nowadays, when they have almost manhood suffrage, and the Ballot Act, you cannot expect the people, in a matter so deeply affecting their interests as the education of their children, to accept the

sort of administration that would have been accepted a generation ago. We cannot consent to this Board being nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. The result of the present arrangement is that the control of the system is thrown into the hands of one man—the salaried Commissioner. We, in Ireland, are not in the humour to stand one man dictation any longer. Then, again, there ought to be inquiry into the model schools, which cost £30,000, and are attended by 7,000 children. Each child costs over £4 a year; there is nothing like that in the civilised world, and, in regard to mixed education, these schools are really denominational institutions of the most sinister kind. The question of the school books used by the National Board also requires investigation. Teachers are obliged to sell and the children are obliged to use the books issued by permission of the National Board, and those books alone. The Commissioners, in fact, impose the teaching from their own books by founding on those books the questions which are put in the examinations. Is it too much to ask that in Ireland as in England there should be free trade in school books, provided, of course, that they are not of an objectionable character? I trust also that the condition of the assistant teachers will be taken into careful consideration this year. At present whatever may be the classification of an assistant teacher he only gets the pay of the third class. If all the assistant teachers were to get the highest salaries of their class the difference in the Vote would be only £10,000 a year. Then the pension scheme is not in a satisfactory condition. It is sometimes unjust that a person should not be entitled to a pension until he has reached a certain age. Teachers ought to be entitled to pensions either on attaining a certain age or on completing a certain term of service. As for the question of teachers' residences, I fear it cannot be treated in a satisfactory manner until an Act is passed for the compulsory acquisition of sites. The next point I wish to refer to is in regard to the training colleges in Ireland, which are included in this Vote. I find an outline of the scheme for the future management of those institutions. It might interest the hon. Member for South Tyrone to

know that the college in which he feels such a profound interest (Marlborough Street College) will benefit by the changes made to the extent of £2,600. Last year the provision for Marlborough Street was £7,485, but the provision made this year for the College is £10,094. I noticed from the speech of the Vice President of the Council last night that the system of training colleges in England has been supplemented by a system of day colleges besides the resident colleges, and the Vice President has during the present year allocated out of the Education Vote as much money as is necessary for the working of his own scheme of day colleges, subject to approval by Parliament. What I would suggest to the Chief Secretary is that he should, in face of the obstruction that has been shown to his Bill, deal with the second part of his scheme in the same way as he dealt with the first—by the use of his Executive authority, and that he should this autumn make his valuation of the colleges as contemplated by the Bill, and out of the Education Vote, which always contains a sufficient surplus, should pay this year the first instalment towards cancelling that capital sum which is to be regarded as a debt to the colleges from the State. It would be quite in keeping with the action of the Vice President and in accordance with the scheme developed in this Estimate, and would be justified by Executive responsibility in financial matters of this kind.

(8.8.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The first point raised by the hon. Gentleman relates to the salaries of the teachers in Ireland. That matter has often occupied the attention of the Irish Members, and successive Governments have endeavoured to deal with it. The great difficulty in dealing with it has always been as to the provision of more money to improve the position of the teachers, who already, however, get more in proportion than is given to the teachers of the same class in England and Scotland. But I am very glad to be able to say that the present Government were enabled to give a large sum of money last year for increasing the salaries of the teachers—£78,000. And the money

was given in such a way that the benefit is not to be measured by the sum of £78,000 only, because it is so distributed that it may be made to earn for the teachers a contribution from the Government almost corresponding in amount. Therefore we may say that the Government have directly added to the remuneration of the Irish teachers last year not merely £78,000, but also a large corresponding contribution, which the Exchequer is bound to give under the existing regulation. With regard to the Bill of next Session, I quite agree with the views expressed by the hon. Member for West Belfast, and admit that the question of compulsory education is a matter of great complexity and delicacy, and one that will have to be dealt with very carefully, for I can well understand that in remote districts compulsory education, in consequence of the habits of the people, the long distances they are from any school, and other reasons, would not only be ineffective, but would be very burdensome and repulsive to a large number of the people. Whether it is wise or not to appoint a Commission I will consider, but I do not think it will be possible in any Bill to parcel out the districts where compulsory education should or should not be enforced. We must proceed in the matter on some easy, intelligible principle, though such principles might be somewhat arbitrary. The hon. Member referred to the Education Board, and said he thought it should have some elective element in it; but I think the Board should be compared not with Town Councils or County Councils, or other bodies which are controlled by the elective element, but rather with the Education Offices in England and Scotland, and with such Councils as the India Council and bodies of that kind, in which, so far as I know, the elective principle has never been admitted. However, this a matter far too large for me to adequately grapple with at the present moment, and I cannot hold out any hope that I shall next year be in a position, even if I think it desirable on other grounds, to make any proposal to disturb the existing arrangements. On the next point referred to by the hon. Member—that of the model schools—I have to give a somewhat similar answer. If those schools are to be interfered with at all I think it

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should be done on different principles to those which apply to other schools. I grant that it might be difficult to altogether defend the existing scheme or arrangements, but I must say that I think it would be most unwise for any Government to interfere with the model schools in Ulster, and, for my own part, I should never think of suggesting or recommending any such policy to the acceptance of the House. As to the alleged monopoly of the sale of books by the Education Department, it should be stated that the Department allow the schools to purchase their school books anywhere, provided only that they meet the necessary conditions. The fact simply is that the Department is able to supply the books at cost price, and, therefore, the school managers find it to their pecuniary advantage to purchase their books of the Department. The hon. Gentleman met that argument by remarking that, if the children were examined only by those books, the masters, being paid by results, were practically compelled to use them henceforth. All I can say is that I will make inquiries into this point, and if I find, as I am sure I shall not find, what I may describe as any failure of policy such as has been described in this matter, I will try to remedy the defect as far as possible. With regard to the question of the salaries of assistant teachers, the hon. Member says they are fixed at a rate far lower than the amount they earn by their classes. I do not gather he is prepared to say that the system is in essence wrong, and I take it he will be inclined to agree with me that to pay a man as much for undertaking the less onerous, less burdensome, and less responsible duties of assistant teachers as is paid to the man who runs the concern, simply because he is capable of passing the higher examination, would be absurd.

MR. SEXTON: My point is that it is not fair to treat a man who has climbed to the top rung of the ladder of classification exactly as if he remained at the bottom.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The danger is this. There are many men quite capable of passing the examination and becoming teachers who will not take the trouble to do so unless the assistant teacherships are made very much less remunerative. I will, however, consult with my advisers

as to whether the difference between the assistant and the head masters in this respect is too wide, and, if so, I will do my best to devise a remedy. As to the question of sites for school buildings, the Treasury are prepared to make advances for the whole cost of the site. They are prepared to charge a very low rate of interest, and of the rate so charged they will pay half themselves. These, I think, are extremely generous terms, and one satisfactory result is that the number of applications made for sites has rapidly increased of late years. Complaints have been made about the difficulty of obtaining sites, but, having gone through the reports, I can find no such complaint coming from the Board. It may be true, as has been said, that nothing short of compulsory power will enable us to provide sites in all cases where they are required. That is a question for consideration, and if the result of the inquiry is to show that the efficiency of many schools is destroyed or impaired by the fact that a teacher has to live a great distance from the place where his business is carried on, some remedy will have to be provided by this House. I have no doubt a system of compulsion, carefully safeguarding the interests not so much of the owner as of the occupier, will be devised. With regard to providing the capital sum required for the training colleges, the view of the Government was that the best way of doing so was to proceed by Bill. It was in that view I asked the Treasury to frame the Bill which has been discussed at such great length, and I still think the course I proposed was the best in the abstract; but when I brought in the Bill I never contemplated that it would receive any opposition at all, still less that there would be any opposition of the kind and from the quarter of which we have had some experience. I frankly admit that the course which my hon. Friend opposite and one or two hon. Friends of mine on the Ministerial side thought it their duty to take last night—the course which I understand they propose to follow on any future occasion—renders it necessary, or at all events advisable, for me to consider whether the Government may not, departing somewhat from the original plan, be content with carrying out the practical object, even though that is attained in a less theoretically perfect

manner than we should desire. I certainly have come to the conclusion that that is the case. Under the circumstances, I think it will probably be more convenient to do that which the Government has a legal right to do. The Bill provides substantially for two things. It provides that a valuation shall be taken of the houses and appurtenances of the three denominational training colleges, and it provides also that the interest of the capital sum so estimated shall be paid out of the Votes. It is not at all necessary to obtain legal sanction for making a valuation, and I propose to give instructions immediately to Sir John Ball Greene to proceed with the work. When that is done, and when we are acquainted with the capital sum which will be required in order to provide the three denominational training colleges with what in these discussions has been called a free home, I shall then, as I understand I have a right to do, pay the interest on the money out of the Votes which are now being taken. I believe there will be ample money for the purpose, and, if not, I shall provide additional security in any case in next year's Estimate, and I shall provide a special head under which this particular item of charge can be most conveniently taken. That, I hope, will save my hon. Friend opposite a great deal of unnecessary trouble, and also carry out a policy pressed upon me, I repeat, in the main, not by the Diocesan Synods, but by the United Synod of the Church of Ireland, and not on one but on two occasions—a policy which I initiated as much for the purpose of saving the undenominational colleges from the fate which undoubtedly awaits them if some such policy is not carried as for aiding the denominational colleges—a policy which I do not admit to be in any sense inconsistent with the system of mixed education now prevailing in Ireland. It is largely because I desire that the interests of the Presbyterian colleges, which my hon. Friend opposite specially represents, should not be injured, that I brought forward the Bill which has caused so much trouble and anxiety, I will not say so much bad blood, but so much heated controversy. I shall still feel, if and when this policy is carried out, that the persons to be congratulated upon its consummation are not merely or principally those who



are interested in Protestant training colleges or in Roman Catholic training colleges, but those who think with my hon. Friend that the educational future of Ireland is bound up with the prosperity of the mixed system which has so long been established in that country. (8.45.)

(9.19.) Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

(9.21.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I listened with attention and interest to the speech the Chief Secretary has just delivered. In regard to the matter of training colleges in Ireland, I gather from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman that he proposes to withdraw the Bill which has caused so much feeling within the last 48 hours, and to relieve the House of responsibility until he asks for a Vote next Session. He proposes to take upon himself the responsibility of providing the money, and, having done so, will afterwards come to Parliament for a Vote. So until then the responsibility of Members here will cease. To that course I have no objection, and I am glad the right hon. Gentleman has seen his way to remove a bone of contention; but in parting with the measure I would give it a final kick, though the fundamental objection I have will, of course, arise on the Vote for Training Colleges in the Estimates.

THE CHAIRMAN: The discussion of the Bill now is not permissible.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) and the Chief Secretary have discussed the whole question—

THE CHAIRMAN: The intention of the Government has been stated, but it would not be in order to discuss the question.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I do not intend to discuss the Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would not be in order to discuss the question at all.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I will reserve what I have to say until the Motion for the withdrawal of the Bill, and I will remain in town for that purpose, merely remarking now that without a Bill the Chief Secretary cannot touch the Irish Church surplus at all. Judging from the speech of the hon. Member for

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West Belfast, the model schools are the next educational institutions to be attacked. There are 29 on the Vote. The Chief Secretary says he does not intend to allow any attack in the Province of Ulster, which contains 14 out of the 29, and these 14 are, therefore, safe as long as the right hon. Gentleman remains in his present state of mind. But there are model schools outside Ulster which have as good a right to be maintained as those within it. There is one in Dublin which is as great a success as that at Belfast, and ought equally to be maintained. The same is true of the schools at Cork and other large centres of population, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will think twice before laying his hands on schools which provide a first-class education. I admit that there are schools which are less successful, but that is because the Roman Catholic clergy will not allow children to attend them. Even these were successful while they had the support of the Roman Catholic clergy; but since these clergy have turned against them and do not allow Catholic children to attend they have been failures. Still, outside Ulster there are schools that deserve to be maintained if the cost is not too great. [MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!] The Vote includes £10,000 for the Marlborough Street Training College, and £21,000 for the other three colleges. Marlborough Street College commenced training teachers in 1833, and has trained altogether 11,868, or an average of 201 a year. St. Patrick's, which received an endowment in 1883, in seven years has trained 593, or an average of 84. The Lady of Mercy College has trained 620, or an average of 88. There appears to be a disproportion between these averages and the grants voted. I coincide with what the hon. Member for West Belfast has said as to an Education Bill next year, and the Chief Secretary must not take me as hostile to that. I am quite prepared to discuss the Irish education question, but not at 3 o'clock in the morning, and I hope the House has seen the last of these efforts to get the Irish Estimates through by throwing a bone to the Irish Members.

(9.30.) MR. SEXTON: The hon. Member, as is usual with him when he wants to push a case, has not recited all the facts and figures that are relevant. The

hon. Member apparently has not noticed the explanation which is given in the foot-note.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I mentioned the average attendance in seven years.

MR. SEXTON: There is no meaning in the hon. Member's allusions, unless he means it to be inferred that there is something unfair in the proportion awarded to Marlborough Street College. We find that the average attendance at Marlborough Street College is 99 men and 99 women, and in the others, 184 men and 214 women; that is the arithmetical explanation of the figures £10,000 and £21,000. The money for Marlborough Street College is calculated at the same rates as in the case of the other colleges—on the attendance.

(9.32.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): The Chief Secretary has hinted at the course he might pursue; he has not positively stated that he will abandon the Training Colleges Bill, but has only said that he may do so. We have refrained from discussing Irish Votes in order to allow the Bill to come on, and that people might understand the tactics of the Ulster Members. If the right hon. Gentleman does not proceed with the Bill he will have got a good many Irish Votes on false pretences.

THE CHAIRMAN: This discussion is quite irregular.

COLONEL NOLAN: Well, I suppose we who are not on the Treasury Bench are not in order, but I submit if the Chief Secretary makes a statement we should be allowed reference to it. I have myself refrained from making a good many speeches during the last few days in the hope that the Bill would be brought on. But, of course, if it is not brought on we have no longer any responsibility, and the hon. Member for South Tyrone will have his way. Next year we do not know what new arrangement or combination of Parties may arise.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and gallant Gentleman must confine himself to matters pertinent to the Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN: The Commissioners of Education have reported upon the training colleges, and I wish to point out how few there are in Ireland for denominational education, whereas in England out of 41 training colleges something like 38 are conducted on denominational principles. Such is the

existing state of facts as indicated by the Commissioners, a state of facts so bad that I think we would be justified in moving a reduction of the Vote for the salary of the Commissioners. Still, I admit the Commissioners are painstaking men, and I see no advantage in taking that course now. Now, as to model schools. The hon. Member has spoken in praise of model schools, and I am willing to let him have his way with the model schools in some districts; there is a large portion of Ulster as to which I would raise no question. I would raise no question whatever about model schools in localities where Protestants are in the majority, but I am opposed to them in other parts of the country, because they are so very expensive. They cost a great deal more for each child educated than the ordinary national schools, and why should this additional expense be incurred? Why should you insist on paying more for children being educated in a certain way—that is, alongside other children of a different religious persuasion and against the wish of the parents? It is positively unfair towards the parents of children who wish to have religious and secular education combined. This is the state of the case outside Ulster. In some of the schools the teaching is well done, but this is a fresh injustice in this way: it swells the statistics of the highly-paid teachers for ordinary national schools. When you look at the scales of payment you find that a few are moderately well paid, and the greater number of these belong to the model schools, so that it appears as if the ordinary school teachers are slightly better paid than they actually are. But the principal object for which I rose was to call attention to what I consider the leading feature in Irish education. One of its greatest, most fatal imperfections is the low rate of payment to national school teachers. The Chief Secretary has taken credit to the Government for having given £78,000 towards the payment of Irish teachers, but really that is not a concession to Irish teachers; it is only a recognition of a tribute to the spirit of the age. The English Commissioners point out that the average rate of pay in 1870 was £94 2s. 1d., and that now it is £119 18s. 3d. Look at that enormous rise in England. I will not

say it has been so all over the world. I believe in America schoolmasters have been well paid for the last 20 or 30 years; but Irish teachers have shared in the rise to a very small extent, and they are not now anything like so well paid as the English teachers. It is said by some people that it is cheaper to live in Ireland, but that is a mistake so far as the class of people to which teachers belong are concerned. To a man who keeps servants and horses living may be cheaper than in the same position in England. But that does not apply to the schoolmaster, who finds all the articles of consumption as dear as in England. I doubt if house rent is much cheaper; and while a third of the teachers in England get houses rent free, not more than a sixth of the teachers in Ireland have houses supplied by the managers of schools. It is extremely difficult for a national schoolmaster to get a residence. The average pay of the immense bulk of the teachers in Ireland is only £78, whilst it is £119 in England, and a great deal more in Scotland. Two-thirds of the teachers in England get over £100, while only one-fourth of the masters in Ireland receive that amount. It is evident that the Irish schoolmaster is very badly treated relatively to his brother teacher in this country. It is sometimes said the English teacher is a better educated man. Well, the Irish schoolmasters make no unreasonable claim. The Irish teachers declare that they are willing to pass the same examination as the English schoolmasters, and agree not to ask the same salaries unless they succeed; and I believe they would do so, for Irishmen hold their own in all competitive examinations. The Chief Secretary says that sufficient money is not given from local resources in Ireland. There is a misconception on this point. In consequence of Ireland being a Catholic country the contributions often take a different form from those given in England. Take, for example, the schools of the Christian Brothers. They only receive a very small contribution from the State under the Science and Art Vote, and they educate something like an average of 8,000 children. The contributions to these schools, and the money paid for the maintenance of convents belonging to the teaching Orders are really sub-

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scriptions in aid of education, but these contributions are not taken into account as such. I admit that subscriptions in England are larger; there are old grants in England, and so there were once in Ireland, but they were confiscated a couple of centuries ago. You have a rich Established Church in England, and Churchmen, greatly to their honour, subscribe largely to education. The Catholic clergy make contributions, but their incomes are nothing like so solid or so large as the incomes of the clergy of the Established Church in England. Take these things into account when you reproach Ireland for the smallness of her local contributions towards education. My contention is this: That when the State has taken on itself the duty of educating the children of the people, then the State has taken on itself the duty of seeing that the social condition of the schoolmaster is a proper one. The social condition of the schoolmaster in Ireland is not sufficiently elevated, and that is chiefly due to the fact that he is underpaid, receiving only 75 per cent. of what is given to schoolmasters in a corresponding position in England. This I consider a very great grievance, and it is at the root of all the faults of Irish education. The Irish people value education quite as much as do the people of England; and considering the difficulties of getting their children to school, their poverty, and the sparseness of population in rural districts, the long distances that children have to be sent, the attendances show that the people value education. Though the position of the English schoolmaster is so much better, though the Irish schoolmaster is underpaid, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is going to give a very large sum to the English schoolmaster directly, and not a penny is going this year to the Irish schoolmaster. That is to be the state of facts for the next six months, and I do not know that it is going to be better afterwards. [Mr. GOSCHEN: Why?] If the right hon. Gentleman imagines that any large portion of the grant will find its way into the teachers' pockets he underestimates the intercepting powers of management in Ireland. I shall be glad if it should be otherwise. In England the school pence are paid tolerably well; in Ireland the payment is very irregular,

and managers, I think, have been in the habit of returning accounts that represent more than they actually receive. You are not going to give them money for the next six months; you are going to improve the position of the better-paid English schoolmaster—I do not say he is paid too well—and you leave the Irish schoolmaster in his present impoverished condition. Of course, the question of obtaining sites for teachers' residences is an important one. I agree that very often there is as much difficulty with the occupier as with the owner. I think Irish Members have done their duty in this respect. We have exhausted all our powers. Many Bills have we moved the Second Reading of on Wednesday afternoons; we have done all we could, but it seems to be a task beyond the powers of private Members. The present Chief Secretary, who is a friend to education in Ireland, should draft a Bill for compulsory acquisition of land; and if it offers reasonable compensation to landlord and tenant, I do not think any portion of the community will object. On another point raised by the hon. Member for West Belfast, I cannot speak so boldly as he did. Compulsory education in Ireland will be a very dangerous experiment. There is a strong feeling against it—I do not say among the majority; but there is a strong outcry against the prospect of members of the Irish Constabulary running after little children and bringing them before the Magistrate for not attending school. Much ill-feeling will be engendered by such prosecutions, and I doubt if the remedy will not be worse than the disease. Nearly all the children do go to school; and where attendance is irregular—for instance, in mountainous districts—the Chief Secretary says there will be exemption.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes; but the worst attendance is in towns.

COLONEL NOLAN: Well, I speak from experience in small towns, where I know that, simply from the influence of public opinion, children do attend extremely well; but, of course, in large towns the effect of the feeling among the community is lost. On the whole, I do not see that there is any great necessity for compulsion. Certainly

you cannot have compulsion unless you take the greatest care in the arrangement of the denominational system. Prosecutions will arouse strong religious feelings, and much trouble will ensue. The great grievance is not the unsatisfactory attendance of scholars, but the inadequate pay of the teachers and the bad placing of the schools. Of course, if you could map out the country into educational districts, you could place schools according to the configuration of the country and to the population. In Ireland the position of the school is generally determined by the position of the church—a convenient arrangement if the church stood in the midst of the population; but in most cases the difficulty of getting land has been such that the priest has put the church not where it would be most convenient, but upon the only piece of ground he could get. If the Chief Secretary should adopt the suggestion of a Commission of Inquiry into matters relating to education in Ireland, I hope there will be upon it a strong minority representing popular principles in Ireland. There is another long-standing grievance which I hope will receive the attention of the Chief Secretary. There are some Religious Orders whose schools come under the Department and get assistance, but that is not the case with the schools of the Christian Brothers—a most useful body of men, who educate some 8,000 children.

MR. FLYNN (Cork N.): More than that—30,000.

COLONEL NOLAN: I believe I am under-estimating. It is a standing grievance that the Christian Brothers, who give the best education to a very large number of children in the South and West of Ireland, do not receive any assistance from the State, except, to a small extent, through the Science and Art Department. I do not say that it is worth while the Christian Brothers insisting on the objection which prevents this assistance being given; but I do think that an arrangement might be arrived at. The Christian Brothers have no objection to receive Protestant children into their schools, and do not insist on their receiving religious education, but they consider it necessary to keep in their schoolrooms certain

symbols of their faith, a crucifix and a few pictures. Surely the difficulty ought to be overcome in some way, and the State might afford assistance to the education of the poorest children in the country. These Brothers are most useful servants of the State, and I say unhesitatingly that either the Government or the Christian Brothers ought to change their rules. I would as soon offer my advice to the Christian Brothers as to the Government in this respect, although I do not know that either side would receive it. I believe it is only a technical matter which prevents this teaching body from receiving assistance, and it is an absurd thing not to bring it under the rules. It must be borne in mind that by refusing contributions to this body you are punishing not merely the Christian Brothers but also the children who are going to the schools, who ought to have better accommodation, and the people of the towns in which they live, because they have to contribute largely towards the support of the Brothers. The Brothers have a little money of their own and they live very frugally, but really they have to be maintained by the congregations. I look upon this as a most important point, and I should like to have some explanation of it. If we have some expression of opinion from the right hon. Gentleman it may turn out that the reasons they do not get State allowances are not of such real consequence, and that some way may be found out of the difficulty. There are more than 30,000 children in Ireland receiving a solid education from the Brothers, and I think some recognition should be given of that education by the State. We now have a unique opportunity of doing it—now that a very large sum of money is being given to education. I am anxious to see the whole of this £200,000 given to Ireland, devoted to primary education, and I think that a fair share of it should go to the Christian Brothers.

\*(10.5.) MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): One matter referred to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman is worthy of serious consideration—that of the Christian Brothers. There is no Religious Order in the world which commends itself so much to every class as the Christian Brothers, especially those in Ireland.

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They have had some gifted Irishmen among them, such as Gerald Griffin; they give their lives to the teaching of the poor, and it does seem to be an anomaly that these self-sacrificing men should be deprived of any share in the grant owing to the rule of the Education Department as to religious symbols. I do not believe there is anybody in Ireland—not even Protestants—who would consider it a grievance if the rule in this respect were relaxed. I cannot say whether or not the point is a merely technical one, but it does seem to me that as the Christian Brothers have adhered to it so long, it is hardly fair to expect them to change the whole system and form of their schools. The Christian Brothers being excluded from all the benefits of primary education have applied themselves to compete with other schools in secondary education, and that is not always good for the pupils, as it leads to some children being forced, and to their receiving an education not suited to their course of life. It leads to inspiring children with ambition, which they have not afterwards the means of satisfying. To come to another point. I think we understood the right hon. Gentleman, in replying to the hon. Member for West Belfast, to say that he would take into favourable consideration the proposal that a School Commission should be appointed to inquire into certain questions connected with the system of education in Ireland—especially with a view to seeing how far and in what way compulsory education can best be adopted in that country. With regard to the introduction of compulsory education, the great difficulty will be in finding an authority to enforce compulsory attendance rather than in laying down rules. In some parts of Ireland the difficulties will be very great. The right hon. Gentleman is inclined to confine the experiment to the towns, and it is in the small towns that compulsion is most required. The attendance in some of the smaller towns is not at all what it should be, and in these cases especially something is wanted; but the great difficulty would be to arrange how compulsion is to be enforced. I am very much afraid that unless care is taken in framing the measure we shall have another outburst of those peculiar ideas

of religious toleration which were exemplified last night by those antiquated bigots—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

\*MR. KNOX: Then, I will say we shall have further speeches from gentlemen who expressed views of antiquated bigotry last night. I refer to such Members as the hon. Member for Camberwell (Mr. Kelly) and the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell). It is understood that the reason why this action is to be taken, if possible, to enforce compulsory education in Ireland is that a certain sum will be available next year for the increase of the salaries of the national teachers corresponding to the decrease in their present income owing to the abolition of fees. Of course there are fees in the country districts as well as in the towns, and I should like an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that he does not intend the abolition of fees to apply only to districts where compulsion is enforced. It is in remote country districts that the teachers at present lead such a severe life. There are an extraordinary number of them who receive less than £1 a week, and who have to eke out their livelihood by getting their wives to keep shops and by occupying themselves with business outside the work of teaching which seriously interferes with their efficiency. The right hon. Gentleman has stated that it will be impossible next year to introduce the principle of election in the Education Board. That may be so, but the right hon. Gentleman might to a great extent improve its composition by making the Catholic portion of it more representative of the feelings of the majority of the people. At present the Catholic portion are not in accord with the views of the Representatives for Ireland in this House, and I cannot think that that is a natural state of things. Without introducing the principle of election, it would be possible, as vacancies arise, to make this Board more in accordance with the feelings of the people. With regard to the books used in the elementary schools in Ireland, the right hon. Gentleman did not seem to understand how ridiculous the position is, and seemed to think that it was possible for the school managers to use what books they liked. That, as a matter of fact, is not the case. The rules of the

Board specify the reading books to be adopted, and they say that those books only shall be used which are prescribed and actually drawn up under the direction of the Commissioners of Education. The books absolutely prescribed in the schools are not only antiquated, but are about the most ludicrous things ever brought out in any country for the education of youth. They are dull; they teach nothing; they have no literary merit; they are selected from the worst authors in point of style. Then, is it too much to expect that some relaxation should be made in the rules which prevent the history of Ireland and any other history being taught in Irish primary schools? It is true that the history of the Jews may be taught—in an ordinary unsectarian way—but every other history is absolutely proscribed. It is true that a certain number of pupil teachers and training college pupils are examined in history, but I have looked through the papers that have been set for the examinations in history, and I must say that anything more out of date could hardly be imagined than the questions proposed. In one large batch of papers the only question I could find relating to the history of Ireland was a question dealing with the condition of things before the introduction of Christianity. I suppose that the examiners thought that at any period subsequent to the introduction of Christianity sectarian matters had been so introduced into the history of Ireland that it was dangerous to set a question. So far as the pupils in the elementary schools are concerned, they are not allowed to learn anything about history at all. In England it is entirely different, and I venture to suggest that the rules which are in force in England with regard to reading books may, with some little modification, be applied to schools in Ireland. The rule in England is to bring in history in two ways. In the first place, the history of England may be used as an alternative for reading books in the fourth and higher standards, these books not being prescribed, but being chosen by the school managers, and in the next place it is taught directly. I would suggest that reading books should be used in Ireland dealing with the history of that country.

—so long, of course, as the books were not obviously unsuitable. There are many histories of Ireland of a comparatively simple kind that might be used in the higher standards. Take the well-known history of D'Arcey McGee. This, if revised by modern scholars, might very well be used without offending the political or religious susceptibilities of most people in Ireland. The effect of proscribing the history of Ireland is that in some parts of the country there is less known about the history of Ireland than about the history of almost any other country. In the City of Belfast it is only in the back streets that you can find in a bookshop any book dealing with the history of Ireland, and this is due in a great degree to the fact that the history of Ireland is proscribed in the Irish schools. I should not have the slightest objection to the use even of a history of Ireland which did not entirely accord with the political views which personally I hold. Whatever Irish history were taught would be better than none. I once met a person who having read Froude's History of the English in Ireland said that if all therein contained were true it would make her become a Home Ruler. I do believe that if the facts are given, however anti-Irish the spirit in which they are written, they would not have an anti-Irish effect. At present it is nothing less than a scandal that children in Irish schools are not allowed to read history in any form. Not only ought it to be introduced as an alternative reading book, but history should be introduced as an optional subject in which the teachers can earn the grant. In England the teacher can earn 4s. a head on this subject, and why should not the same rule prevail in Ireland? I would suggest that if a School Commission is appointed it should inquire generally into the present system of prescribing the books to be used by the pupils. I venture to think that a worse system could not be introduced. I believe it is 40 years since the books now in use were first drawn up, and the result is that the science lessons taught are absolutely nonsensical. I venture to think that if education in Ireland is to be put upon a sound basis these books should be abolished as soon as possible.

*Mr. Knox*

\*(10.26.) MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.): The hon. Gentleman has suggested that the Christian Brothers in Ireland should be relieved from some of the rules of the Education Board in Ireland; but that seems to me an absurd proposal. It is not for the State to lay down rules for a particular body. The State grants money and lays down general conditions on which that money can be received, and it is for the religious bodies who wish to obtain a share of it to conform to the conditions. I do not undervalue the work the Christian Brothers do; but, at the same time, it is quite impossible for the State to make an exception in their behalf. The hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Nolan) has to-night had an opportunity of letting off that steam which for two or three days has been accumulating, so much to his discomfort, but I doubt whether the Chief Secretary will thank him for having told us that he and his friends have held their tongues for three days in consequence of what has been given in the endowment of the training colleges. On that subject I would ask the Chief Secretary whether I have correctly understood him. I understand that he proposes not to obtain the money by means of a Bill, but to enlarge the Vote for Education next year. Well, he will do that on his own responsibility; and it will be open to those who have opposed him on this subject to move a reduction in the proposed Vote next Session. That policy is entirely on the right hon. Gentleman's responsibility, and I and my friends are relieved by the course he intends to pursue. I should be glad if the Chief Secretary can see his way to give £180,000 or £200,000 to the teachers, which they are entitled to under the arrangements of this year.

(10.29.) MR. FLYNN: As to the Christian Brothers, the hon. Member is under a misconception. Let me inform him that they took up the work of primary education in Ireland 30 years before the National Board was established. The Christian Brothers have been in existence for 90 years, and have now over 78 establishments and between 30,000 and 35,000 pupils attending them. It is acknowledged that the primary education given by that body would be difficult to beat in any part of Great Britain. The

elementary, English, mathematical, and scientific education given by the Brothers is acknowledged by all experts in these matters to be superior to anything of the kind in England. We are justified in asking that something should be done to assist this most deserving body. I do not know whether the Christian Brothers, if they read a report of these proceedings, will be at all obliged to the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), who appears to think that the objection of the Order arises on a mere technicality. The Christian Brothers are perfectly willing to submit to all the reasonable requirements of the Board, but they will not remove those religious symbols that form the distinctive mark of their association. The Chief Secretary will remember that two years ago we called his attention to this matter, and claimed for the Christian Brothers some share in the primary education grant. The right hon. Gentleman gave a more or less favourable reply; but it was not essentially definite. We referred him to the Reports of various Committees on the subject. The real point of difference between the Christian Brothers and the Board is this: The Board give grants to schools that are practically denominational, to schools under the control of various orders of nuns for the teaching of girls; but the religious teaching is given at certain hours, and they obtain grants for primary education. The Christian Brothers are willing to submit their books for the approval of the Commissioners, they are prepared for the inspection of their schools, and for examinations, and are prepared to fulfil every reasonable requirement, and in view of what they are doing and have done for the cause of education, I do not think it is asking too much when we appeal for a relaxation of the rule in their favour, enabling them to get a little of the additional money to be devoted to primary education. I share the regret that the £78,000 provided by Parliament last year has not yet been divided among school teachers. Reference has been made to the books used in the National schools, and I agree they are a discredit to any educational system. They are out of date, as dry and uninteresting as

can be imagined. The Chief Secretary shuddered at the idea of reading through the books during the recess, and I would not suggest that such a punishment should be inflicted upon him; but such a task might be entrusted to a Lord of the Treasury, or, say, the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, whose duties are not very onerous, and I am quite sure that the report would be that they are the dullest and most absurd compilations ever put before children.

(10.38.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I will not go into the comparison presented by the amount devoted to national education and to other purposes in these Votes. Much has been said on the teachers' salaries, and much may be said on behalf of the children who are taught. The question of books was raised many years ago by the hon. Member for the Scotland Division (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), when, I think, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bridgeton (Sir G. Trevelyan) was Chief Secretary; and now, when the present Chief Secretary contemplates a new departure in Irish education, it is fitting that we should say a few words on this topic, though the time and circumstances of the Session do not admit of full discussion. I desire to offer a general protest against the system of education in Ireland. If we are going to have compulsory attendance, then I say we must provide the children with some better instruction in the schools into which they are forced. The books contain the greatest nonsense imaginable. What is the advantage a child will get from reading Dr. Whateley's nonsense on political economy. Why are the children tortured with spelling and grammar and geography in the form presented in these books? What the children ought to be taught first is to read, but under the system of spelling it takes five years to teach a child to read, whereas in other countries a child can be taught to read in 12 months. If you take up the grammar in the Irish National schools, you will find that nothing more difficult could be put into the hands of children. What interest can be excited in the mind of a child by a "demonstrative adjective pronoun;" what is the use of burdening his memory with the height



of the Himalayas? Let the Commissioners turn their attention to the system pursued in France, and I believe also in Germany; let them teach the child something of the body he runs about in, the sky over him, the earth under him; something that will enlarge his mind and awaken his interest, and banish much of the nonsense of so-called education. If you are going to make education compulsory, we have a right to ask what you are going to teach the children. The least we can ask you to do is to give them an education that will be of some good to the children. Especially with regard to a country where music was so much cultivated formerly, something ought to be done to sweeten the peoples' lives by bringing them up with a knowledge of the old melodies which prevailed in the country some years ago. There is in Ireland Dr. Joyce, a man of enormous range of knowledge, in thorough sympathy with the people, and whether the airs are Munster airs or Ulster airs, he has practically a knowledge of them all. Dr. Joyce has produced the Irish airs in a series of volumes, which must have cost him immense pains and labour. A man like Dr. Joyce ought to be put in the front of the educational system of Ireland.

(10.47.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I certainly agree with the spirit which has animated the hon. and learned Gentleman in the remarks he has just made, and I must express my hearty concurrence with the general sentiments he has expressed. For grammar I have a respectful toleration, and for spelling a hearty aversion. As far as music is concerned, my own opinion is that the more music is taught in the primary schools, not of Ireland only, but of England and Scotland too, the more brightness shall we introduce into the lives of the people. With regard to the books used in the primary schools, I desire to supply an omission in my earlier speech by stating that I understand the books are at this time undergoing careful revision—["By whom?"]—by the authorities of the Board; and I have no doubt that many of the defects that have been adverted to will be removed. The statement that Irish history ought to be more largely taught

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

I do not wish to traverse in any dogmatic way. But there would be some difficulty in getting Catholics and Protestants to accept the same version of certain historic events, such as the Revolution of 1641, the Rebellion of 1688, and the Union of 1800. I gladly recognise the service of the Christian Brothers to the cause of education, but it will hardly be held that because the Christian Brothers decline to make their rules consonant with those of the Department, therefore the Department must make its rules consonant with those of the Christian Brothers. It is not as if the rules of the Department are of so rigid a character that no Monastic Orders find it possible to come under them. The French Order of the Christian Brothers have come under them, and a great number of Monastic and Conventual Institutions have no difficulty in arranging their course of education so as to earn the Government grant. I think I have explained earlier that the Vote will be sufficient to meet the interest that will accrue upon the capital sum determined upon by the valuers in the case of the training colleges. If it is not, there will have to be a Supplementary Estimate next year; and, of course, the Vote will have to be introduced in the ordinary Estimates. The capital sum will not have to be provided at all. What will be provided is an amount of annuities which will pay the interest and repay the capital in 35 years. So far as this year is concerned, I am content to take on my shoulders the responsibility which hon. Members have thrown upon me.

(10.54.) COLONEL NOLAN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say what is the action on the part of the Christian Brothers that prevents them coming under the rules of the Department? I have some knowledge on the subject, but I think some official statement might possibly go a certain distance towards removing the objection.

MR. FLYNN: I am in a position to say that the Christian Brothers are prepared to make very large concessions. They will submit, for instance, to an examination of books to show results, and everything of that kind. The right hon. Gentleman has said that convent schools have come under the National Board. Let me

point out that the Christian Brothers have been engaged in teaching in Ireland for 90 years, and that short of an absolute surrender on one particular question of principle they are prepared to comply with every reasonable requirement of the Commissioners of National Education.

MR. LEA: In view of the desire to bring the Session to a close, I and my hon. Colleague (Mr. T. W. Russell) have no intention of continuing the discussion in respect to the training colleges. We will reserve anything we have got to say until next Session. May I ask, however, if we are to understand that when the Bill is reached to-night the Order will be discharged?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Certainly; the Bill will not be proceeded with; but I am not sure whether the Motion will be made to-night for the discharge of the Order. As to the Christian Brothers, I believe I am right in saying that the essential point of difference—the ground of separation—at this moment has relation to the use of symbols.

MR. T. M. HEALY: With regard to the valuation which is to be made of the buildings, will the right hon. Gentleman say whether the work is to be entrusted to the Board of Works, or are the Government going to proceed under the Public Works Loan Act, 1889?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The intention is to entrust the work to Sir J. B. Green.

MR. MORTON: I should like the right hon. Gentleman to be good enough to explain how it is that the office in Dublin costs so much more than the Scotch Office.

Vote agreed to.

3. £3,028, to complete the sum for Queen's Colleges, Ireland.

(11.4.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I desire to ask what are the intentions of the Government with regard to the vacancies that must be created in the teaching staffs of these colleges under the Civil Service rules? As I hold that the Queen's Colleges will never meet with anything like approval, I do not feel entitled to make the same strong representation as if I were a supporter of them; at the same time, from the point of view of public policy, it is extremely desirable—

as at some time these colleges will have to be abolished—that in staffing them we should have men who will not necessarily be laid on the table, but can be used in the creation of another system by, say, a Home Rule Parliament. We could not depend on the existing staff if you are going to appoint gentlemen hostile to the feelings and religious convictions of the people.

(11.7.) MR. SEXTON: I should like to ascertain whether the case of Professor Pye has been considered. He is a gentleman who, by the alteration of the University Act, has suffered considerable hardships, and I think the Government should consider the possibility of mitigating his position. The Queen's Colleges cost the country about £40,000 a year, and are regarded as institutions in which mixed education is maintained. I do not think the system can be called a success. The Queen's College, Belfast, is practically a Presbyterian college, and the staff of the college is, I believe, Presbyterian. I should not complain of that, if the colleges of Galway and Cork, both of which are in Roman Catholic districts, were officered by Catholics for Catholic students. I am disposed to think that the only way out of the difficulty will be to give Queen's College, Belfast, to the Presbyterians, possibly as the centre of a Presbyterian University, and in the same way to give the Galway and Cork Colleges to the Roman Catholics. As to Queen's College, Galway, it is situated in the heart of a Catholic province, and the intention of Parliament in founding the college was to afford the means of University education to the Catholic population. In that respect it is a total failure. The total number of students at the college is about 100, of whom not a dozen are Catholics. Of the staff, the President and the Standing Committee are all Protestants, and out of 15 professors only three are Catholics. This college is maintained at a cost of £12,000 a year, and it is time for Parliament to consider whether it is any longer justified in spending this large sum to no purpose. The Cork and Galway Colleges have been rejected by the population of the districts in which they are situated, and consequently

their educational efficiency is low. The students at Belfast have acquitted themselves honourably; while the students at Blackrock have shown themselves, by the honours which they have won at the examinations, to be better students and better scholars, although they have to provide their own educational machinery and go for examination before the professors who educate their rivals. I object to these Queen's Colleges root and branch, and shall take every opportunity to end them.

(11.16.) MR. RENTOUL (Down, E.): I wish to call attention to a grievance which has existed since the time of the abolition of Queen's University; and I am sure that my hon. Friend, although he objects to Queen's Colleges root and branch, will bear me out in the statement I am about to make. Queen's Colleges were first opened in the year 1849, and in 1852 they were formed into a University, the professors appointed to the Queen's College becoming professors of Queen's University and examiners for the Royal University. I think my hon. Friend rather understated his case when he complained of the Queen's College professors acting as University examiners. I wish, however, to refer to one particular case of hardship. The case came before the Dublin Courts. It is that of Professor Pye, of Queen's College, who, it so happens, labours under the great disadvantage of being both a Nationalist and a Roman Catholic. He is one of the ablest men in Ireland at the present time. It has been my good fortune, under the Irish system of mixed education, to enjoy his intimate acquaintance. I was a student at the time he took a high and distinguished degree in medicine; he secured a gold medal and first honours, and I believe is the only Doctor of Medicine who was specially complimented by the Lord Lieutenant. Shortly after he applied for and obtained the appointment of Professor of Anatomy at Queen's College, Galway, and although he might have started as a medical man in the town, and secured the first practice, he devoted himself solely to the duties of his professorship. His income ranged from £700 to £800 a year. In 1863 an arrangement was made under which the professors, whose classes were

largely attended, should accept a smaller annual endowment from the College. In his case the endowment was fixed at £200, and the fees amounted to between £500 and £600. Last year, however, they fell to £130. Why has the number of students diminished so seriously? Professor Pye is still looked upon as being as able a man as when he was first appointed. The reason is, that up to 1882 every student who intended to graduate in Queen's University was compelled to attend the Queen's Colleges classes. The fees each student had to pay amounted to 12 guineas, and in addition there was a fee of £7 or £8 more for practical anatomy. But when the Royal University was established no such rule was laid down. Any student can graduate at that University, no matter at what college he attended; and since that year Professor Pye, through circumstances he could not control, has lost an aggregate sum of £2,900. His income is now under £400 a year, after having held his chair for 14 or 15 years. In order to try and put the matter right he went to the Law Courts. His petition was heard by Baron Dowse; but the Judgment was given for the Crown, although the Judge expressed an opinion that a scheme for compensating Mr. Pye should be submitted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! It does not seem to me that this case has anything to do with the Vote.

MR. RENTOUL: I mentioned the matter to the Attorney General for Ireland, and understood that I could bring the case forward. Professor Pye has failed in obtaining a legal remedy, and the only hope of redress lies in bringing the matter before the attention of the Government. I hope we shall hear from the Chief Secretary that he has done something to meet the hardships of this case.

(11.30.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The case to which the hon. Member (Mr. Rentoul) has drawn attention is acknowledged to be one of great hardship, but it is also acknowledged that it would be very difficult for any Government to deal with it. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) has raised certain questions about the appointment of professors to the Queen's Colleges. The

*Mr. Sexton*

practice adopted is this: The principal of a college sends the names of selected persons to the Lord Lieutenant for approval, and the Lord Lieutenant almost invariably appoints the candidates so selected. The present is not, in my opinion, an opportune time for raising the whole question of the constitution and position of the Queen's Colleges. I cannot hope to deal with the question during the remainder of the present Government's tenure of Office, but I shall watch my successor's efforts to deal with it with a benevolent interest.

(11.32.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I hope that with regard to the appointment of the staff of the colleges the Government will not allow the vices that now exist to be perpetuated. It is new to me that these appointments are made by a kind of co-optation: the longer we live the more we learn. My hon. Friend has pointed out that Protestant ascendancy in its most virulent form prevails in the colleges at Galway and Cork. Of course, as to the appointment of Professor Sullivan, it was a wonderful instance of the benevolence of the British Government to throw a few crumbs to a Catholic. We believe that any Government which succeeds the Government of the right hon. Gentleman must do something in this matter. It would not cost the State more to appoint a Catholic than a Protestant, but it would harmonise with the general feelings and prejudices, if I may use the word, of the population. Accordingly, I say the Lord Lieutenant ought in his appointments to have regard to the general colouring of the district in which these colleges exist. We do not object if in Belfast you appoint a gentleman of the religion which prevails in that city. You have, as regards Galway and Cork, such a state of things that we may fairly call upon you to bring the colleges into harmony with the religious opinions of the populations. If the Lord Lieutenant does his duty he may do something to render the appointments less obnoxious to the populations in the midst of which the colleges are. Such appointments will certainly be made when the Irish people have the management of their own affairs.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: If hon. Members from Ireland desire to promote Home Rule in their country they will do well to say as little as possible about their intention to govern the country in accordance with Roman Catholic views.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to inform the hon. Member that we shall say in this House just what we like, whether it pleases him or his friends or not.

Vote agreed to.

#### CLASS V.

4. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £252,897 (including an additional sum of £5,040), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions abroad, and of the Consular Establishments Abroad and other Expenditure chargeable on the Consular Vote."

(11.40.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: At this time of the night I do not propose to detain the Committee at any great length. I have put down a Motion to reduce the salary of the Agent General in Egypt, but I at once say I have not the least desire to reduce the salary of Sir Evelyn Baring; my Motion is purely formal. On a former occasion I asked certain questions in connection with the Foreign Office Vote—in connection with the Triple Alliance and the *status quo* in Egypt. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at that time confined himself to the larger question, and said he would not go into the Egyptian question. I then said I was much afraid that, in the eyes of Europe, we were establishing ourselves permanently in Egypt, and I think some things have since happened which have accentuated and emphasised the view I then took. I then said Sir Evelyn Baring's Report appeared to amount to this: "We have done little; we have a great deal more to do. If you will give us another term we will make a good thing of it." Since then there has been a pronouncement from a right hon. Gentleman who, to a considerable extent, pulls the strings of the Government—I mean the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). That right hon. Gentle-

man, in a speech which has been made public, said that—

"We have managed to possess ourselves of every part of Africa which is of the slightest importance, and in Egypt we have the finest cotton-growing country in the world."

I think that is a somewhat dangerous statement to make. It leads other countries to suppose that we are settling ourselves in Egypt. No less a person than the Sultan has taken alarm at that statement. I admit that the Sultan of Turkey is not so important a person as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham; still, I should be glad to know if there is any truth in the telegram published in the papers this morning stating that the Sultan proposes to depose the Khedive? It has been reported by Sir Evelyn Baring that reforms in the system of irrigation are to be carried out, and I think that one of the most useful reforms in Egypt would be the distributing of the rich fertilising flood waters of the Nile over the lands of Upper Egypt. The objection to the submerging of ancient inscriptions may be met by the removal of these inscriptions to the British Museum or elsewhere. The re-assessment of the Land Tax is undoubtedly a necessity; there has been no re-assessment since the days of Mehemet Ali. An attempt was made to carry out this reform by Nubar Pasha, but so much opposition was offered that the attempt was not persevered with. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will be able to tell us if these reforms are being undertaken.

(11.50.) MR. POWELL J. WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): Upon this Vote I desire to call attention to a matter of considerable commercial importance.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I rise to order. I did not move a reduction of the Vote, but I thought I should get an answer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is quite in order.

MR. POWELL J. WILLIAMS: I will not stand in the way if the right hon. Gentleman desires to answer.

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FER-GUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): I will answer all at once.

*Sir G. Campbell*

MR. POWELL J. WILLIAMS:

Though the subject I desire to raise may not be so seductive as the condition of Egypt, it has considerable practical importance. I desire to call attention to what I consider a considerable grievance, namely, the extraordinary disadvantages under which an Englishman taking out patents abroad labours as compared with the treatment of foreigners in this country who take out patents here. A German, for instance, taking out a patent in England, can make the articles in Germany and import them here without any injury whatever to his title and his patent; whereas an Englishman taking out a patent in Germany is subject to all kinds of restrictions, which render it almost impossible to carry on the trade under his patent unless the machines used for making the thing patented and the articles themselves are made in Germany. The fact is, I am afraid our Diplomatic Agents abroad have not received much culture in commerce; they are not selected for their commercial experience, and foreign Governments rather get the better of them in these matters. I understand the system to be this: that in relation to the Patent Laws, arrangements, which are called Conventions, between this country and foreign countries, are entered into, and on the face of these Conventions there is little to object to, but the Conventions always contain a clause that there shall be nothing therein contained contrary to the standing Patent Laws of the country which grants the Convention. Under these laws all sorts of conditions are exacted, greatly to the disadvantage of the patentee. When a man wishes to take out a patent in England, whether he is an Englishman or a foreigner, he is only required by our Patent Laws to lodge in the Patent Office sufficient specifications and drawings for showing the patent which he takes out; whereas in foreign countries he is required to provide large working drawings showing every detail in such a manner as enables the foreigner, if he chooses, to set to work and make the article itself. This is in itself a great disadvantage. There are other restrictions—as to time, as to the mode of working the patent, as to making the

machinery, to which I have already alluded. These are all restrictions not exacted in this country, neither, indeed, are they in the United States; but they are exacted by almost every foreign country on the Continent. Let me state the conditions under which an Englishman takes out a patent in Belgium, and the right hon. Gentleman will see how greatly the Englishman is at a disadvantage as compared with the Belgian who may require to take out a patent in England, and which he gets on precisely the same conditions as the Englishman does. In Belgium all the real working of the patent must be done in Belgium; that is to say, if the patent article is made by machinery, then it must be made in Belgium, otherwise in 12 months the patent lapses and becomes void. The same observation applies to France; the article must be made in France, and not imported. This is a state of things to which it is very desirable that those who represent this country abroad should have their attention called, and they should consider at the time Conventions are being arranged to what extent the Convention places Englishmen at a disadvantage as compared with foreigners. I wish to guard myself against the idea that I wish to say anything in favour of what I consider the pernicious economic nostrum called Fair Trade. I have no desire to support that theory, but I do say we have no business to allow the foreign workman to be protected to the disadvantage of the British workman, and when a Convention is entered into it should be represented to the Government of a foreign country that it is desirable and equitable that the conditions which apply to a patent taken out here by a foreigner should apply to a patent taken out by an Englishman in the foreign country. A practical method of doing some good in this matter would be that the Foreign Office should call the attention of our representatives abroad to the Patent Laws, and obtain through them an authoritative statement showing precisely the conditions, for they vary in different countries, under which patents are granted to foreigners in the countries where they act as our representatives. I am quite sure that such a statement would show that Englishmen are at an

enormous disadvantage compared with the position of foreigners here. I have thought it my duty to call attention to this matter, and I have not, I think, done so at excessive length. It is a matter of great commercial interest, and it concerns many of the inhabitants of Birmingham.

(12.0.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I must protest against the subject of our rule in Egypt being mixed up with the Patent Laws, and, therefore, I beg to move to reduce the Vote by £500, part of the salary of the Agent and Consul General in Egypt.

THE CHAIRMAN: The inconvenience of putting that Motion will be that it will be impossible to answer the second question, but the right hon. Gentleman may reply at once.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I am sure the hon. Member knows that the last thing I should desire would be to treat him with discourtesy or give an inadequate answer on any matter he brings before the House. The hon. Member must know, after many years' experience of these Debates, that, as a rule, when no Amendment is moved, it is usual for the representative of the Department to wait to hear what other members of the Committee may say, and then to make a somewhat multifarious speech, without unduly prolonging debate. I will endeavour, without doing any injustice to the hon. Member, to deal with the two subjects that have been brought forward. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy has for a long time devoted a great deal of attention to Egypt, and it is not unreasonable that he should, for the first time this year, call particular attention to the Reports submitted to the House upon the progress in the administration in Egypt. Though we interfere as little as possible in that administration, undoubtedly British influence has been much concerned in the reforms accomplished in that country during the last few years. I do not think I need discuss the question of whether the occupation of Egypt by our troops is to be short or not. I am sure that the

years they have been there have not been wasted, and that giant strides have been made towards the restoration of the prosperity of that country, and the readjustment of its finances. The most satisfactory results submitted to the House in the Reports show really a revolution in the affairs of that country. Whereas only in 1885 there was a Conference of the six great Powers held in London, whereat a postponement was agreed upon of a portion of the interest on the Egyptian Debt, the finances of that country are now in such a solvent condition, with such a reserve, that no postponement of liabilities need for a moment be feared, and even the amount of interest temporarily suspended has been refunded to the bondholder. The mere fact that last year there was a surplus of £600,000, and that in the present year a surplus of half a million is anticipated, although the taxation has been decreased by £600,000, and the expenditure by £300,000, surely shows a satisfactory financial result. I really venture to deprecate the constant asking of questions on matters of undoubtedly immense moment upon mere newspaper reports. The hon. Member has asked me, whether there is any truth in the report in the *Times* this morning, to the effect that the Sultan proposes to depose the Khedive. I can recollect in my time many such rumours. Like meteors across the sky, they come and go, and we do not pay much attention to them, and I would recommend the hon. Gentleman not to be disquieted by such sensational telegrams as those. We have no idea that the Sultan has expressed any such intention. As to the Constitutional government of Egypt, it is clearly shown in a recent Memorandum from Sir Evelyn Baring that it remains substantially what it was when we took it in charge. The number of European officials has been decreased, and every effort has been made to leave the Ministers of the Khedive free scope, while, at the same time, giving them every support. The only considerable change made in the government of the country is the recognition as a reality of the Legislative Council of the Khedive. It is most gratifying to observe how year by year the elected members take a more intelligent and

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practical view of matters submitted to them, and as education is extended it may be expected year by year the Council will more and more realise the functions of a representative institution. There is much to be desired in the improvement of the sanitary condition of Cairo; but the hon. Member knows the great difficulty in securing the consent of European Powers to the adequate taxation of their colonies in Egypt. As to the extension of irrigation in Egypt, undoubtedly the Government of Egypt is most desirous of dealing with the irrigation of Upper Egypt as they have dealt with that of Lower Egypt. There is an enormous improvement in the cultivated land in the Delta by reason of the admirable irrigation works that have been carried out, and undoubtedly considerable addition might be made to the cultivable area of Upper Egypt by a well-devised scheme of storage of water there. But many things have to be considered, and nothing is to be gained by precipitate action. Moreover, as yet the Government has not been in a position to spend the large sum necessary for works of that magnitude; but I have reason to believe that in a short time a scheme will be matured by which the same will be done for Upper Egypt as has been done for Lower Egypt. The hon. Member for South Birmingham has called attention to a very important question, but he does less than justice to Her Majesty's Representatives abroad. I do not think it can be justly imputed to them that they are unable to represent the interests of this country in commercial matters as well as diplomatic. It is not due to any failure of duty on their part that the commercial arrangements with other countries have not been more equitable to this country. In fact, in commercial arrangements we are to a great extent in the position of the Hebrews who had to make bricks without straw. We have thrown open our markets to the whole world, and having divested ourselves of the right to tax the produce of other countries, we have nothing to put against the heavy duties imposed on imports from this country. The Patent Laws in other countries are undoubtedly much less favourable to Englishmen than our laws are to foreigners, but that is only another

illustration of the Free Trade policy which has opened our doors to every invention from all parts of the world. It is undoubtedly true that British inventors are under a great disadvantage in being compelled to manufacture in foreign countries the articles for which they have obtained patents. The matter was lately considered at the Industrial Conference at Madrid, and the Convention framed at that Conference is at this moment before the Governments represented. The terms of this Convention will go far to meet the grievance of which the hon. Member has complained.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): May I venture to mention another newspaper rumour, stating that the mission to Roumania is to be raised to a first-class mission, and that the salary of the Minister is to be raised from £2,500 to £5,000. I wish to know whether there is any truth in the rumour, and whether any Supplementary Estimate is to be presented. The right hon. Gentleman will, I think, have some difficulty in convincing the Committee of the necessity of this increased charge.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: It is intended to raise the class of the mission to Roumania, which has largely gained in importance. It is very necessary that Great Britain should be represented in Roumania by a man of ability and considerable diplomatic standing. The Minister is Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and it is intended to raise his salary by £1,000. Considering his eminent services and ability, I think this is only commensurate with the rank and importance of the mission. Of course, this does not appear in the present Estimate; it will be necessary to submit a Supplementary Estimate.

\*(12.15.) MR. MORTON: It appears to me that the appointment of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff is what is known as a political job. I cannot understand why an Envoy, or an Ambassador, or whatever you like to call our Representative in Roumania, should have £4,000 or £5,000 a year, when our Representative in

Switzerland, a much larger and more important country, is only paid £1,250. I am very much afraid the people of this country will regard the appointment as a job. Now, as to the occupation of Egypt. I gather from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, if I gather anything at all, that that occupation is practically understood, as far as the Government is concerned, as permanent, and that, therefore, the charge is to be a permanent one. That is very different from what we understood last year. If there had been time, I should have moved many reductions of the Vote, chiefly bearing upon salaries. I will not do so, though I am sorry we are required to neglect our duty because some hon. Members want a holiday. I cannot possibly understand on what system these salaries are founded. In the case of the United States, the largest and most important country we have to deal with, I see we pay our Representative £6,000 a year. Our Ambassador in Austria is paid £8,000. Our Representative in France is paid £9,000. I suppose that salary was fixed when there was an Imperial Government. £7,500 is paid in Germany. Why do we pay more in Austria than in Germany? Under other circumstances, I should move a reduction of each of these Votes, but I will content myself now with asking the right hon. Gentleman to be good enough to tell us on what system these salaries are fixed. Then, I see that the total charge in respect to China is £45,201. Has the carrying on of the opium trade anything to do with the largeness of the Vote? Our Ambassador in Japan is paid £4,000, and other charges in respect of that country amount to £15,542. I am sure the country will be glad to have an explanation of these heavy charges.

\*(12.20.) SIR J. FERGUSSON: I think I have already pointed out, that although there is an increase in the salary of the Minister to Roumania, there will not be any increased charge to the public, because the Diplomatic Vote this year shows a reduction of £1,422. The hon. Gentleman has asked for information which is familiar to gentlemen who have been



longer in the House than himself. Of course it is possible to ask a thousand questions on the Vote. If gentlemen who have lately come into the House require categorical answers in regard to every item, it is obvious there would be no end to the explanations. It has been often explained why the salary of our Representative at Washington is less than the salary paid in some places and more than that paid in other places: it is because our Representative ranks as a Minister instead of an Ambassador; it is because the United States chooses to be represented by an officer ranking as a Minister that we have not an Ambassador at Washington. The salary paid to our Representatives are regulated by a variety of questions—among others by the cost of residence. For instance, residence in the capital of the larger country is not always the most expensive. But the salaries paid have been carefully scrutinised, and within the last six years they have been considerably reduced. As to the charge in respect of China, it must be remembered that our commercial interests in that country are very large. Those who are concerned in commerce with that country know that the establishment is none too large.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): As this is the only time one can obtain any information with regard to Egypt, I should be glad to hear the reason why the Domain Loan has not been converted on the same advantageous lines as the Egyptian Privilege Loan?

\*(12.25.) MR. MORTON: I quite understand that the right hon. Gentleman has given me the best answer he can. He tells me the reason why we pay less to our Representative at Washington than in some other countries is that the Government of that country have not agreed to call him an Ambassador. I, therefore, gather that the amount of salary does not depend upon the work to be done, or the ability of the Representative, but upon whether the Government of the country have agreed to call him by a particular name. The absurdity of the

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system is only equalled by its ridiculousness. I am sorry the right hon. Gentleman has not been able to give us more information with regard to what I have described as a political job, namely, the new appointment to Roumania. It is no explanation to say there would be a saving on the Vote. I trust that presently we shall be able to agree with all Governments to call our Representatives by the lowest possible name we can, and then we can reduce their salaries accordingly.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: In reply to my hon. Friend (Mr. Isaacson) I have to say that the reason why the Domain Loan has not been converted as profitably as the Privilege Loan is that it has not been found practicable to do so. The Conversion operation last year had the effect of reducing the capital of the debt from £8,587,000 to £7,300,000, which was a great advantage. No doubt the Egyptian Government will be glad to convert this debt to a smaller rate, if possible. I am sorry I cannot satisfy the hon. Member for Peterborough; but, perhaps, I need not try. Everyone, except himself, is aware that the expenses of an Ambassador are necessarily much heavier than those of a Minister.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON: May I ask if the whole of these financial arrangements are really in the hands of Messrs. Rothschild?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): Yes.

Question put, and agreed to.

5. £3,480, to complete the sum for Slave Trade Services.

6. £114,616, to complete the sum for Colonial Services, including South Africa.

7. £5,000, to complete the sum for Cyprus, Grant in Aid.

\*(12.35.) MR. MORTON: We opposed this item when we had the Vote on Account before us, and we should like to oppose it again. What we objected to then, and what we object to now, is not the amount of this Vote, but that in this

way we are compelling the Cypriotes to pay a large tribute to Turkey. I shall resist the Vote, unless we have a satisfactory explanation with regard to it.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I think we ought to congratulate ourselves that this charge has been diminished. But we cannot get rid of the charge altogether until we get rid of the island, which we ought to try to do. The taking possession of it was a very improvident bargain.

Vote agreed to.

8. £25,400, to complete the sum for Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

#### CLASS VI.

9. £9,447, to complete the sum for Hospitals and Charities, Ireland.

(12.40.) MR. SEXTON: I would like, in a few words, to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to state precisely the present condition of the public grants to hospitals in Dublin. The House allocates about £17,000 a year to this purpose, but when the Vote was first instituted, the circumstances of the hospitals were very different to what they are at present. Do the Government intend to deal next Session with the question of the apportionment of the grant? Is this grant of £17,000 to be administered for ever according to the circumstances which existed when it was originally given many years ago? The circumstances have largely changed, and the administration of the grants should be changed accordingly. A Bill to effect this was introduced two years ago, but was defeated at the instigation of a few interested medical men in Dublin who object to its provisions. It is very disappointing that the efforts which were made to bring about a better state of things should have been defeated by two or three individuals who thought that the compensation offered to them was not sufficient. I ask for a frank and definite undertaking from the right hon. Gentleman as to whether or not the Government will settle this question next year.

(12.43.) COLONEL NOLAN: There is a considerable sum down here for

several hospitals in Dublin, which are not merely Dublin hospitals, but Irish hospitals—for a good number of cases are sent up to Dublin from the country. It is, of course, necessary to have institutions of this kind in all countries, and I have no doubt the same state of things prevails in England. Cases are sent up from the country for special treatment, and it is very important that this system should exist, as there are classes of cases which require to be treated by experts, and which could not be dealt with in country hospitals or workhouse infirmaries. What I want the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to do is this—to alter the method by which patients are selected. There seems to be a systematic manner of making the selection. In Dublin itself there is a certain power of choice. The people there can go to the hospitals, and the Medical Authorities can choose from amongst them the cases to be treated. That, of course, cannot be done in the country districts. Then, in some cases, the Governors who subscribe 10 guineas a year, or even as low as two and three guineas, have the power of choosing patients. Well, I want the right hon. Gentleman to systematise the method of choosing the various patients. I think the hospitals should send to the Unions printed forms stating the number of beds vacant, the number of beds that each Union could fill, and the different classes of cases to be received. If the Unions had certain fixed powers of sending cases, they could interchange with each other, both as regards numbers and classes of cases. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will investigate this subject during the recess.

(12.46.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I would point out that the question is not quite so simple as the hon. Member for West Belfast seems to think. It is true the surgeons in Dublin were very active in opposing the Bill to which the hon. Member referred—and I think they made good their case—but I would point out that the opposition to the Bill affecting the Dublin hospitals is not confined to a few interested persons. The fact is, that if the Bill were carried

several hospitals would be excluded from participating in the grant, and they not unnaturally object to that.

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** The question of the selection of country patients for treatment in the Dublin hospitals is not one with which the Chief Secretary can deal. The matter is in no way under his control. Possibly the Treasury might interfere, but I am not sure. The subject adverted to by the hon. Member for West Belfast calls unquestionably for attention, but it cannot be dealt with without exciting a great deal of controversy, as the interests involved are various and opposed. Until some agreement can be come to on the subject in Dublin itself, I fear that it will be useless for us to attempt to legislate with reference to it in this House. This may not be a satisfactory answer, but the hon. Member is as familiar as I am with Parliamentary Business, and he must see that legislation on such a subject as this would be impossible without a general concurrence.

**COLONEL NOLAN:** I wish to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can give any information as to the system under which country patients are selected for admission to Dublin hospitals?

(12.50.) **THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.):** I will make inquiry into the matter, if the hon. and gallant Gentleman will be good enough to speak to me privately and explain exactly what his point is.

Vote agreed to.

#### CLASS VII.

10. £14,809, to complete the sum for Temporary Commissions.

\*(12.52.) **MR. MORTON:** I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board a question as to the Royal Commission on Vaccination. I suppose that on this Vote the only question I should be entitled to ask on this subject is when we are likely to get the Report. When I brought forward the matter a few weeks back the right hon. Gentleman replied that the subject was before

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the Royal Commission, and that until they reported he could not see his way to do anything in the matter, no matter what might happen. What I want to know is whether he can give us any information as to the Commission which, I believe, has now been sitting for some years. There is a good deal depending on it as to the vaccine matter or lymph which is used for vaccination.

\***THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE Tower Hamlets, St. George's):** I can assure the hon. Member that no one is more anxious than I am to receive the Report of the Commission. A great deal of evidence has been taken, and there is still much more to receive. The matter is a very large one, embracing points of great difficulty, and I can give no information as to when the Report will be made. That is a matter entirely in the hands of the Commission themselves.

\***MR. MORTON:** Is it not possible, pending the receipt of the Report, to relax the prosecutions? The Government could advise those who have to deal with these cases to be as gentle as possible in their methods.

**MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.):** I wish to ask whether the Historical Manuscripts Commission cannot investigate Welsh manuscripts as well as Irish and Scotch. The right hon. Gentleman has been good enough to promise that if some of these MS. were brought to his notice he would lay the matter before the Commission. I understand that he gave the same promise to the hon. Member for Merioneth some years ago. I would press him to say whether he will not take steps to have these important Welsh MS. published?

(12.57.) **MR. JACKSON:** I cannot call to mind the particular promise to which the hon. Member refers. I would point out, however, that I have no power to dictate or initiate any proceedings with regard to particular manuscripts. The matter rests entirely with the Commission, and not with the Treasury. All I can do is to convey to the Secretary to the Commission any questions the hon. Gentleman may

desire to refer to them. And even that is quite within the competency of the hon. Member to do for himself.

MR. SEXTON: I desire to ask the Minister for Agriculture a question in reference to the Tuberculosis Commission, which has been appointed for an unlimited period. At the time the Commission was appointed I pointed out that, although Ireland was supposed to be interested in the question of tuberculosis, there was no gentleman connected with Ireland on the Commission. The Minister for Agriculture at that time suggested to me that I should make inquiries as to what gentleman should be put on the Commission in the interest of Ireland. I referred the matter to competent persons in Dublin, and submitted the name of a gentleman who had distinguished himself in investigations on this subject.

\*(1.0.) MR. RITCHIE: It is quite true that I did suggest to the hon. Member that in the course of the inquiry it would be necessary that Sub-Commissioners should be appointed, and that the name of the gentleman mentioned by the hon. Member should be submitted. Having found that that gentleman was, as the hon. Member has stated, a man of great ability, and well fitted to take a post such as that which was the subject of discussion, this gentleman's name was submitted, but I understand that no Sub-Commissioner has yet been appointed; and as far as the appointment of Sub-Commissioners is concerned, that is a matter which rests entirely with the Royal Commission, by whom the initiative has to be taken. I am afraid I cannot say more than this. What I did say at the time referred to was said in perfectly good faith, and anything I could do in the way of seeing that the name of the gentleman alluded to should be favourably put forward has been done, but the Government have no power whatever over the Commission in regard to this matter.

(1.4.) MR. T. M. HEALY: The point urged by my hon. Friend is that we as an agricultural community are deeply interested in obtaining fitting representation on the Commission, and it is no answer to say that it rests with the Commissioners

to appoint the Sub-Commissioners. We are told that we cannot have the Commission enlarged because it has already been appointed by the Queen, and its constitution cannot, therefore, be interfered with. But I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that it was positively and absolutely stated that it was intended to appoint Sub-Commissioners, and, that being so, we asked the right hon. Gentleman to submit the name already mentioned. The suggestion that there were to be Sub-Commissioners did not come from us but from the Government, and I see that the right hon. Gentleman assents to that proposition. Nothing could be more invidious than for a Member of Parliament to suggest the name of this or that individual, because such a course generally leads to all sorts of jealousies; but my hon. Friend consulted a number of people, with the result that the name of Dr. Quin was mentioned. That gentleman's name got into the newspapers; and when a man finds himself mentioned in that way as about to receive a particular appointment, it is somewhat a slur upon him if the appointment is withheld. It can easily be understood that a young man at the commencement of his professional career, finding himself treated in this way, must have felt that he had not been well treated. So much with regard to the personal grievance; but the grievance to our country still remains, because this Commission is proceeding, and the interests of Ireland are, as we allege, being neglected.

(1.10.) THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (MR. CHAPLIN, Lincolnshire, Sleaford): I have a perfect recollection of the circumstances referred to by the hon. Member opposite, and I remember the recommendation given to the name of the gentleman to whom reference has been made; but as far as my recollection goes, the Commission had at that time already been appointed. It was, I think, believed, both by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board and my-

self, that the appointment of Sub-Commissioners lay with us, but we found that the appointment was really in the hands of the Commissioners. Since that time they have discovered that they do not require the services of extra Sub-Commissioners. That being so, it would be impossible for the Government to give directions to the Commissioners as to the mode in which they are to carry on their duties; and as the Commissioners are now far advanced in their inquiries, I regret to say that it is almost impossible for us to carry out the wishes expressed by hon. Members opposite.

MR. SEXTON: The Commissioners have only been acting for one year, it having been appointed in July, 1890, and I say there is abundance of time for the appointment of other Commissioners. The right hon. Gentleman can issue a Supplementary Warrant if he chooses, and I hope that that is what he intends to do.

\*MR. RITCHIE: All I can say, in answer to the hon. Member, is that I shall be glad to inquire of the Commissioners whether, and, if so, when, it is likely they will appoint Sub-Commissioners, and in that case I will take care that the name of the gentleman referred to shall be again submitted to them.

(1.14.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I wish to ask a question with regard to the Educational Schools Commission in Ireland. That Commission is doing its work very slowly; and although the expense of the Commission is not very large, being about £4,000, it is nevertheless a matter which is deserving of consideration. That Commission has been re-appointed year after year by an Act included in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, and it was not intended that that body should sit in perpetuity. Having regard to the work the Commission has to do, it seems to me that it is very desirable it should be wound up as speedily as possible, and that the Government ought to put some pressure on those gentlemen in order to bring their work to a conclusion. They ought to take notice of the number of

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days the Commission has sat, and the exact amount of work it has done, and to treat the whole matter from a Treasury point of view. The fact that it is appointed year after year shows that the Government thought they would be able to bring its labours to a conclusion within a period of four or five years. If the Government were to notify their intention of taking this sum of £4,000 a year off the Estimates the next year, they would find that these gentlemen would bring their labours to a conclusion with much more rapidity than they seem inclined to do at present.

MR. JACKSON: I entirely agree with what the hon. Member has said, and I have already drawn attention to the matter in the earlier part of the year, when I was assured that the work was being wound up. I believe that this will be the last year for which the money will have to be provided.

Vote agreed to.

11. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £103, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for certain Miscellaneous Expenses."

\*(1.19.) MR. MORTON: I should like to know what is the meaning of the Sub-head D. As far as I can understand it, it relates to money for the provision of Queen's Plates to be run for in Ireland. Turning to Sub-head M, I find that, as far as England is concerned, an alteration has been made in the allocation of the money which used to be given for this purpose, and that it is now given not for the encouragement of horse racing or that sort of villainy, as I am almost tempted to call it, but for the improvement of the breed of horses in Great Britain. I should like to know whether the time has not arrived when we can make a similar change with regard to the gift of this money to Ireland, so that, instead of encouraging horse racing there, which, as everyone knows, is one of the worst evils we can foster, it may be given for improving the breed of horses. I am told that this subsidy is no use in Ireland except to

the officers of the Army of Occupation, for whose amusement it seems to be continued.

**COLONEL NOLAN:** I can assure the hon. Member that there is a very moderate amount of racing in Ireland, and that there is a very small amount of betting, although almost everyone takes an interest in the amusement which racing affords. So far as the officers of the English garrison are concerned, I doubt very much whether any of them are the owners of race-horses; they may own steeplechasers, but the Queen's Plates are not given for steeplechasing. The amount given is a very moderate one, namely, £1,800; and if it were withdrawn it might have the effect of destroying the best class of racing which takes place in Ireland, and thus tend to deteriorate the breed of horses.

**\*MR. MORTON:** There is a strong feeling in this country that this sort of thing should be done away with. I do not desire to put the Committee to the trouble of dividing if I can only obtain a satisfactory answer from the Secretary to the Treasury.

**MR. JACKSON:** I should have risen to answer the hon. Member before had not the hon. and gallant Gentleman, who knows much more about the subject than I do, come to my relief. I would point out that this matter has been considered on several previous occasions, and I do not know any question on which it would be more difficult to make an alteration that would give general satisfaction. Several attempts have been made to alter the appropriation of the money which is given in this way, and I cannot agree with the hon. Member for Peterborough that these Queen's Plates have done nothing to improve the breed of horses. I think it is certainly undesirable to take any step that would tend to discourage the production of a good breed of horses either in Ireland or in England.

**\*(1.25.) MR. MORTON:** Very well, I will leave this matter for the consideration of the Home Rule Parliament, which will probably be established about this time 12 months. I should like now to

call attention to the question of the fees paid for the creation of Bishops and Archbishops. I raised this question on the Home Office Vote, and I was told that it had reference to this Vote, consequently I gave notice that I would call attention to the matter when this Vote was taken. I think I have a special right to raise this point as a representative of an ancient Cathedral City. I find that the cost of inaugurating the Bishop of Manchester was about £460, and I should like to know whether all these fees were promptly accounted for? A statement has been laid on the Table with regard to the Attorney General's fees, but I want to know if the Government are willing to do away with these exorbitant charges. A Bishop who gets a See is very much in the position of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves. Will the Government grant a Return showing what the exact fees are, and will they be willing to reduce them?

**MR. JACKSON:** I believe the fees paid to the Exchequer by Archbishops and Bishops on their appointment will appear from a Return which will be presented before the end of the Session. I think that Return will show that the fees paid by a Bishop are something like £40, and not £400, and we do not get complaints of the excess from those gentlemen who have to pay them on account of receiving certain honours and dignities.

**\*MR. MORTON:** But the First Lord of the Treasury told us that the fees paid into the Exchequer by an Archbishop were £330, and by a Bishop £220.

**MR. JACKSON:** I am speaking only of the fees which are payable to the Exchequer. If the hon. Member will wait for the Return he will get an authoritative statement.

**(1.36.) MR. E. ROBERTSON:** I should like to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will now agree to report Progress?

**MR. GOSCHEN:** I believe there is a general desire on the part of the House that Supply shall be closed. There is an opportunity upon Report of asking

questions; and if the hon. Member for Peterborough will consult my right hon. Friend the Member for Leeds or myself upon the points he has raised, with which hon. Members are generally familiar, we shall be glad to go through the Estimates with him privately, so that we may save the time of the Committee.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I see there are 13 or 14 Government Orders down after Report of Supply. Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake, if Supply is closed, not to press those Orders?

MR. GOSCHEN: I will look through the list in the course of the next four or five minutes, and see how far I can assent to that arrangement. We do not want to keep hon. Members and officers of the House here one minute longer than is necessary.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: There is one important Vote—the Post Office Vote—to be taken. For my part, I shall be content to defer my remarks upon it until the Report stage. I hope next Session we shall have an opportunity of thoroughly discussing it, even if it be necessary to bring it on out of its order.

MR. GOSCHEN: I will lay the right hon. Gentleman's views before the First Lord of the Treasury.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): I think the Business of the House would be facilitated if it were arranged that those Votes which are to be discussed on Report were taken first to-morrow.

\*(1.40.) MR. MORTON: The Chancellor of the Exchequer has made an appeal to me, but I give him fair notice that on the Army Vote I intend to raise a question as to gambling. In looking after the economical administration of public money I am only acting on the advice he gave me in 1889. Does he intend to force all the Votes through to-night?

MR. GOSCHEN: I hope Supply will be closed.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have a Motion on the Paper affecting the Army Vote on which I shall have to raise a  
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discussion, and it will have to be taken in Committee in order to get it properly discussed.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I am in the same position. I do not think that at twenty minutes to 2 in the morning we ought to be forced to discuss the remaining Estimates.

MR. GOSCHEN: The point is this: Unless we finish Supply to-night it will probably throw the Prorogation over to another week, and we all desire it should take place next week. Surely it does not much matter to hon. Members whether they make their protest to-night or to-morrow on Report. I trust they will bow to the views of the majority. If it is possible to give precedence to-morrow to the Votes which hon. Members desire particularly to discuss, it shall be done.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: I, for one, cannot assent to that arrangement, and I shall divide the Committee. Surely it does not matter much if the Session is prolonged a day or two. We do not get the facilities for discussion on the Report stage which we have in Committee. I now move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Cunningham Graham.*)

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I support that. I do not think it is possible to get through the Estimates to-night. It is no fault of ours that they have been brought on so late in the Session. The Government are responsible for that piece of bungling. There is one Vote which my colleagues for Wales desire to discuss thoroughly.

(1.47.) MR. E. ROBERTSON: I hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not resist the Motion. I am as much disappointed as he is that the Business of Supply cannot be closed to-night, but I protest against the Votes being discussed at this hour of the night, and hope he will not force a futile Debate on this Motion.

\*MR. MORTON: I must say there is something indecent in trying to force

Supply through at this hour of the night. We are asked to vote millions of money without Debate, and if we do, then we shall not be doing our duty to our constituents. It cannot make much difference if we do prolong the Session 24 hours, and I hope, therefore, the Government will give way and let us go home to rest.

(1.50.) MR. CALDWELL: When we remember how every sitting of the House this week has been prolonged until 3 or 4 o'clock, and that we have to meet again at noon, I think it is most unreasonable on the part of the Government to resist this Vote. A good deal of business has been got through this evening, and there has been no obstruction. Every year the Estimates are postponed to the end of the Session, and then are taken practically without discussion. Now, the Government hope by reason of the sheer exhaustion of hon. Members to get all the remaining Votes through. I do not think it is fair. When the right hon. Gentleman moved the suspension of the Standing Orders, he said it was not intended to make oppressive use of the privilege; but yet he is so unreasonable as to make us sit till 4 or 5 o'clock. I shall support the Motion to report Progress.

(1.54.) MR. GOSCHEN: The Government have the cordial support of those who lead hon. Gentlemen opposite in their endeavours to close the Session. There will be to-morrow a full day for the discussion of the Report, and I believe we are following the wishes of the enormous majority of the House in endeavouring to close Supply to-night, and I shall certainly take the opinion of the House by dividing against the Motion.

\*MR. MATHER (Lancashire, S.E., Gorton): I think it is only fair that we on this side of the House should co-operate with the view of shortening the Debate on the Estimates. Inquiries have been made by hon. Members in their places which could have been satisfied by the application of ordinary intelligence, and I think speeches have been made at undue length. Some consideration should be shown for the House, and speeches might very well be limited to 10 or 15 minutes.

MR. MARJORIBANKS: I appeal to my hon. Friends to allow the Votes to go through and to take any discussion on Report. The House is wearied out, and the Gallery is also wearied out.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: There is nothing more out of place than the airs of superiority which some Members assume. We have had a pretty lecture from the hon. Member for Gorton, but I deny that we have been wasting the time of the Committee, or that we have asked frivolous questions.

\*MR. MATHER: I made no allusion to the hon. Member. I only said some speeches had been made which could well have been cut down considerably.

(2.0.) MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: There is nothing I admire more than independence. With regard to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer says as to there being a tacit understanding with the hon. Gentlemen who lead the Opposition, I have to say I hold myself perfectly free of the whole lot of them. I shall persist in dividing the House on this matter, at the risk of making myself disagreeable to the Front Opposition Bench and to all those superior persons who are fond of lecturing the House of Commons on manners.

COLONEL NOLAN: We are sent here to look after Supply, and it is a perfect farce to expect us to take Votes like these at this hour. We might just as well be asked to take them all. Surely such Votes ought to be postponed for a day.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it would not be well for him to consent to postpone such Army Votes as are contentious until to-morrow. If he does he will make much better progress with the Votes than he will otherwise. I am sure the refusal of the Government to report Progress will not facilitate matters.

(2.4.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 30; Noes 74.—(Div. List, No. 412.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

12. £160,000, Pleuro-pneumonia.



13. £481, for Repayments to the Civil Contingencies Fund.

#### REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

14. £709,806, to complete the sum for Customs.

15. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,584,024, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Inland Revenue Department."

\*(2.20.) MR. ROBY (Lancashire, S.E., Eccles): I desire to address a question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with reference to the action of the Special Commissioners of Income Tax. A month or two ago I pointed out that the Income Tax Commissioners were, under the apparent sanction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, refusing to return Income Tax to grammar schools and other charities, which they assert do not come within the exemption allowed by the Act. The House of Lords, in the suit "Commissioners of Income Tax v. Pemsel," has, within the last few days, decided that the Commissioners are quite wrong in their interpretation; and that charitable purposes in the Income Tax Acts include, as they have hitherto always been taken to include, all purposes coming within the purview of the 43rd Elizabeth, chap. 4. I shall be glad to hear from the Chancellor of the Exchequer what he proposes to do. Will he undertake that the Income Tax Commissioners shall not carry this misplaced ingenuity to some other Department, and that they shall at once refund the money which they have illegally kept for the last two years or more?

MR. GOSCHEN was understood to say that, following the recent decision of the House of Lords as to the liability of charities to Income Tax, a refund had already been made, and would probably be succeeded by other repayments.

(2.30.) MR. CALDWELL (nearly the whole of whose observations were rendered inaudible by *cries of "Divide!" and interruption*): It is no answer to

me to say "We will consider the House of Lords' decision." We know very well that the Commissioners have formed an opinion of their own on the matter. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] The House of Lords has given a decision, which is that funds which are really for charitable purposes should be taxed. These Trades House Incorporations in Glasgow have certain funds. [*Loud and continued cries of "Divide!" and interruption.*] I think it most unreasonable. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] I move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

(2.45.) MR. GOSCHEN: I would suggest that the hon. Gentleman has been allowed a very long time to state his case, and has repeated himself three or four times. I think he has said enough to do justice to his case, and I hope he will withdraw the Motion. I think everyone here understands his complaint—he has said ample to convey his views both to my mind and that of the Committee. He must allow for a little impatience if he repeats his argument two or three times over. He has said his say, and I hope he will withdraw his Motion.

COLONEL NOLAN: I hope the hon. Member will repeat his complaint, because there has been so much noise in the House that though I am anxious to understand it I have been unable to do so. I think that the whole British nation should be made aware of the manner in which the business of the country is being done.

\*MR. MORTON: I am anxious that we should make progress, but the noise which has been made throughout the most interesting speech of the hon. Member for the St. Rollox Division has prevented us from hearing his complaint. This is not the way to conduct the business of the House. The conduct of hon. Gentlemen opposite is so disgraceful that I am bound to support the Motion for Progress in the interest of law and order.

(2.51) MR. J. BRYN ROBERTS: The Committee might have had this Vote some time ago if hon. Members opposite had listened to the hon. Member for the St. Rollox Division. I cannot but express indignation when I find that hon. Members opposite refuse to hear a Member on this side of the House and compel him to move to report Progress.

MR. GOSCHEN: I hope the hon. Member has almost concluded his speech. If he will do so now no doubt the Committee will bear with him, but I think it will be acknowledged that cause has been given for some little impatience.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I would appeal to my hon. Friend to withdraw his Motion. It seems to me there is some difference between the hon. Gentleman and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be good enough to say what he thinks the hon. Gentleman means. [*Laughter.*] Well, the right hon. Gentleman may have a definition of the matter which my hon. Friend does not intend, and it might assist matters if he would state what it is.

Question put, and negatived.

Original Question again proposed.

(2.54.) MR. CALDWELL: I will now, with the leave of the Committee, shortly and clearly state the point. These Trades House Corporations in Glasgow are 14 in number. The funds of the Corporations are used for the purpose of giving pensions to decayed brethren connected with the Corporations. The funds exist now purely for these charitable objects. It has always been the practice of the Inland Revenue not to charge any Income Tax or Government duty in respect of the funds of these Corporations. Within the last year or two the Government have started a 5 per cent. duty, which is far more than the Income Tax, and have levied that duty upon the funds of these Corporations, and the result is that those pensioners who have been enjoying, say £20 a year, have had £1 deducted. This shows the thorough unreasonableness

of the position taken up by the Income Tax Commissioners. It is most unjust to charge these pensioners any Income Tax at all. When you are dealing with a trade or a Co-operative Society you do not charge on the aggregate of profits unless the whole income comes to £150; but here you deal with men whose incomes are not more than £20, and you exact from them not 6d. in the £1, which is the amount you get from wealthy taxpayers whose incomes are over, say £400, but you deduct £1 from their £20. The Government got a decision in England in their favour, but though they have legality on their side the inequity of the matter has been pointed out to them. It is no answer for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to tell me what the legal interpretation of the Act of Parliament is. We ask him and the Income Tax Commissioners to have regard to the spirit of the decision of the House of Lords and to exempt these pensions from Income Tax. With the facts before him, and knowing what the decision of the House of Lords is, he is able to give a decision on the question. I am surprised that he should not have closed the discussion half an hour ago by agreeing that the decision of the House of Lords in the case of England shall apply in the case of Scotland. He knows that in the end that must take place. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] To give him an opportunity of offering a reply I move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £1,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not necessary to move that in order to obtain a reply. The hon. Member has stated his case, and now it can be answered.

(3.0.) MR. GOSCHEN: I do not see that I have any further reply to make. Instead of speaking three minutes, as he promised, the hon. Member has spoken for 35 minutes. I should not be doing my duty if I were to allow myself to be guided merely by the length of the speech of an hon. Member. I cannot allow myself to be coerced into giving a wider answer than I have given already, namely, that the Treasury will loyally carry out the decision of the Court. The result of my having

said that in the first place was that the hon. Member thought it right to detain us for another half-hour. I can say no more.

MR. CALDWELL: It does not seem to me that it is more than half-an-hour since I began. The delay has been owing to the fact that I was not allowed to finish my speech.

Vote agreed to.

16. £5,354,932 (including a Supplementary sum of £131,250), to complete the sum for the Post Office.

(3.5.) MR. KNOX: There are a large number of matters on this Vote that I wished to call attention to in connection with my constituency, and I will reserve all of them but one to the Report stage if I get a satisfactory answer upon that. I called attention to the matter the other day, but instead of getting a civil answer from the Postmaster General, he said something about my being interested in the appointment of someone, or applying for the appointment of someone to the office of Postmaster at Cavan. As a matter of fact, I have never applied, and I never intend to apply, to him, or anyone else in the British Government, for any post for anyone. Although the right hon. Gentleman refused to give me an answer, I have received information from other people on this matter. Letters have been written to me stating that the office of Postmaster has been bestowed upon a person, not out of regard for qualification or fitness. This post office is an important one, in the centre of a large rural district, and the number of people under the Postmaster is considerable. There were 35 applicants for the post. Some of them had been for 20 years in the postal service. Many of them had had 15 years' experience of post office work, and others had had 10 years' experience. Nevertheless, the person appointed had had only three years' experience. The person appointed, however, had an advantage that the others had not. It happened that her father was a henchman of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North

*Mr. Goschen*

Armagh, and though it is strictly forbidden that anyone in the post office should apply for a situation through a Member of Parliament or any other influential person, I am given to understand that the recommendation of the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Armagh was given in the matter of the appointment of the person selected. The District Surveyor of the district, and the Secretary to the Post Office in Dublin, did not recommend this particular person for the appointment. I do not ask that the appointment which has been made shall be cancelled. It would be unfair to do that now, though I am bound to say that a general feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction has been caused throughout the district by the appointment made. I do not ask that the appointment be cancelled; but what I do ask is: that in future appointments of this kind in Ireland, the recommendations of the Post Office officials and the District Surveyor or Secretary to the Post Office in Dublin shall be considered, and those only, and that the recommendations of the local gentry shall not be taken into account. There is an important vacancy at this moment at Strabane, and I would express a hope that it will be filled, like all other Civil Service appointments, in accordance with the recommendations of officials who know the qualifications of the candidates, and not in accordance with family or other interest.

(3.11.) THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University): I do not wish to detain the Committee by answering the questions addressed to me at any length; in fact, I think I have already answered them. I cannot prevent Members of this House—on both sides of this House—and other persons from writing to me and recommending candidates when appointments have to be made, not only in Ireland, but in England as well; but the Committee may rest satisfied that I never allow myself to be influenced by these recommendations. With regard to the lady who was appointed to the Cavan office I may say, in the first place, that I was not aware that her father was what the

hon. Member calls a henchman of the hon. Member for North Armagh. I was aware, however, that he had been an excellent and extremely meritorious servant of the Post Office, and that he had filled the position of postmaster in Cavan for many years to the satisfaction both of his neighbours and the Post Office Authorities. The office is only a small one, carrying a salary of £130 a year, and the young lady who has been appointed has been for years in her father's office—though she may only have been in the Postal Service itself for a short period. I have every reason to believe that she is thoroughly competent to perform the duties of the post which has been conferred upon her. In regard to the vacancy at Strabane, I may point out that although I did receive a letter recommending a certain individual for the appointment, I did not allow myself to be influenced by that recommendation, but appointed a gentleman from the Post Office in Dublin, in whose case I had received no letter of recommendation. I think this will be sufficient to show that in making these appointments I allow myself to be guided only by the qualifications of the individual selected.

(3.15.) MR. KNOX: The right hon. Gentleman has given a perfectly satisfactory answer as to the post office at Strabane, but at the same time I am bound to say that I have received such a large number of letters from members of the Post Office Service, as well as outsiders in different parts of Ireland, that I think if other appointments like that at Cavan had been made the dissatisfaction would have been general. I am glad to find that though the hon. Member for North Armagh succeeded in getting his nominee appointed at Cavan, his policy has not succeeded in the case of Strabane.

Vote agreed to.

17. £528,055, to complete the sum for the Post Office Packet Service.

\*(3.17.) MR. MORTON: I notice here an item of £4,000 in connection with packets to Newfoundland. I am informed by some people in Newfoundland that the Allan Line who received this £4,000

charge higher fares than they do to places more distant. I want to know whether, as we give this subsidy, we have not some sort of control over the passenger fares charged.

MR. RAIKES: We have no control whatever over the matter of passengers, but only over the mails.

MR. KNOX: I should like to ask how it is that steamers from Belfast to Fleetwood carry mails, whilst steamers from Liverpool to Belfast do not. The Belfast and Liverpool boats are owned by an Irish Company, whilst the Belfast and Fleetwood boats belong to the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company.

MR. CALDWELL: I desire to call the attention of the Postmaster General to the fact that the mail steamers which ply between Strome Ferry and Stornoway sometimes go out of their way to call at Portree, which causes a considerable delay to the mails and puts the inhabitants of the district to very great inconvenience.

(3.20.) MR. RAIKES: I will inquire as to the Liverpool and Belfast line of steamers, but I must say I do not think it at all probable that another subsidy will be granted to a mail route between England and Belfast, looking at the extremely favourable arrangement we have been able to make with the Fleetwood boats. As to the Strome Ferry steamers, I would point out that in that particular contract it was arranged that on two or three occasions during the year—one of them being the period at which the Militia are called up and have to be conveyed from one place to another—deviations should be made from the main route. I should be sorry if this led to inconvenience, but I would point out that a large subsidy has been allowed in this case, so that larger and more commodious boats may be employed in the Service, and from these circumstances I think the public derive more advantage than is counteracted by the inconvenience to which the hon. Member has referred. The subsidy will come to an end with the year, and when it comes to be renewed we shall then have an opportunity of ascertaining

whether better terms can be obtained from other companies.

Vote agreed to.

18. £1,716,080 (including a Supplementary sum of £43,750), to complete the sum for the Post Office Telegraphs.

#### ARMY ESTIMATES.

19. £631,700, for Transport and Remounts.

(3.24.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have several points to raise on this Vote, but shall postpone them until the Report stage, if I am given to understand that by the withdrawal of the Clergy Discipline Bill from the Paper we may take it that it has been abandoned.

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not think that is precisely the way in which a question should be put. I will make a statement with regard to the Bill to-morrow—though we do not intend to proceed with it to-morrow.

MR. CALDWELL: The Government have agreed to abandon the Bill in return for being allowed to get Supply. ["No, no!"] Yes; that is the arrangement, and I think the country should know it. The whole of this Supply has been a matter of bargaining, and—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member's observations are in no way relative to transports and remounts.

Vote agreed to.

20. £2,605,000, for Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies.

MR. CALDWELL: I move to report Progress. I think that seeing that we have to meet at 12 o'clock to-day we might now very fairly adjourn. We understood that the Government, on condition of being allowed to get all Supply through to-night, had agreed to abandon the Clergy Discipline Bill. ["No, no!" and cries of "Order!"] That Bill was to the advantage of the Church of England and the community at large.

*Mr. Raikes*

I thought when the Government seemed so anxious to get Supply and had commenced bargaining that I should get my price as well as other Members, but I have failed to do so.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

COLONEL NOLAN: Is the bread now supplied good?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): No complaints have been made to me, but after the question of the hon. Member I will make inquiries.

Vote agreed to.

21. £820,600, for Clothing Establishments and Services.

22. £1,847,100, for Warlike and other Stores: Supply and Repair.

(3.29.) MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: I do not believe in bargains with the Government, and if some hon. Members have agreed to defer their observations on the Votes to the Report stage, that is their affair and not mine. I intend to proceed with my remarks. They bear upon a subject which more properly would be dealt with by hon. Members for Newcastle, as it refers to a constituent of theirs, but as they seem to be elsewhere engaged the duty is thrown upon me. The case to which I wish to draw attention is one on which I have asked several questions, though without being able to obtain a satisfactory answer from the Secretary for War. The case is that of a poor working man, named Jobson, who claims to have been the inventor of a certain time fuse, or a certain system of applying it. In 1859 Sir William Armstrong by a combination of the inventions of three men made the Armstrong gun. To render the system perfect a time fuse was required, and that was invented by this man. His models were submitted to the authorities, but were afterwards stolen. Subsequently Sir William Armstrong received a grant for a time fuse, which this man claims to have been his invention. I believe the man would have

obtained redress if it had not been for some intemperate letters he wrote, and I want an assurance that his error of judgment shall not be visited with penal consequences, and that the reward due to his invention shall not be reaped by another man. I think the least the Secretary for War can do will be to give this man some compensation.

MR. E. STANHOPE: I remember the question to which the hon. Member refers having been raised, but according to the information I have upon the subject, it appears that if the gentleman referred to has any claim at all, it is rather against the company than against the Government.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: There may be some justice in what the right hon. Gentleman states, but I hardly think it possible for a poor man like the one of whom I am speaking to obtain justice in the Law Courts against a rich and powerful firm like that of which Sir William Armstrong is the head. I hope, however, the right hon. Gentleman may see fit to re-consider his position, and see that a sum shall be awarded to this gentleman which will give general satisfaction. A small thing of this kind would not add in any appreciable degree to the expenses of the Government.

MR. E. STANHOPE: I will undertake to look into the matter, but the facts are not exactly as they have been stated by the hon. Member.

COLONEL NOLAN: I should like to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the bursting of a 6-in. gun the other day in Australia. I find that, instead of the new powder, what is called the brown powder was used, and that that powder is very liable to deterioration in certain climates. If the bursting of the gun was caused by the deterioration of this powder, of course it was not due to any fault in the gun. I am not aware whether this brown powder is liable to explode in this way, and I should like the right hon. Gentleman to furnish some information upon the point either to-night or to-morrow.

MR. E. STANHOPE: I can tell the hon. and gallant Gentleman that, so far

as I am able to form a judgment on this matter, the accident was due to a defect in the gun, and not to any defect in the powder.

SIR W. PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.): I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give us to-morrow some information in regard to the difficulty experienced in the forging of steel for guns.

MR. E. STANHOPE: I am obliged to the hon. Gentleman for giving me notice of this question, and I may tell him at once that we do not have any large amount of steel forging in the Arsenal, where steel is only manufactured on a very small scale. That being so, it is not desirable to employ in the manufacture of our steel persons of the same position and experience as have to be employed by the private firms who manufacture this kind of steel on a much larger scale.

Vote agreed to.

23. £112,500, for Establishments for Military Education.

24. £160,900, for Miscellaneous Effective Services.

25. £257,900, for War Office, Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges.

#### NAVY ESTIMATES.

26. £221,100, for Admiralty Office.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [30th July] reported.

First Resolution (see page 843) postponed.

Subsequent Resolutions (see pages 866, 867) agreed to.

Postponed Resolution to be considered to-morrow.

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

(No. 432.)

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [30th July], "That this House doth agree with the Lords in

the Amendment, Clause A (Grouping schools), as amended."

Question put, and negatived.

Subsequent Amendments agreed to.

Committee appointed, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing with one of the Amendments made by the Lords."—Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Mundella, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Jackson, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, and Viscount Cranborne.—To withdraw immediately.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

#### LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS) BILL [LORDS].—(No. 423.)

As amended, considered; Amendment made; Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

#### NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1889-90.

Resolutions (see page 881) reported, and agreed to.

#### SCHOOLS FOR SCIENCE AND ART BILL [LORDS].—(No. 425.)

As amended, considered; Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, the sum of £32,335,139 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL (No. 432.)

Reasons for disagreeing to Lords Amendments, reported, and agreed to. To be communicated to the Lords.

#### LUNACY BILL [LORDS].—(No. 430.)

As amended considered.

Clause (Medical certificates)—(*Mr. Rountree*,)—added.

Amendment made.

Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

#### TRAINING COLLEGES (IRELAND) BILL.

(No. 391.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 436.)

Lords Amendments to Commons Amendments to Lords Amendments considered.

First Amendment agreed to.

Page 16, Amendment in lieu of Clause F, insert the following Clause:—

(Power to Land Commission to claim possession of holding.)

"Whenever the Land Commission are entitled to cause any holding to be sold under any power of sale, they may, if they think fit, apply to the High Court, or (if the rateable value of the holding does not exceed fifty pounds) to the County Court of the county in which such holding is situate, for an order to the Sheriff to put them in possession of such holding, and it shall be lawful for such Court, upon being satisfied that the Land Commission are so entitled, to issue an order accordingly, and such order shall be executed by the Sheriff in like manner as a writ for the delivery of possession,"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

Amendments made.

Amendment proposed,

After the words last added, to add the words: "Where such order has been made on account of any arrears of an annuity in respect of which a guarantee deposit is retained at the date of the order, such arrears shall be declared by the Land Commission to be an irrecoverable debt within the meaning of section three of 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885.'"—(*Mr. Knor*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Jackson*,)—put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at ten minutes after Four o'clock a.m.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Saturday, 1st August, 1891.*

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

## LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY (RATES AND CHARGES) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

Lords Amendment considered.

Amendment moved, in page 11, after line 34, insert—

Mold Junction to Coed Talon	-
Carnarvon to Llanberis	-
The Mold and Denbigh Junction	-
Railway worked by the Company	-
Carnarvon Junction to Afonwen	1.25d. 3d.
Junction	-
Nantlle Branch	-
Chester and Holyhead	-
Bangor and Bethesda	-

the said Amendment, read a second time.

(12.5.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.): I object to these Amendments, on account of their interference with the industries upon the short lines of North Wales. Most of these lines are short branch railways for the conveyance of local traffic. The London and North Western Railway Company have bought them up for something like 30 per cent. of the amount of their stock, and they are altogether the cheapest railways on the London and North Western system. Some of them are exceptionally cheap. The land was obtained at a very low rate, and the stations erected are of a very shoddy description. Nevertheless, it is proposed by this Bill to impose the same terminal charges upon them as are imposed in the case of the great English lines, without giving to the traders in the district the advantages of the maximum rates which are given in England.

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): It must be borne in mind that there are higher maximum rates on the short English lines as well as in Wales.

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MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: It must not be forgotten that the English lines, whether main or branch lines, have cost an enormous sum of money to make, and, therefore, I do not see why exceptional treatment should be provided in reference to maximum rates in that case without giving the same treatment to the Welsh traders, especially as the same rate of terminal charges is to be imposed. I could instance the case of one station which cost only £800 to construct; and if these terminal charges are fully enforced, the company would receive every year more than three times the entire cost of construction. The Chester and Holyhead Railway is practically a main line, and yet it is treated on exactly the same footing as a small branch railway of three or four miles. I ask the President of the Board of Trade to meet the traders, so as to place the branch lines to Carnarvon in the same condition in which they would have been had the Bill not been amended in the Lords. At the present moment the slate quarries get their coals from the Port of Carnarvon, whereas other traders are able to obtain coal much cheaper by the larger lines; and if the Bill is to remain in its present condition, the result will be that the London and North Western Railway will impose such a charge upon the coal brought to the Port of Carnarvon and conveyed to the quarries that it will be much cheaper to have it in future supplied direct from the great collieries to the slate districts. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to reconsider the question. I cannot imagine that it is the policy of the London and North Western Railway Company to crush the traffic upon the small railways by enforcing such exceptionally high rates.

Amendment proposed, in line 1, to leave out the words "Mold Junction to Coed Talon."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'Mold Junction to Coed Talon' stand part of the Amendment."

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I think that the hon. Member is a little unreasonable in his demand. He is quite mistaken in supposing that any injustice is done to the Welsh railways either by this or by any other rate in the Provisional Order.

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He will find it is the invariable practice to impose one rate for a main line and a higher rate for branch lines all over the Kingdom, for the obvious reason that the traffic is much larger upon the main lines. If the hon. Member will refer to Class B he will see that the Welsh Railway Companies have imposed upon them very low rates for the slate traffic, and the coal rates to which he objects are much lower than the rates the London and North Western are now empowered to levy. I may add that the matter was argued before the Joint Committee, and the counsel of the only trader who appeared expressed his readiness to be contented with worse terms than have now been given. I trust the hon. Member will not press his opposition.

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I beg to move the omission of the words "Carnarvon to Llanberis," in line 2. The old scale of charges was 2d. per mile, but such a scale is utterly inapplicable to the present circumstances of the locality. The line from Carnarvon to Llanberis is a very cheap line. There are no bridges and no tunnels upon it, and the land was obtained very cheaply. There is no reason, therefore, why it should be exceptionally treated as is now proposed. I think it is a line that ought to be placed in the same condition in regard to maximum rates as the great lines in the Kingdom, seeing that, although the stations upon it are extremely insignificant, the company will have the power of making full terminal charges.

Amendment proposed, in line 2, to leave out the words "Carnarvon to Llanberis."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question, "That the words 'Carnarvon to Llanberis' stand part of the Amendment," put, and agreed to.

Lords Amendment agreed to.

#### HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES BILL. (No. 384.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

#### INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 34.)

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment to Motion for Committing  
*Sir M. Hicks Beach*

Bill to Standing Committee on Law, &c. [26th May], read, and discharged

Bill withdrawn.

#### ASSISTANT COUNTY SURVEYOR S (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 412.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### PRESENTATION TO BENEFICES BILL [LORDS].—(No. 224.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### MR. MAGAN (CORRESPONDENCE).

Return ordered—

"Of the Correspondence between Mr. L. P. Hayden and the Irish Land Commission, between Mr. Hayden and the Attorney General for Ireland, and between Mr. Percy Magan, J.P., and the Attorney General for Ireland and the Irish Land Commission, in reference to charges brought against Mr. Magan, of having fraudulently obtained money under the Arrears Act: and the Correspondence between Mr. Magan and the Lord Chancellor, in the same matter."  
—(*Mr. Hayden.*)

#### STANDING ORDERS.

Ordered, That the Standing Orders of this House, as amended, be printed.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [31st July] reported.

First fifteen Resolutions [see pages 945 to 1027] postponed.

16. "That a sum, not exceeding £5,354,932 (including a Supplementary sum of £181,250), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, the Expenses of Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Annuities and Insurances, and the Collection of the Post Office Revenue."

(12.35.) MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I hope that more latitude will be given upon the consideration of this Vote than is usually given to questions of this kind, on account of the understanding which was arrived at last night, that we should agree to allow this Vote to pass, and to take the discussion

upon the Report. In the first place, I have to express my regret that during the last five or six years the Post Office Vote has been always made one of the last for consideration, and that it has invariably been brought on at such an hour as almost to preclude discussion. I think that, considering the importance of the Vote, the great interest taken in it by the public, and the effect which it has, it ought to be brought on earlier in the Session. I propose now to confine my remarks to two or three subjects which are of very great importance, and I will as briefly as possible refer to them. In the first place, I cannot help congratulating the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the fact that he has, during the last five years, obtained from the Post Office a revenue more by £1,200,000 than he had in 1886. Although I admit that a portion of the surplus has been devoted to the improvement of the Service generally, I still think that an attempt should be made to put a stop to this largely increasing surplus out of the postal revenue. More than £900,000 a year is now obtained than was obtained even four years ago. I wish now to call attention to what I consider to be one of the gravest scandals that has ever occurred in regard to the Post Office of this country; and I must claim the indulgence of the House while I enter fully into the matter. I shall observe your ruling, Sir, in connection with the question to which I propose to refer. The House is aware that there are mails to India, Australia, and the East generally every week, and that these mails are carried from Calais to Brindisi to their respective destinations. Upon this service we expend every year about £100,000. We pay £100,000 to the French and Italian Governments for the service; but of that sum I have privately learned that the French and Italian Governments only pay £40,000 to the respective Railway Companies which do the work. A sum of £60,000 is, therefore, handed over to the French and Italian Governments for doing nothing. As far back as 1886 I called attention to this matter, and I also called attention to it before the Conference which was held in London, with a hope that some step would be taken to avert the continuance of the scandal. In 1888 two

delegates were sent from the Post Office to France, who succeeded in getting a reduction which amounted to £20,000 a year. This, in my judgment, is a very small amount, considering the large sum obtained by the French and Italian Governments for the service. It was pointed out that it was impossible to secure an Imperial penny postage so long as we paid 1½d. to France and Italy. I attacked this high charge, and a Commission was sent out which secured a reduction of one-third of the charge—one halfpenny per letter being taken off by the French and Italian Governments. The mission which was undertaken by Mr. Forman and Mr. Forbes was so far successful, but I am bound to say that the Commissioners did not, with all their intelligence, secure all the desirable results which were to be expected from a mission from this country. We expected to ascertain what the real cost was to the French and Italian Governments for the conveyance of the mails from Calais to Brindisi, and what the amount was which was paid to France and Italy as compared with the amounts actually received by the Railway Companies. I have said that the result of the mission of Messrs. Buxton, Forman, and Forbes was to obtain a reduction of one halfpenny. Upon making a further inquiry, I found that on the 12th of October there was a despatch of 80 tons of letters and newspapers, for which the French and Italian Governments were paid £1,209, while the sum paid to the Railway Companies which carried the mails was only £312. A sum of £679 went to France and £218 to Italy for the service on that particular day; and, although the cost to England was £1,209, the actual cost of the work was only £312, the French and Italian Governments making a clear profit of nearly £900. Now, I do not see why these Governments should make such a large profit for conveying the mails across their countries. I am prepared to admit that, owing to the reduction of rates, there has been a largely increasing correspondence between India, Australia, and the East—not so large as I hope it will be—but every extra letter sent by the mail gives an increased profit to France and Italy. I have been glad to hear from the Postmaster General that steps are being taken to remedy the

evil. I have now to call attention to a matter which I think affects the privileges of the House of Commons. I find that the whole of the sum paid for the conveyance of the mails from this country to India and the East to the French and Italian Governments is paid away by the Post Office without any direct authority. It is never submitted in the Estimates, nor have we ever had it submitted to us. Although the mails are conveyed by special contract in sealed bags, and for a fixed sum, Parliament has no control whatever over the matter. When the question was before a Select Committee I examined Sir Stephenson Arthur Blackwood upon the subject, and his answers were of a most extraordinary character. I pointed out that there was a payment of £67,000 to the French and Italian Governments, which was increased a few years later to £80,000, and Sir Arthur Blackwood told me that this item did not appear in the Estimates at all, but that it was deducted from the gross revenue just as other charges are deducted. This great contract, this large payment, has nothing to do with the exchange of correspondence between this country and France and Italy, and is certainly a service which ought to appear in the Estimates. Sir Arthur Blackwood says that not only is the charge never submitted to the House of Commons in the Estimates, but that the amounts payable to foreign countries are treated as a deduction from the gross revenue, and not as a payment. I want to know why we should not take action in so important a matter? Sir Arthur Blackwood told the Committee that the contracts are made by the Postmaster General and the permanent officials of the Treasury, and that a maximum is fixed for the service, but that statement is entirely wrong. In further examination Sir Arthur Blackwood stated that there is nothing whatever in the Votes to indicate that £100,000 is paid by special contract for the conveyance of the Indian and Eastern Mails. Twopence halfpenny is charged for every letter from this country to India and our dependencies, and the Post Office deducts 1d. from that sum in order to pay £100,000 to France and Italy. I do not know what course is open to hon. Members when scandals of this kind occur, but I should like to take the

*Mr. Henniker Heaton*

opinion of the House as to the character of this contract and the way in which it is carried out. Why is Parliament deprived of all control? The statement first made to me was that this money was paid in this manner because it was impossible to arrive at an exact amount. There are many other payments, in regard to which it is impossible to arrive at the exact amount that ought to be paid, but that is no reason why steps should not be taken to give Parliament a proper control over the expenditure. To show the extraordinary conduct of the Post Office officials in the matter I distinctly asked Sir Arthur Blackwood, "Have you any notion what the French and Italian Governments receive for this work?" and the answer was, that they never inquired, and the Commissioners who went to France said that they did not think it was a branch of the inquiry with which they had any concern. What would be thought of business men if they conducted their affairs in the same manner? I asked, "Are you aware that the French and Italian Railway Companies complain that they do not get their fair share of the money?" and Sir Arthur Blackwood's reply was, "I have no knowledge." The whole evidence before the Committee showed that the Special Commissioners who went to France were quite satisfied with having saved £20,000 without inquiring how the money that was paid was really expended, or who received it. What would be thought if the erection of a post office building were put up to contract, and the intermediate man were only asked what he would charge, without any attempt being made to get at the actual cost? Notwithstanding this loss, no public outcry has been made against the enormous expenditure—an expenditure which is altogether outside the control of Parliament. I hardly think the matter ought to rest here. I think it can be proved without question that the contract which has been entered into by our Government officials is unworthy of men holding a high position in the Public Service. I exonerate the Postmaster General from all blame in the matter. He has been kept in ignorance, and it was only after great pains and labour that I succeeded in obtaining information. Having ascertained what

the character of the mails sent by way of Calais to Brindisi was on the 12th of October last, I went to Cook's tourist agency and ascertained that the cost of sending the same weight of traffic first-class across France and Italy would have been £400. Then, why should we be called upon to pay £1,200 for the Indian mails? Why should we lose £700 or £800 in running the mails one way? Of course, there is a corresponding loss on the other. I am informed that Australia is relieving herself of a part of the liability by sending some of her mails by another route. I trust that the House of Commons will, without delay, institute a thorough investigation into the matter, and that a new arrangement will be entered into.

\*(12.58.) MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): It is one of the defects of a discussion occurring upon such an important Vote on the Report that the Minister is confined to one speech. It is therefore necessary that I should intervene between the speech of the hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Henniker Heaton) and the Postmaster General with some other topic. I trust that this course of taking the discussion on the Report will not be constituted into a precedent for the future. It is only the long duration of the Session that has induced the House to allow it upon the present occasion, and I would venture to express a hope that the Government on another occasion will allow the Post Office Vote to be taken out of its ordinary course next Session so as to ensure a full discussion. I congratulate the Postmaster General upon the numerous and important changes which in the interests of the public he has effected within the last few weeks. These changes consist mainly of two classes—first, the improvements effected under the Post Office Act in the direction so often recommended by the hon. Member for Canterbury; and, secondly, the important changes which were agreed to at the Postal Conference in Vienna within the last few days, and which I presume were agreed to by the representatives of the Post Office of this country, and will receive the sanction of the Treasury before long. I believe the Postmaster General will agree in regarding them as most important changes. The changes effected have been late, but

they are in the right direction. There is one of the changes recently made as to which I feel some little doubt; that is, the extension of the system of registration to parcels. It was carefully considered in 1884 when the regulations for the Parcels Post were decided upon, and the system of registration was not adopted—not on account of expense, for of course it will pay itself—but as a matter of policy. It was thought that all parcels should be handled and delivered with all reasonable security, and there was a fear that if greater security were given to registered parcels that would lead to less security being afforded to parcels not registered. I am afraid the Postmaster General has been induced to adopt registration because of the increasing number of parcels lost in transmission. I do not know whether that is the main reason for the pressure brought to bear upon him in respect to registration, but I am inclined to think it is one of the motives, and the difficulty of providing compensation. Within my own experience, I am sorry to say, I have heard increasing complaints of the loss of parcels and of the difficulty of getting compensation from the Postmaster General, and so I believe great pressure has been brought to bear on the Department in favour of a system of registration. With this exception, I approve of the changes recently made. I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman has been able to effect considerable improvement in the position of postmen throughout the country, especially the unestablished postmen and the rural letter carriers. I sincerely hope this change will give satisfaction throughout the Service, for, after all, the main security for letters and efficiency of the Service depends upon the contentment of the men employed. It will be interesting to hear from the Postmaster General what will be the financial effect of all these recent changes. I have no doubt a considerable demand will be made upon the net revenues of the year, though many of the changes will be productive, and will ultimately tend to an increase of revenue, such has been the effect of many previous alterations. The hon. Member for Canterbury has referred to the increased Revenue the Treasury has derived from the Post Office in recent years, and I have more than once entered

upon this subject. During the six years, beginning with 1880, according to a Return recently laid before the House of a valuable and interesting character, it appears that the net revenue of the Post Office varied to a very small extent during the whole of those years. The amount averaged, after paying all possible claims in respect to the Post Office in other Departments, the net sum of £2,800,000, and if I deduct that part of the expenditure—which may be considered capital expenditure—the expense of new post offices, the net revenue amounts to £3,000,000. Now we know that the late Mr. Fawcett, on taking office in 1880, arrived at an understanding with the head of the then Government, that he should have a free hand in reference to the excess of net revenue over the average of the three preceding years. This excess was devoted to improvements in the Service, and so the net Revenue remained almost stationary. But in 1886 a different policy was pursued. The Treasury got a stronger hold upon the Post Office, and until recently there was a constantly growing net revenue. In 1889-90 the net revenue derived from the Post Office was £3,446,000; while irrespective of any capital expenditure on sites or buildings, the income was £3,557,000, an excess of £640,000 over and above the average of the six years to which I have alluded. This is for the Post Office and Packet Service, not including the Telegraph Service. Last year, partly from the changes made in the Colonial and Indian postage, and partly from additions made to the salaries of some of the officers in the Department, there was some decrease in the net revenue of £3,291,000, but it was still £500,000 above the average of the six years I have alluded to. For the current year, if we take the Budget Estimate, and without taking into account the recent changes made by the Postmaster General, the net revenue will be about the same as last year, but the changes since made will involve a heavier charge upon the Department. On the other hand, I think the Budget Estimate of receipts for the Post Office was a low one. For the last few years the receipts have increased by £400,000 to £500,000 annually, and we are justified in assuming that this year the increase will be about the same, or £200,000 in ex-

*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*

cess of the Budget Estimate. If I am right we may assume that even after the considerable outlay involved in the changes to which I have adverted, the net postal revenue for the current year will not be very far short of last year's, and, therefore, some £400,000 or £500,000 in excess of the six years following 1880. The total, then, would be about £3,330,000 after taking all expenditure into account. I have called attention to this to show that there is a large margin for improvements in the Postal Service, and I think it would be right to go back to the plan adopted at the time when Mr. Fawcett assumed office, allowing the Postmaster General a somewhat freer hand to free him to some extent, I would not say wholly, from that minute Treasury control which I have more than once called attention to, and of which the right hon. Gentleman has made not a few complaints on occasions when he has alluded to the positions of the Post Office and the Treasury. I think he has referred to the Treasury as the "Jorkins" in the partnership, checking his own good intentions. It is almost impossible for a Minister in the position of the Postmaster General to do his duty to the Service and respond to public demands unless he has more freedom. To illustrate what I mean, let me refer to what took place a few months ago in respect to the "Boy Messengers." I think I am justified in saying that for two or three years before the recent extension of that service was adopted by the Postmaster General there had been a growing feeling on the part of the public that something should be done in that direction, and I think I am justified in saying that the Postmaster General intended to adopt the change, but was controlled by the Treasury. In consequence of the delay, private agencies came in and undertook the service which should have been performed by the Post Office, and at last the time arrived when these agencies adopted the system of telegraphs in addition to the messengers. The Postmaster General was then advised that the monopoly of the Post Office was invaded. The matter was referred to the Treasury, but still considerable delay took place, from the unwillingness of the Treasury to allow the Post Office to take up the

service. Meantime the agencies extended their business, and the public became accustomed to the system, and when at last the Post Office intervened in the interest of their monopoly and endeavoured to put an end to the agencies, and announced that the Department intended to work a system of boy messengers, public opinion would not permit the Government to put a stop to these agencies. The Government gave way, and so in the result we have competing systems, the Post Office and the private agencies. Now, I do not think that is a very satisfactory conclusion. If the Postmaster General had at an earlier date adopted the system of postal messengers he would not have incurred the competition that now exists, and would have had no difficulty in asserting his monopoly. I do not think it is for the interest of the public or the Service that there should be this competition, and I think if the Postmaster General had had a free hand it would not have grown up. Many improvements in the Postal Service are called for by public opinion. I heartily sympathise with the efforts made by the hon. Member for Canterbury to induce the Post Office to adopt a system of penny postage for the Colonies and India, which, I have no doubt, would ultimately result in the adoption of universal penny postage. The excess of revenue over the average, as laid down by Mr. Fawcett, would, I believe, admit of this and many other improvements, the Treasury having in the meantime secured an ample revenue. Such a rule would encourage improvements in the Department to the great advantage of the public. At this time of the Session, and in the present state of the House, I will not attempt to bring forward the many other matters that arise in connection with this Vote. I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on the changes he has effected, and I hope he will carry improvements still further.

(1.22.) MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I take this opportunity to press upon the right hon. Gentleman's attention the importance of giving to the East End of London a late evening delivery of letters. Twenty years ago many districts in the East End of London, now covered with houses and factories, were fields, and now there

are about 1,000,000 of population to whom this evening delivery, which obtains in other parts of London, would be a great benefit. There is every reason why the East End should have this evening delivery. Many important trades are carried on there, and the manufacturers are handicapped by the want of this convenience, allowed to other suburbs, such as Hampstead. Of course, the Postmaster General leaves inquiry on these matters to the permanent officials, but I do not think that these officials have appreciated the importance of the subject. I do not wish to take up time, but I hope the right hon. Gentleman will favourably consider this request.

(1.26.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): Some considerable time ago I placed on the Notice Paper a Motion to reduce the salary of the Postmaster General, and I then had the intention of placing before the Committee the grievances of the postmen. Happily, about a fortnight ago, the right hon. Gentleman forestalled me by the announcement which he then made, and the observations I intended to make on that head are no longer necessary. I do not propose to gauge the precise advantages for these postmen contained in the right hon. Gentleman's announcement; I prefer to wait and see what the practical operation of the changes will be. The right hon. Gentleman claims that he has made the postmen a handsome concession. Now, I demur somewhat to the use of the word "concession" in such a case, though I am not at all surprised that the Postmaster General makes use of it, because his views of the relation between employer and employed are rather the views which obtained in the eighteenth century than those which characterise the last years of the nineteenth century. But the announcement thus made is of extreme importance from another point of view. It is a distinct admission that when the trouble occurred in the Post Office last year the postmen had reasonable grounds for their complaint. I do not wish to review the circumstances of the trouble last year, the serious breach of discipline—for strike it can scarcely be called; it was a breach of discipline followed by a lock-out on the part of the authorities. I never defended the conduct of the

men, it was indefensible, but as I pointed out then, and I now repeat it, the men were precipitated into their misconduct owing to the unconstitutional conduct of the right hon. Gentleman in interfering with their right of combination to protect their own interests. Some of the men were dismissed. A large number of these have emigrated and a considerable number are without any employment, or are only casually employed. On their behalf I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman for reinstatement in the Service, at all events when the opportunity presents itself. I ask also that those who have been punished by degradation, or otherwise, should be reinstated in their original positions. The House is aware that trouble also occurred at the beginning of the year in the Savings Bank Department—trouble which was undeniably caused by the language used by the right hon. Gentleman in this House. Sir Arthur Blackwood gave a pledge at the time that the members of the deputation should suffer no disadvantage then or subsequently; but, in spite of this assurance, one of the deputation has recently been removed to another Department of the Service under circumstances which constitute to him a disadvantage, and the general opinion is that he has suffered that disadvantage because of the prominent position he occupied on that deputation. I put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether he is not compromising the honour of Sir A. Blackwood by lending his ear to persons who have lately, I am afraid, become influential in his counsels with regard to Savings Bank affairs.

(1.35.) MAJOR RASCH (Essex, E.): I desire to call attention to an anomaly and injustice which exists in connection with the employment of Army pensioners or Reserve men in the Post Office, owing to the amount of their pensions being deducted from their wages. This deduction is obviously unfair, because the soldier has won his pension by meritorious services. The practice has led manufacturers and capitalists employing labour to follow the same system, and to deduct the amount of pensions from the pay of Reservists whom they engage. The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General receives an insufficient salary from a grateful country for

*Mr. Pickersgill*

the work he performs, and I am sure he would think it unfair if the amount of his private income were deducted from that salary.

(1.37.) CAPTAIN PENTON (Finsbury, Central): A few years ago an Act, called the Post Office Sites Act, was passed, and by it the London County Council were empowered within six months to make an offer for a portion of the site of Coldbath Fields Prison, if they wanted to have it reserved as an open space. On the suggestion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham (Sir R. Temple), the Select Committee which considered the Bill inserted a proviso requiring the right hon. Gentleman in the event of the offer being refused, and of the site being used exclusively for Post Office purposes, to hand over to the County Council the sum of £10,000, wherewith they might in the same locality purchase land for an open space. The Treasury, I am informed, are quite willing to hand over the money, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will consent, and not drive such a hard bargain with the County Council as to hold them to their offer for a site which is absolutely unsuitable as an open space. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to communicate to the House the nature of Mr. Smyth's letter to the County Council on the subject.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): The anomalous system of making deductions on account of pensions has spread from the Post Office to other branches of the Government Service, and has become a very fruitful source of sweating.

(1.43.) MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I wish to ask, on what principle are the contracts for the carriage of mails always given to the large companies in places where there are competing lines of railways? There is an impression that the London and North Western Company obtains more Government patronage in regard to the mails than other companies, and I should like to know what guides the Government in giving the contracts. I have already drawn attention to the desirability of establishing a money order office in my own locality. The right hon. Gentleman says a guarantee must be given, but I hope he will not insist upon a guarantee. I wish to refer to the con-

dition of affairs in the postal district of Kill, in my own constituency. If you want to receive a letter in the morning in some parts of the district you have to send a messenger eight miles. Then I have to point out that the train from Kilkenny to Waterford sometimes leaves the junction before the train from Dublin *via* Carlow arrives, and this causes great inconvenience. If the Government were to take a small sum from the Great Southern and Western Company, and give it to the Waterford and Central Ireland Company, the trains would practically never be late. The right hon. Gentleman in a communication he sent to me on this subject, said such a proposal would dislocate the arrangements on the Waterford and Central Ireland line, and would not be desirable, but I think the right hon. Gentleman was misinformed. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to improve the service, and will prove by his action that he is desirous of meeting the wishes of the people.

(1.51.) Mr. J. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I have two small points to bring forward. In the first place, I have to urge the importance of appointing in Welsh-speaking districts post office officials who speak the Welsh language, and, in the next place, I have to complain that in North Wales there is no post office in which female telegraphists are employed. There is no opportunity given to women in Wales to learn telegraphy, and I think a better chance should be given to women to enter the Telegraph Service.

(1.55.) Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Several times in the course of the present Session I have had occasion to address to the right hon. Gentleman questions involving complaints by the officials employed in the post office at Belfast. I am glad, however, to be able to state that those complaints do not involve any reflection upon the Postmaster General. There exists what appears to be a well-grounded fear that the representations made by the staff of the Belfast Post Office have not been brought directly under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman, and I hope, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman will undertake to give his personal attention to them.

Mr. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.): I have twice had to ask questions about

the holidays granted by law to telegraphists in the Edinburgh Telegraph Office. The Postmaster General made a recommendation on the matter, but, as I understand, nothing has been done in pursuance of that recommendation. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to hold out some hope that the compensation, which I understand he has promised, will be forthcoming in due time.

(2.0.) Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I wish to raise a point which I have already put in questions as to the Cork and Mulkerry Light Railway Company and the Parcels Post. The right hon. Gentleman told me that he was not aware that the company had made any proper application. I wish to call his attention to the correspondence which I have, which shows that the company has been dealt with in a rather peculiar way. The letters to the Cork Company have been referred from the Post Office to the Railway Clearing House, and from the Railway Clearing House to the Post Office. I think now that some reasonable and definite reply should be given, and that a convenience should be granted which is desired by the people of Cork. Another point is the establishment of a permanent post office at Kilbarry. For the last 25 years the local schoolmaster has turned his house into a post office, and performed postal services gratuitously, the average of parcels left at his house being about 100 per week. Repeated representations on the subject have been without success, and the local schoolmaster has thrown up this gratuitous post. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will consider the establishment of a permanent post office at Kilbarry. Another point to which I wish to draw attention has relation to the mail car route from Timoleague to Port MacSherry. There is a railway on one side of that route, and deep water on the other, and traffic, pedestrian or vehicular, is attended with considerable peril. It is desired that the Department should put up a fence as a protection, and in that request the local landlords have joined. The interests of everybody are concerned in this matter, and I sincerely hope the right hon. Gentleman will give some attention to the subject.

\*(2.8.) THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University):



Economists of former days would have been interested and surprised by the general tenor of the Debate to which we have just listened. The great point used to be, as I understand, to show a large balance of revenue to the State, and to make a defence against charges of extravagance in the past. But we have now arrived at a time when the opposite course is to be taken, and the only chance a Minister has of enjoying the confidence of this House is to point to a diminished balance of revenue and to a greater expenditure on the part of the Department. I rather hope, from the general course of what has been said here to-day, that I may make some claim to the confidence of the House. I think the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, who is interested in this particular question, will like to hear the figures which I have got with regard to the increase of revenue and expenditure in this year as compared with last. The expenditure of the Postal Service for 1891-2 is estimated at £6,054,000, including the Supplementary Estimate. The expenditure on telegraphs is estimated at £2,466,000, including the Supplementary Estimate. The expenditure on the Packet Service is £708,000. The total expenditure on the Post Office is, therefore, estimated at £9,229,000. This expenditure, compared with last year, shows an increase on the Post Office Vote of £456,000, and of £172,000 on the Telegraph Service. The total amount of additional expenditure of the Department in the course of the current year is close upon £600,000. The Estimate which my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer put forward in the Budget was that the revenue of the Post Office proper might be taken at £10,120,000, and that of the Telegraphs at £2,480,000, making a total revenue of £12,600,000. This, as compared with the revenue of the year, shows an estimated expansion of £340,000. The result is that our expenditure for the coming year is to be £600,000, against an increased revenue of £340,000.

\*MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I stated that I thought the Budget Estimate, judging from three or four years of Post Office revenue, was under-estimated by £200,000.

*Mr. Raikes*

\*MR. RAIKES: That is the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, but I am dealing with the figures as the Government have got them. I would point out that our expenditure for the year, as against the increased revenue, shows an increase of about 180 per cent. The reason of this is to be found in the very comprehensive measures which have been framed in the course of the last year for the improvement of the position of the staff. Within the last year and a-half almost every branch of the Service has received a substantial accession of privileges. I agree with the hon. Member for Bethnal Green in what he said, and I have declined to use the word "concessions." The improvements which have been effected relate to the sorting clerks, supervising officers, the London sorters, and the three Crown Offices of Dublin and Edinburgh (the sorting officers and telegraph branches), the entire staff of female clerks in London and several other minor branches. Although there are some small branches to be dealt with, I may say that the last year and a-half has witnessed a complete revision of the scales of pay and the terms of engagement on the part of the public servants, and I do believe that these very large additions to their comfort and emoluments have been highly appreciated by the great body of the postal clerks. During the last few days the hon. Member for Bethnal Green frankly admitted that it has been my good fortune to announce a very considerable addition to the advantages of the postmen. From the very first moment of my being in office I have always been anxious to improve the position of the rural postmen, who labour under the disadvantage, as compared with their brethren in towns, of having no ascending scale of pay. To my mind they should have that element of encouragement in the performance of their duties—the prospect of increased pay. I am anxious to show what is the real disposition of the Department when I state that care will be especially taken, in dealing with these matters, of the position of the rural postmen. Other postmen, I believe, are very well pleased. I know that great enthusiasm has been shown in Liverpool in favour of the changes that have been carried out, and I sincerely hope and believe that in other

towns the same feeling will prevail. As far as the London postmen are concerned we have effected some changes, chiefly in reducing the number of zones or districts, which will simplify the arrangements and improve the position of the suburban postmen. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was good enough to say something complimentary with regard to the improvements included in the Post Office Bill which has left this House. I believe that measure is likely to bring into effect some most salutary and most acceptable changes. One of them is the power given to the Treasury and the Post Office to frame new regulations for circulars, which will enable the various Friendly Societies to put a statement of accounts on their printed notices, and yet send it as a circular. This has been most earnestly pressed for years past, and I am very glad indeed that it has fallen to my lot to be able to carry it into effect. Another clause abolishes the charge for re-direction. Although it would be beneath the dignity of Members of this House to claim any special exemption, still it is a disadvantage from which they in common with the public have suffered considerably, and I have no doubt they will welcome the improvement with satisfaction. The next important part of the Bill refers to the punishment of persons, other than Post Office servants, who intercept letters. That is a matter which for long has required the attention of Parliament, and I am very glad that the Bill will authorise the Postmaster General to institute a prosecution in any flagrant and glaring case which may call for it. Another point in the Bill is the authority given to the Rural Sanitary Authorities to subscribe for guarantees which may be necessary in cases where money order, or savings bank, or telegraph office, or any of these facilities may be required. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford has spoken of the Member for Canterbury in connection with these points, but I am not aware that the hon. Gentleman has ever taken any active part with regard to them. The right hon. Gentleman has referred to what has been done at Vienna. I hope before Parliament rises that I may be in a position to inform the House as to more important matters than those of which I

have been able to speak. I pass from that to the question of the registration of parcels. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman is warranted in the expression that the new system is due to any great loss of parcels. It is rather, I think, a fair concession to public opinion that as we are carriers of parcels but are not liable to make good losses, registration will be a guarantee to the public that we will give ample protection to valuable parcels in their transit through the post. The concession is already popular, and I think will be useful. The right hon. Gentleman has frequently referred to the relations between the Treasury and the Post Office, and expressed the view that the Post Office might have been earlier authorised to undertake the work of the Boy Messenger Companies. I am not prepared to quarrel with his illustration, or with the view which the right hon. Gentleman adopts. I, perhaps, might say that any doubts which might have been raised, either with the Post Office or at the Treasury, as to the remunerative nature of this sort of enterprise have in some degree been justified by the fact that the pioneer Company is already in liquidation. And when the right hon. Gentleman entertains some slight misgiving as to the continued competition of these companies, I do not think he need fear that such competition will be very long-lived. The hon. Member for Stepney called attention to the question of the deliveries in the East End. I think he must have been misinformed as to the frequency of those deliveries. It is, of course, likely enough that in the remoter districts of London there may not be as many deliveries as there are in the E.C. or the S.W. districts, but, even as it is, I am inclined to think that the number of deliveries in every part of London are not only equal to, but rather ahead of, the demands of the people of London. I quite think that if I were to reduce the number of deliveries in the E.C. and S.W. by half, I should earn a great many blessings.

Mr. WOOTTON ISAACSON: May I point out we cannot post a letter in the Lobby of the House of Commons after 6 p.m. if it is to be delivered the same night in the East End of London.

\*Mr. RAIKES: I believe that in East London, as in other parts of London, the

number of deliveries is more than sufficient to meet the wants of the population. In fact, I am not sure that if I were to reduce the number of postal deliveries, especially in the E.C. and S.W. districts, I should not, in the opinion of many, be making a blissful change. I am inclined to think that no very great complaints could be made. I have been pressed by the Member for Bethnal Green as to the reinstating of the dismissed postmen. As the hon. Member is aware, some of these men have been reinstated, and it entirely rests with them to recover the ground they have lost. I believe that that has been done in a great many cases already, and I should be exceedingly glad to advance all those who are fairly entitled to it. With regard to the few who are still anxious to be reinstated—and they are few—some have found their way into other employments; for some employment has been found in other districts, for I do not think it advisable that men who have misconducted themselves in the outrageous proceedings of last year should return to the public service in London. Reference has been made to the transference of a certain clerk to the office of the Receiver and Accountant General. That transfer has been made in the interests of the Service.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: The official was one of a deputation which waited on the right hon. Gentleman, and he is thus punished.

\*Mr. RAIKES: No one has suffered for the fact that they took part in the deputation. It would be unfair to punish one and not all, and I should be sorry to diminish the means of access to heads of Departments. This gentleman has been transferred for other reasons. The hon. Member for Finsbury has referred to the question of the land in connection with the Coldbath Fields Prison. I am sorry that any ground for complaint has arisen, but I cannot find it in my heart to take £10,000 from the general taxpayer and present it to any district in London. I was quite willing that the County Council should purchase it at a price. Then as to the conveyance of mails to different parts of Ireland, I assure hon. Members that their complaints shall receive attention.

*Mr. Raikes*

MR. SEXTON: Has anything been done to re-arrange the duties in the Belfast Office?

\*Mr. RAIKES: I have called for a Report on that subject. As to Scotland, I wish to assure hon. Members that holidays will be given in Scotland as in England. The question of the reduction of the rates between Calais and Brindisi is a matter that has always been present to the mind of the Department, and on two occasions during my term of office successful efforts have been made to reduce the rate. I listened with very great regret to the remarks which the hon. Member permitted himself to make with regard to one of the best of public servants, Mr. Buxton Forman, who has succeeded on two occasions in obtaining a considerable reduction of this rate. Our representatives at the Vienna Postal Congress were instructed to take steps to introduce the subject with the view of securing a further reduction in the rate; but they speedily discovered that the Congress declined to entertain the subject, and our representatives were left to negotiate as well as they could with the representatives of France and Italy. The existing arrangement is for a term of years, and terminates at the end of this year, and I hope it may be possible in the meantime to obtain a further reduction. The hon. Member for Canterbury is mistaken as to the constitutional enormity he thinks he has discovered in the making of a payment which did not appear upon the Estimates. As a matter of fact, the payment appears in the finance account, and, since the Committee sat, in the Report of the Postmaster General. It would be impossible that a balance of account as between the contracting Powers could be voted annually by the House. It is impossible for the decision of the House to bind the contracting Powers who have arrangements by Treaty with Her Majesty's Government. The amount is one which a Minister is bound to take into consideration as the outcome of arrangements made by Treaty. When the Treaty is made it is competent for the House to eject the Minister who has made it; but it would be practically impossible to strike a balance and present it to the House as an Estimate. I think I have dwelt on all the points raised. I apologise to the House for the length of my speech, and have to express a sin-

cere hope that the Resolution will now be taken.

Resolution agreed to. (2.40.)

Seventeenth Resolution (see p. 1033) agreed to.

18. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,716,080 (including a Supplementary sum of £43,750) be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, for the Salaries and Working Expenses of the Post Office Telegraph Service."

\*(3.7.) MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I wish to make one or two remarks on the figures which the Postmaster General has given, which include both the Post Office and the Telegraph Vote. The right hon. Gentleman's figures show that, taking into account the receipts from both Services, and taking the estimated expenditure within the current year, there is still a net surplus of £3,371,000. As I understand the figures, with the exception of £4,000, the whole of that comes from the Postal Service. Therefore, I think I am justified in saying that for the current year the estimated net revenue from the Post Office alone will be about £570,000 over and above the average of the six years beginning 1880. In my opinion, the Budget Estimate of the receipts for the current year is under-estimated both in respect of the Postal and Telegraphic Services, and the result of my observation is that for the last four or five years it has been under-estimated in respect of the Post Office by nearly £200,000. The fact is, that for the last four or five years the Post Office revenue has been increasing by leaps and bounds, and the average increase in that time has been about £450,000. The Postmaster General has twitted us with a desire to increase Post Office expenditure, but I think there is a great distinction to be drawn between the Post Office and other Departments in this respect. So far as my experience goes, there has never been any improvement made in the Service at a considerable expense which has not ultimately led to an increase of the revenue at least equal to the cost. Therefore, I think we may advise an increase of the expenditure of the Post Office without that reluctance with which we might be disposed to deal with an increase in

other Departments in which the money would be thrown away without any permanent results. I am glad to find from the statement of the Postmaster General that he does not expect any deficiency in the present year in the Telegraph Service, and that the receipts will be equal to the expenditure. If the right hon. Gentleman will take into account the capital expenditure during the current year upon laying down new telegraphs and also upon sites and new buildings, he will find there will be a considerable excess of revenue over payments, which, although not perhaps sufficient to pay interest on the amount expended in the purchase of the telegraphs, will, at all events, form a considerable item, and will show no deficiency. Though, on the whole, the result of the adoption of the 6d. telegram has been a considerable sacrifice, yet it has not led to a financial deficit, if we take into account the capital expenditure as well as the other expenditure.

(3.13.) MR. HENNIKER HEATON: I congratulate the Postmaster General upon having for the first time a surplus in connection with the Telegraph Service of this country. We are now, however, threatened with the same danger which we protested against in regard to the Post Office, namely, that of making a profit out of the Telegraph Service. As a means of preventing this trouble, I venture to ask the Postmaster General to carry out as early as possible a reform I know he is in sympathy with, namely, that of having an address not exceeding eight words sent free. That would be a concession which this country would very gratefully accept, and I should like to learn the views of the Postmaster General on the subject. I must also take this opportunity of complimenting the Postmaster General on the Circular he issued yesterday in regard to the Telegraph Service. Some time ago I called attention to the fact that while "can't" and "don't" are received as one word, such words as "shan't" are treated as two. The Postmaster General announces in his Circular that "shan't" will in future be regarded as one word. There are a large number of places in this country which have compound names. By a notice just issued by the Postmaster General "St. Leonards-on-Sea" is no longer to be

charged for as three words, but will henceforth be regarded as one word. But "De Vere-gardens," for example, will still be charged as three words. I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to make a bold move, and to issue an Order that all compound names of places should be regarded as one word.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I wish to draw attention to the cases of two officers who were placed in the position of yard-overseers, but were not remunerated sufficiently for the important duties they had to discharge.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That has no reference to this Vote.

\*(3.18.) MR. RAIKES: Although the hon. Member cannot call attention to the matter now, I will not omit to consider it. I will not follow the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) into a discussion of the figures. I think it right, however, to point out that, although the estimated surplus of revenue over working expenses from the Telegraph Service last year was £101,000, yet there were deficiencies in the previous five years; and we are still £198,000 to the bad in dealing with the Telegraph Service as a whole. It is satisfactory to find that the telegraph revenue has recuperated in the way it has done, and I may mention that the recuperation exceeds the anticipations of those who were consulted upon the question. It is only five years since there was an actual loss of £145,000 in the working of the telegraphs in the course of the year, and we are now receiving a balance of £101,000. I am glad to notice the way in which the hon. Member (Mr. Henniker Heaton) has referred to the Order I recently issued. I think I exercised a rather arbitrary power in decreeing that "shan't" shall in future be charged as one word, because the basis on which these abbreviations have been hitherto charged is that they shall be abbreviations of one word; and while "cannot" is one word, "shall not" are two words. Again, as regards "St. Leonards-on-Sea," I have rather outstepped the rule which has hitherto governed this question. A compound word, when it is the name of a Post Office, is treated as one word. A telegram sent to "St. Leonards" would have been treated as one word. The words

*Mr. Henniker Heaton*

"on Sea" are surplusage, and are not required. The rule will not apply, however, to streets, because there the name is not that of a Post Office. I have always desired to see some relaxation of the existing rule with regard to addresses, but I could not allow eight words of each address to go free. I cannot hold out the smallest hope of making such a sweeping change, but I shall be glad if at some future time the Treasury can take steps towards putting addresses upon a rather more liberal footing than they are at present.

Resolution agreed to.

19. "That a sum, not exceeding £631,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Transport and Remounts, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892."

(3.23.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.): I desire to call attention to the employment of military in North Wales to assist the police in the collection of tithes. The particular instance I have to bring forward relates to the employment of a troop of Hussars. I do not think the military should be at any time called in unless there is every probability that it will be utterly impossible for the police to preserve order. In the case to which I allude there was not the slightest danger of any serious riot occurring. Before the Hussars were sent down there had been three previous tithe sales. An investigation has been made by the Police Committee into the circumstances under which the Hussars were called in. At the inquiry the police were represented by counsel, and so were the tithepayers. The first witness called by the police was Constable Evans, and he said that on the first occasion the crowd at its largest numbered from 130 to 150. Our estimate is that the crowd did not exceed 80. On the face of it, it appears to be against the public interest to call a troop of Hussars into a district to keep in order a crowd which even numbers 150. The constable was asked to describe the worst part of what was said to be a riot, and he said there was considerable noise, but no assault; no one was hurt, but it was rather difficult for the officers to carry out their duty of collecting the tithe. A police officer in plain clothes said he was there to be called upon if necessary, but he was not called on, simply

because it was not necessary. On the second occasion there were 11 policemen, but there was no baton-charge, no stone-throwing, and no assault. Evidence was given by the reporter of a Tory newspaper, a gentleman named Miller, who from time to time had attended several of these tithe sales, and he denied that there was anything in the nature of a serious riot. There was horn-blowing, beating of tins, shouting, and horse-play, but nothing likely to cause danger to life, limb, or property—nothing to call for the use of the military. In fact, there was no evidence to support the conduct of the authorities. One remark of the Chief Constable deserves attention. He, when asked the reason for calling in the aid of the military, said the cost of the military would be borne by the Imperial Revenue and not by the county taxpayers. That is a matter for this House to take note of, because if soldiers are to be called down whenever there is a tithe sale in Wales, the expense will be considerable. We shall probably have many more tithe sales in Wales, and a troop of Hussars on each occasion may make a considerable item in the Estimates. The Chief Constable convened a meeting of Magistrates to consider the question of sending for the military. These Magistrates were Conservatives, and certainly not prejudiced in favour of tithe rioters. The Chairman asked the Chief Constable if he had instituted any prosecutions for a breach of the peace, and he answered "No;" and when afterwards, to justify his conduct, he did institute proceedings, the result was the defendants were simply bound over to keep the peace. There was no case of assault—nothing in the evidence to show that a breach of the peace was apprehended. The observation I would like to make is this: The Government ought to exercise some discretion in sending the assistance of a military force. There is a precedent for the exercise of such discretion in the history of proceedings in Ireland. An Irish landlord—Lord Clanricarde, I think it was—insisted against advice on proceeding to eviction for non-payment of rent. He was within his legal right, yet the Government of the day refused to back him up in the harsh exercise of his legal rights, refused to send soldiers to assist at the

evictions on his estate. I think the judicious spirit thus displayed should be exercised towards these tithe sales in Wales. Here was a parish of 1,000 inhabitants, and the rector was in receipt of something like £500 for tithe. Practically, the whole of the inhabitants were Nonconformists, for on the Sunday following this incident the congregation in the church numbered only seven. Naturally, there would be a strong feeling of resentment against this payment, and I think the right hon. Gentleman, or whoever is responsible, should exercise some sort of discrimination in these cases, and not, by the use of military, embitter the feeling that exists. As a protest, I move a reduction by £600.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£631,700," in order to insert "£631,600."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, "That '£631,700' stand part of the Resolution."

(3.37.) MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town): I support my hon. Friend in making a protest against proceedings which have given great dissatisfaction in Wales. The Welsh people have conceived the idea that the military were called in not for the purpose of quelling a riot, but in order to get up a case for bringing in the Tithe Bill. The Welsh people are eminently a law-abiding people, lovers of order, who give very little trouble to the Government. It is well known that the Prime Minister set his heart on passing the Tithe Bill, and it is supposed that these proceedings were for the purpose of influencing public opinion in favour of this Bill.

(3.40.) MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I desire to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that it is a dangerous practice to adopt, this of sending troops to engage in social troubles. We have been told by the hon. Member that we have not heard the last of tithe sales in Wales; and if that be so, I desire to point out how the interposition of the military on such occasions may arouse ill-feeling, and make the Army unpopular. It is absolutely necessary, for recruiting purposes, that the Army should remain popular with the great body of the people. We have seen the evil effects of employing troops in social disturbances in Ireland. It is a fact that in Ireland

the Army has always been popular, in contradistinction to the police. The Army has been freely recruited in Ireland, but now, I believe, recruiting in Ireland shows a decrease, and this I attribute largely to the fact that the troops on several occasions have been used against the people in these social disputes. I remember some two years ago being present for a week at evictions carried out on the Ponsonby Estate. Troops were engaged there in aiding the police in evicting the people from their homes. I grieved at the time that the Army should be engaged in such disreputable proceedings. When the day's work ended, and the men marched away with the band playing, I invariably called for "Three cheers for the Army," and the people always responded. This I did as a sort of check to the symptoms of a growing unpopularity of the Army, in consequence of the way in which they had been used in these eviction proceedings. I warn the Secretary of State for War not to repeat in Wales the evil practices that have taken place in Ireland.

(3.45.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Whether the Magistrates and police were right or wrong on the occasion referred to is a question I have not myself investigated, and I desire to express no opinion upon it. But whether they were right or wrong, they were clearly entitled, if they thought it necessary, to call for the assistance of the military in aid of the civil power. Now, the only suggestion of the hon. Member that raises any doubt on the subject is the suggestion that the troops were called on in order to save expense to the county.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: That was not my suggestion; that is what the Chief Constable said in evidence.

MR. E. STANHOPE: All I have to say to that suggestion is that clearly that would be an illegitimate ground for invoking military assistance; but it is not possible for me to analyse the motives which actuate the Civil Authority in such a matter. I dissent, moreover, from the view that the War Office should exercise discretion, and should send troops or withhold them as they think fit. If the law is wrong, let it be altered; but while the law exists in

*Mr. J. O'Connor*

the Statute Book, it is the duty of the Civil Authority to enforce it, and it is their right to call on the military authority to assist. That assistance I shall always give.

(3.47.) MR. J. BRYN ROBERTS:

We do not say that there should be a discretion with the Military Authorities. We say the Government should exercise a discretion on a matter of general policy. Surely the right hon. Gentleman will not lay down the proposition that whenever the Civil Authorities send for military assistance without question, that assistance should be given. I am unable to acquit the Government of an intention to get up a case for the Tithe Bill of last year. I have no sort of doubt that the military would not have been called upon but for the fact that for three Sessions there had been attempts to pass the Tithe Bill, and it was necessary to get up some pressure of public opinion to force the Bill through. So this method was adopted for creating the impression that the proceedings at this sale reached the magnitude of a riot, necessitating the removal of a troop of Hussars from one end of the Kingdom to another to this rural district in Denbighshire. There was not the slightest necessity, there was no personal violence, and the sending of a troop of Hussars from Manchester was merely to create a sensation. It is natural that the Welsh nation and the Welsh Members should feel aggrieved by the fact that the Chief Constable allowed himself to be made a tool of by ecclesiastical dignitaries and Magistrates to force a political move. The military were brought into the diocese of St. Asaph, the Bishop of which has been most prominent in the endeavour to force the Tithe Bill through. My hon. Friend is justified in raising this protest to mark our sense of the proceeding.

(3.49.) MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I desire to support the protest of my hon. Friends from Wales. It would seem that the authorities in Wales have taken a leaf from the book of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. It does not appear that there was any justification for the employment of troops on the occasion in question. In view of all the circumstances, I think the War Office should be more reluctant to grant the use of an armed force to interfere in civil proceedings. There is

another matter to which I desire to call attention. I am not aware whether the right hon. Gentleman was present when a question was asked in reference to the complaint of cesspayers in Cork, that they have been mulcted in £1,000 damages owing to the misconduct of Militiamen when called out for their annual training—

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member would not be in order in raising that question now.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution agreed to.

20. "That a sum, not exceeding £2,605,000, be granted to Her Majesty to defray the Charge for Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892."

(3.56.) COLONEL NOLAN: I observe some newspaper reports to the effect that there have been some complaints in reference to the quality of bread supplied. I do not say there is any truth in the reports, but can the right hon. Gentleman give us any information upon this matter?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Since the hon. and gallant Member put the question last night I have seen the Quartermaster General, and he tells me that not a single complaint has reached the War Office as to the quality of the bread. He tells me he made special inquiries with very favourable results.

Resolution agreed to.

Twenty - first Resolution (see page 1036), agreed to.

22. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,847,100, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Supply and Repair of Warlike and other Stores, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892."

\*(3.57.) MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berkshire): I do not think the right hon. Gentleman will be surprised if I take this opportunity of saying a few words in reference to the adoption of the new rifle. This Vote contains no less than £1,250,000 for small arms and ammunition. The question of ammunition is, of course, inseparable from that of small arms; they cannot be treated separately. Now, it is undeniable that the new rifle was adopted before the War Office had got the ammunition to suit

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the weapon or to test its capabilities. The rifle was intended to be used with a smokeless powder, giving a muzzle velocity of over 2,000 foot seconds, and with a bullet having a lead core with a hard metal casing. It has heretofore been used with a charge of compressed black powder, giving a velocity of only 1,830 foot seconds, and a bullet having a homogeneous core and casing has not yet been found. The complaints as to the stripping of the bullet have been loud and general. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman will say that the War Office has practically arrived at a satisfactory powder at last, but that powder has been on trial at Bisley during the last fortnight, and it seems to me that the results do not show any improvement on those of black powder in the old Martini-Henry. The ammunition has been held to be responsible for the great proportion of the failures of the magazine rifle. Reports show that at least the shooting obtained by the Martini-Henry was as good as that obtained by the use of the new rifle. This is shown by the results of the shooting at Bisley, and at the Army competition meeting. It cannot be pretended that the shooting with the magazine rifle was a bit superior to what it was with the Martini-Henry in past years. Take the competitions of the Army rifle meeting under similar conditions with the Martini-Henry and the magazine rifle, and you will find the scores with the Martini-Henry are better than those with the new rifle, while in the competitions open to any military rifle you find competitors largely preferring the Martini-Henry to the new rifle. These facts are by many attributed to faults in the ammunition, and it would be satisfactory if the right hon. Gentleman would tell us if he expects shortly to have a remedy for the defects in powder and bullet. As to the rifle itself, I will not dwell on details with which I troubled the House on a former occasion. You have a rifle with two enormous advantages not to be over-estimated—hardly any recoil, and a low trajectory. But, on the other hand, you have the disadvantages of a rifle which is ugly, clumsy, heavy, complicated, delicate, and expensive. I think my case in that respect is proved by the fact that soon after the rifle was



issued it was decided as early as December to bring out an improvement, "Mark II."

MR. E. STANHOPE: Decided to try it.

\*MR. MARJORIBANKS: It was decided to try a new pattern, which pattern was again altered, and in March we had a new "Mark II.," a description of which has been given to the House. It is beside my point to say what the difference was, but there was occasion for the issue of a new pattern, which included many improvements on points which had been warmly attacked by those who had doubts about the new rifle. I admit that the proposed Mark II. will be a better weapon. I admit that as the Government had decided to go on with the issue of a large number of the rifles it is little use "crying over spilt milk," but still I would suggest one or two points to the right hon. Gentleman to which attention should be turned. First, I would urge that he should carefully consider whether it is possible to enlarge the diameter of the bolt in order to increase the size of the cavity holding the mainspring, which could then be made with larger coils, and would be less likely to break in the way that breakages have occurred. Then in the magazine an improved and stronger spring should be introduced to feed the cartridges up into the breech—the existing spring in Mark I. is worthy of a child's toy—and a greater and longer grip given on the cartridge in the lips or top of the magazine, for it is a frequent occurrence that the cartridge is not delivered into the chamber. Then, will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of introducing some system of charging the magazine from clips at one motion. The earlier methods of loading from clips, when the clips went into the magazine and the magazine could not be re-charged till all the contents of that clip had been discharged and the clip had fallen out, were undoubtedly faulty; but in the newer patterns the clip does not enter the magazine at all, it is pushed aside by the bolt as it closes, and the magazine can be re-charged at any time, and either from a clip or with single cartridges at will. Then, I would suggest attention to a "locking bolt," by which the rifle may be made absolutely safe when loaded.

*Mr. Marjoribanks*

The "half cock" arrangement is useless, and I find the Manual directs that it is not to be used when the rifle is loaded, and if that is so, what is the use of a "half cock" at all? A form of "locking bolt" should be substituted, rendering the rifle safe under all conditions. Another point has reference to the cleaning rod. It seems to me an extraordinary arrangement to have a cleaning rod less than the full length of the barrel, so that it cannot be used to drive out a bullet or other obstruction in the breech or barrel. I am told that this difficulty is to be got over by making the cleaning rod in two short divisions, connecting them by screw, and giving the portions with male and female screw alternately to the odd and even files, so that there would be one complete rod between every two men; but I do not think this arrangement will commend itself to practical men, and I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that to every rifle should be attached a cleaning rod sufficiently long to go the whole length of the barrel. I do not think the "pull through" arrangement at the butt end is sufficient, it is a finicking arrangement, it requires some ingenuity to get it into the hole at the butt end of the rifle, and I am quite sure it will often be lost. I would not mention these details but that I feel that they can be remedied, and if an accident occurs by some of these little arrangements being thrown out of gear, the weapon is useless for the time being. And now I desire to say a word as to the manner in which the rifle was chosen and adopted. In 1881 a Committee was first appointed to deal with the question of the new rifle. If I remember right, there was some alarm felt that the Russian rifle was better than ours, consequently a Committee was appointed to consider the question. The Committee sat until 1884, overlapping a new Committee which was appointed in 1883, and which, I think, for all practical purposes may be regarded as the Committee which finally reported on the rifle. As a matter of fact, it came to an end in 1885, and a new Committee was appointed in 1886, but the composition of that Committee was so much like the old one—having the same President—that the two may be considered identical. We have had no

Report of the proceedings, and we do not know how they went to work, so that it is difficult to follow what their proceedings were. I can only gather it in a rough way from one or two things I know as to what their course was. In the first place, these Committees decided on a new single-loading rifle, to be called the Enfield-Martini, of 400 bore, of which 100,000 barrels were made. These were afterwards thrown aside altogether. This rifle was much lauded at the time, but I do not know where the 100,000 barrels now are.

MR. E. STANHOPE: I have over and over again informed the House that they were converted into Martini-Henrys, having been re-bored.

\*MR. MARJORIBANKS: At any rate, this rifle, which was very much praised, had to be thrown aside. Then the Committee tried a large number of rifles, and eventually selected three, which they placed in the following order:—first, the Owen Jones; secondly, the Lee-Burton; and, thirdly, the Lee. Mr. Owen Jones was asked to have manufactured 5,000 rifles of his patent. For one reason or another that fell through, and in the spring of 1886 an order was given for the manufacture of 2,500 Owen Jones rifles at Enfield, involving a large expenditure for new plant and machinery, and I have myself seen rifles manufactured at Enfield of that particular pattern in the spring of 1886. At the same time an order was given for the manufacture of 300 of the Lee-Burton pattern. In the following September, however, they reversed the order, and they placed the Lee, which had stood third on the list, first. Using that rifle as a foundation they evolved the present magazine rifle. This chopping and changing about on the part of the Committee certainly does not give rise to increased confidence in the wisdom of their selection, and that confidence, as far as it exists, is further shaken by the fact that two members of the Committee, when giving evidence this Session before a Committee of this House, differed altogether as to the range of the new rifle. One member (Colonel Slade) said that the extreme range of the Martini-Henry was from 3,400 to 3,500 yards; and of the magazine rifle, 3,700 to 3,800; while the other (Sir Henry Halford) said he believed the extreme range of the new

rifle was 5,000 yards. It is certainly an extraordinary thing that two of the leading members of the Committee should take such widely different views as to the range capacity of the rifle. In view of this difference of opinion, I think I am justified in remarking that before completing their work the Committee should have carried out experiments which would have shown the extreme range of the new weapon. I am sorry that the Government adopted this rifle so quickly, and have made so large an issue of Mark I. rifles. I am satisfied that if they had held the selection over for a time a much better and cheaper weapon might have been secured. In order to enter a protest against the action of the Government in this matter I move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £15,000.

Amendment proposed, to leave out “£1,847,100,” in order to insert “£1,832,100.”—(*Mr. Marjoribanks.*)

Question proposed, “That £1,847,100, stand part of the Resolution.”

(4.23.) COLONEL NOLAN: The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down is always opening up this question, and as it is one he has studied most profoundly, I hope the Secretary for War will pay the greatest attention to experiments on all these details concerning clips, the length of the loading rod, the place for the mainspring, and so on. These experiments could be made for £2 or £3—almost for a few shillings—and the mere fact that these defects have been pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman, who is so well known in the rifle world, and who takes such a deep interest in all these subjects, renders it necessary that further experiments should be carried out. If experiments are carried out, in another year the Secretary for War will be able to tell us how the faults of the rifle are to be rectified, or whether the War Office intend to retain the rifle in its present form. But, after all, these points are not of great importance. The non-delivery of the cartridge from the magazine, of which the right hon. Gentleman complains, is undoubtedly a serious defect, but I think that may be due to an imperfection in the mechanism of the particular rifle that the right hon. Gentleman fired, because I have not

found such a defect in the rifle I have used. I do not remember a single case of the cartridge failing to pass from the magazine, although I was rather clumsy in handling the weapon. Then, the right hon. Gentleman dwelt on some points which really are of the greatest importance. He said the men at Bisley did not do so well with the magazine rifle as with the Martini-Henry. The good qualities of the new rifle do not come out in a target match, though the fact that the magazine rifle does not make such good shooting as the Martini-Henry rifle may be due to the fact that the men are accustomed to the latter, but not to the former. The advantage of the low trajectory is not appreciably felt as compared with that of the Martini-Henry at target practice, and the absence of recoil does not tell very much. No doubt the bolt action is necessary, because it is almost impossible to have the block with a magazine. Then, if the shooting is bad, I should say that, generally speaking, it is the fault of the sighting of the weapon. And the right hon. Gentleman put one point to which, I think, the Secretary for War ought to give a reply. He spoke of the ammunition—a matter which is, to a certain extent, mixed up with the sighting. The rifle is, on the whole, a very good one, but I am not satisfied with the ammunition, for, whilst the sighting is up to 2,050 feet, the ammunition is only up to 1,860 feet. If the right hon. Gentleman has a good smokeless powder, I do not think it is necessary that he should seek to have it suited to all climates. It should rather be his object to have it suited to first-class warfare, such as is likely to occur in Europe. I think, however, he ought to be able to tell us that he has a reasonably good powder, which is fit in a general way for service. I had the honour of serving on the Range Committee, and I was surprised to hear the differences of opinion between Colonel Slade, Sir Henry Halford, and other witnesses as to the range at which the bullet would ricochet—the difference being as between 2,000 yards and 3,800 yards. This is a matter which affects the whole of the Volunteer ranges of the country, and it was one of the difficulties which the Committee had to consider. I hope the Secretary for War will be able to afford us some

*Colonel Nolan*

information on the point, with a view to settling the truth or falsity of the statement that the bullet will not ricochet after 2,000 yards. It is a matter which may save a good many lives, if it is properly and thoroughly stated. It is a point of great interest to Volunteers. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Marjoribanks) gave a description of the rifle, and commented upon its ugliness. That is all a matter of taste. It is possible that a committee of ladies might select a rifle which would not come up to æsthetic requirements. The question of the recoil, to which the right hon. Gentleman referred, is undoubtedly mixed up with the question of weight. Altogether, I do not think there is any good reason to suppose that the rifle is not a very good one, based on a very good system. I do not believe there is any great difference between one magazine rifle and another. If you have them of one bore, with a good smokeless powder, I think it is one of the very best rifles, so far as long ranges go. I think the stripping of bullets is exaggerated, and that ordinary precautions, such as oiling the bore, would prevent it. The Secretary for War may have an opportunity of inquiring into the points that have been raised. With reference to the recent explosion of a 6-in. gun on board a vessel in Australian waters, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will consider whether any more guns of that pattern should be produced, or, at all events, will make such inquiry as will result in restoring public confidence in that particular class of gun. Then, it is said that the combustion of brown powder is quicker in hot climates, and that it deteriorates. That is a point worthy inquiry, with a view to the right hon. Gentleman definitely stating whether brown powder does deteriorate in hot climates, and is liable to go off suddenly.

\*COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): The question of this rifle was very carefully considered by a competent Committee, whose President, Major General M. P. Smith, a man of calm and judicial mind, and not likely to be carried away, had served on the Staff, commanded a battalion on service and a battalion at Aldershot; by Colonel Slade, who has served in many parts of the world, and was an old instructor and

an old Cavalry officer; and by Sir Henry Halford, who is one of the best rifle shots in the Volunteers. I merely mention these names to show that the Committee, which was not selected by the present Government, was carefully constituted.

(4.37.) MR. E. STANHOPE: I think it is desirable that I should at once reply to some of the observations made on the magazine rifle. I will not attempt to follow the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Marjoribanks) into the details of the history of the magazine rifle, as everything I have to say on that point is to be found in a speech I made earlier in the Session. I will only remark that whereas people outside blame the Committee for not having approached the subject with an open mind, the account which the right hon. Gentleman has given proves that if anything the Committee had too open a mind. With regard to the ammunition, which I admit to be a matter of enormous importance, I have never disguised the fact that the provision of suitable ammunition is attended with great difficulty. No doubt for a long time the ammunition was not of that high character which it ought to have been. The manufacturers, probably from inexperience, were unable to supply compressed black powder of the same uniform quality as the previous ordinary black powder. At any rate, we have found considerable uncertainty in the black powder, and that to a great extent accounts for the fact that the shooting of the magazine rifle is not so superior to that of the Martini-Henry as was to be expected. But there is also the element that the troops are not yet accustomed to the weapon, and the further fact that the rifle to some extent has proved to be a puzzle, while the sighting is not like that of the rifles with which the troops have been familiar. I am, however, glad to say that we are now obtaining much more uniform results with the compressed black powder now supplied, the shooting is infinitely better than it has previously been, and the ammunition we have recently been serving out has given results more satisfactory than in the earlier stages of the magazine rifle. I now come to the question of the smokeless powder. That is a question of great importance, and we

think it important that we should have time to arrive at the manufacture of a powder which we may safely recommend for the use of the British Army without danger of deterioration in any climate. To find such a powder is an exceedingly difficult problem. I do not think there is any sort of powder in use at the present moment that will withstand the effects of all climates; but I am glad to say we have now got a powder, called "cordite," which is giving satisfactory results. Since it has been issued for experiments among different regiments the Reports as to its use after 1,000 rounds have been fired quickly are very satisfactory. We find that it did not lead to any stripping of bullets, and we have since issued a quantity of this powder to different regiments for practice. As to its keeping qualities, I am not yet able to speak with certainty. The Reports which have come in are from the hot climates only, but as far as they are concerned I am satisfied that the cordite powder is not dangerous in use or subject to deterioration in hot climates, and I am very well satisfied with the experiments which have been made. During the next season I hope we may have very large experience of its use in cold climates as well as hot. On the whole, we are very well satisfied with the result of the experiments made with this sort of powder. We have the means of manufacturing it on a large scale. Last year there were considerable, and just, complaints with regard to the stripping of the bullet. This difficulty, I am glad to say, has been substantially overcome. The Reports which have reached me lead me to that conclusion. The position of the Department is that they believed at first, and they believe now, that Mark I. is an excellent rifle, but they would have been very foolish indeed if they were not prepared to adopt any practical suggestions that were made, and try by experiment to arrive at still more satisfactory results. It was with a view to such experiments, and with that view only, that Mark II. was issued. Many of the improvements embodied in that rifle might have been adopted in Mark I. in the course of manufacture without changing its designation at all. I am much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for giving his practical experience of the rifle, and I can assure him that his suggestions will receive every con-

sideration. The "pull-through" has been adopted, because it has been found that if a cleaning-rod is always used in a small-bore it is apt to deteriorate the rifling. The adoption of the "pull-through" has been received with great satisfaction in the Army. The adoption of a rifle which is a single-shooter usually and a magazine rifle when the occasion requires it is a deliberate act of policy on the part of those responsible for the choice of the weapon. I believe the experience of the next great war, which I hope is far distant, will show that the use of purely magazine rifles would lead to the exhaustion of the ammunition before the troops came into contact, and that the officers would be unable to control its expenditure. By the adoption of a single-shooter with a magazine in reserve for the last rush or the climax of the attack the officers would be better able to prevent useless or premature expenditure of ammunition. The fault which has been detected in the mainsprings has been remedied, and new springs have been substituted for those originally issued with Mark I. During the present year a large number of rifles with that improvement have been tried. Reports upon those rifles are gradually coming in, and so far as those Reports have been seen they are very satisfactory indeed. Practically, none of the rifles broke down. I will read extracts from two of the fullest Reports received upon 100 Mark II. rifles which have been issued for trial, namely, those from Hythe and the South Wales Borderers. Those Reports state that—

"The rifles were issued to non-commissioned officers and trained soldiers on March 26, and have been in continuous use since that date. The firing exercise has been carried out constantly on the barrack square. The rifles have been left out all night, with magazines loaded, for 15 nights in succession, and the bores have not been cleaned since receipt of arms. Sand has been scattered over the action and into the magazine, whilst firing was going on, and water has been freely poured over the action (the magazine being kept charged) whilst 150 rounds were fired. Arms were piled, and then thrown down on the shingle, and the rifle repeatedly dropped with force, magazine being charged. The rifle generally is satisfactory, and an improvement over Mark I."

"Rifles were exposed, without sight protectors, piled, and left in the rain all night, and fired next morning without cleaning. No difficulty was found in extraction or ejection of cartridges from rifles so exposed. On one day half the rifles were piled

*Mr. E. Stanhope*

in the open, and as there was no rain water was splashed over them, and next day they were fired without cleaning. Only one was so stiff that it could not be worked without being oiled. The remaining eight were taken to the range clean. They were then placed in water, and fired at once. They all worked well, and showed no signs of jamming, although there was a high wind and lots of dust. Very little fouling was visible on inspecting rifles after 50 rounds of rapid fire. No perceptible *débris*. Dust in no way affected cartridges feeding up from magazine. Dust was put in breech for experiments."

The general tenor of all the Reports is very satisfactory. I have detained the House at considerable length, but I have thought it right to refer at some length to points which were a good deal controverted. I can assure the House that we have perfectly open minds on the subject, and have carefully weighed all the suggestions which have been made, with a view to making the rifle as perfect as possible. With regard to the guns for the Navy, I may state that a good many of them have been issued to Her Majesty's ships. Since the late accident happened we have come to the conclusion that the defect which caused it was the quality of the steel. We do not desire to keep in the Service any gun which is calculated to cause any alarm whatever to those using it. All these old guns on which suspicion has been cast are to be withdrawn immediately from Her Majesty's ships and replaced by other 6-inch guns which are not open to suspicion.

MR. MARJORIBANKS: In asking leave to withdraw the Amendment I should like to say a word or two. I thoroughly recognise the efforts of the right hon. Gentleman to produce a perfect rifle, but I reserve my right to further criticism, as criticism has in the past been of great use to the Department.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

(5.6.) SIR W. PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.): I am sure that the House feels very great interest in our armaments, and I, therefore, ask leave to say a few words with reference to the Artillery. The Controller General, in his last Report, has drawn special attention to the difficulty he has in dealing with the Ordnance account, owing to the lateness of the date at which he

receives the production voucher. I do not know the cause of this delay.

MR. E. STANHOPE: I can assure the hon. Member that that has nothing to do with this Vote; it relates to the Ordnance Factory Vote.

SIR W. PLOWDEN: I understand we are on the question of armaments and stores, and I want particularly to draw attention to the condition of our Field Artillery. It is very difficult to get reliable information with regard to the armament of the Field Artillery, but the facts, so far as I can gather them, are that we have 31 batteries of Field Artillery in this country. For these the armament is complete. The batteries consist of 12-pounder breech-loading guns, there being in all 228 guns, with 66 for the reserve. Now, taking our Force at 150,000 (as given in this year's Estimate) we have less than two guns per 1,000 men. Is that a satisfactory condition of affairs for our small Army? The smaller the Army the more efficient the Artillery ought to be. In foreign countries the percentage of guns is much higher, and seeing that we ought to take into consideration the Volunteer and Militia Forces, I contend that we should have many more guns to place our Artillery on an efficient footing. We certainly ought to have 1,000 guns. This is a matter of grave importance, and I hope the Government will give careful attention to it.

(5.10.) MR. E. STANHOPE: I admit that the number of guns which we now have is a subject of grave importance. It is one which has been considered very carefully, and we have got as many field batteries as, in the opinion of all military authorities who advise me, are required for the whole of the Regular Army. We do not want them for the Militia, who, in the event of the mobilisation of the Army, would garrison our forts, and the Volunteers will be supplied with Artillery of their own.

SIR W. PLOWDEN: Can the right hon. Gentleman state what is the number of guns?

MR. E. STANHOPE: No; but I can tell the hon. Member the number of batteries in this country, namely, 53.

Resolution agreed to.

23. "That a sum, not exceeding £112,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Establishments for Military Education,

which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892."

(5.15.) COLONEL NOLAN: Although I spoke on this subject last night, I did so rather with the idea of inducing the Financial Secretary to the War Office to make himself acquainted with the facts before the Report stage. My complaint is that the charge made for the education of cadets is extortionate. The fees amount to £150, and are a great deal too high. A cadet's maintenance cannot cost more than £60 or £70 a year. A certain number of military cadets, the sons of officers, are educated at a less charge than that made for the sons of civilians, and although it is a very proper thing that a certain number of cadets should be admitted at a low rate, I do not think the country should be generous at the expense of civilian fathers.

(5.20.) THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I do not propose to follow the hon. and gallant Gentleman into the question whether or not these charges should be paid by the country. I should like to explain that the charge of £150 a year is made in accordance with the conclusions arrived at by Lord Harris's Committee, who examined into the subject exhaustively. In spite of the fact that these fees are paid by the cadets, there is still a heavy charge—something like £18,000 a year—borne by the public in connection with the Academy. If the cost of a cadet's education at Woolwich is compared with the cost of an education at a crammer's, or in any other high-class educational institution, I do not think that it will be considered unreasonably high.

Resolution agreed to.

24. "That a sum, not exceeding £160,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Sandry Miscellaneous Effective Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892."

(5.23.) MAJOR RASCH: I should like to draw attention to the item of £200, which it is proposed to vote to the Association for the Employment of Discharged Soldiers. This is the only Institution in the country which has been established with the object of procuring employment for Reserve soldiers, and I confess I have been astonished at the manner in which the Secretary for

War, with a light heart, proposed this small grant of £200 a year to its funds. That is a very meagre grant. Sir Donald Stewart is at the head of the Institution, which has found in the last few years employment for 7,000 men, with wages amounting to £500,000. In the course of every year 14,000 men leave the colours, going into the Reserve. Some, of course, find civil employment fairly soon, but others drift to the casual wards and the dock gates. This, we are told by the Inspector General of Recruiting, has a very deterrent effect on recruiting throughout the country. Employers are disinclined to engage Reserve men, fearing that they might have to leave work at a moment's notice at the bidding of the War Office. The Institution for which I am pleading does most useful and beneficent work, and the Government might well increase their contribution to £500. At present the Institution has only an income of £800 a year, and if its income were increased to £1,000 a year, the value of its operations would be enormously increased. I would suggest also that a Labour Bureau might be established at the War Office in the interest of the Reservists. We are, of course, much obliged to the Secretary for War for his sympathy, but we hope that in next year's Vote that sympathy will take the more practical form of increasing the grant.

(5.28.) CAPTAIN GRICE-HUTCHINSON (Aston Manor): I wish to support my hon. Friend's appeal, for I think the Government ought to increase their contribution to the funds of the Institution to £1,000. Under the present conditions of service a man serves with the colours for seven years, and is then drafted into the Reserve, just when he is becoming a thoroughly efficient and useful soldier. Many of these Reserve men find nothing to do, and roam about the country ventilating their grievances and deterring youths from enlisting. I certainly think this Vote might be raised to £1,000. There is one other point I think the Government might consider. We hear very much of technical education. It is being given in the cities, towns, and country districts. Why is it not given in the Army? Why not at the great military centres establish some system by which men of the Army may be encouraged to keep up the trades they may have

*Major Rasch*

learnt? I will not say anything more, except that I recognise with gratitude all the Secretary of State for War has done for the Army. If he can only see his way to make the further concessions pressed upon him, one great cause of the unpopularity of the Army will decrease, recruits of a better quality than many of those we are now getting will join the colours, and the Army, which it is our duty to keep up, will be brought to its proper strength, instead of being about 6,000 under its strength as it is now.

(5.32.) MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: I am sure the House recognises that when the hon. and gallant Member for Essex (Major Rasch) brings matters of this sort forward he does it with absolute sincerity. I consider it is a positive disgrace to any Government to allow men to fall into the unfortunate position that many discharged soldiers fall into. Although we may not agree with his ultimate conclusions, General Booth, in his book *In Darkest England* referred in many pages to the destitute and helpless condition of many men who have served the Queen in many countries and climates; at the end of their lives they are cast out upon the streets, or have to seek refuge in the workhouse. I hold that such a state of things is a reproach to the name of Great Britain. The hon. and gallant Member for Essex has made a very moderate request. I think the people are more sensible than to measure the capacity of a Minister by cheese-paring in his Department, and in certain questions, especially in questions like this, generosity commends itself more truly to the public than close economy. I am not concerned, and I do not think that any hon. Members need concern themselves, as to the popularity of the Army, or the keeping of the Army up to full strength, but what we have to concern ourselves about is the condition of the men who have bled for their country.

(5.35.) MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member for Aston Manor (Captain Grice-Hutchinson) has suggested that we should raise this Vote from £200 to £1,000. The matter has been the subject of correspondence between the Treasury and the War Office, and the Treasury have pointed out that since the Government granted this sum of £200 a year to the Institution the subscriptions

of the public have diminished by more than that amount. Consequently, we fear that if we were to give a larger sum the public would subscribe still less. With reference to the suggestion that a Labour Bureau should be opened at the War Office, I have to say that it is absolutely impossible for the Government to assume the responsibility of finding civil employment for all Reserve men, who, be it observed, join the colours of their own accord, and in many cases leave of their own accord at a time when they might extend their service if they wished. But the Government recognise that they ought to give what assistance they can, and Reserve men are employed in many Public Departments. There is a large number of them at Woolwich in the Ordnance Store Department, and many are employed as unskilled labourers in the Arsenal. Then they find employment in the Police Force and as messengers in the Public Offices. With regard to the number of soldiers found in workhouses, I am glad to say that the statistics show that the number is not nearly so large as is supposed, indeed, the percentage was only about one in 100 when we last inquired. The statements General Booth made were quite unsupported by figures. I assure hon. Gentlemen that we shall do all in our power to assist the Society as far as we can, and if they can claim increased outside support in connection with any branches they may start, we shall be prepared to give a further sum.

(5.40.) **SIR H. HAVELOCK-ALLAN** (Durham, S.E.): I do not desire at this time to prolong the Debate, but I must say I agree almost entirely with what has been said by hon. Gentlemen opposite. There are one or two points in which those who feel an interest in the welfare of the Army would like to see a more sympathetic treatment on the part of the War Office. £1,000 would be too much to contribute to the Society, but I think it would be well if the War Office could see their way to graduate their contribution in proportion to the contributions of the general public. If the right hon. Gentleman would give us an assurance that he would adopt such a principle, he would soothe the feeling that our discharged soldiers are not met quite sympathetically. I understand that the Secretary of State for War has given most satis-

factory assurances to my hon. Friend (Mr. E. Robertson) in regard to a matter which he raised some time ago. I trust that in the course of the coming recess some definite steps will be taken to meet the case of the old Crimean soldiers with more generous treatment.

**MR. E. ROBERTSON** (Dundee): Perhaps I may be allowed to say that the arrangements which the right hon. Gentleman is understood to have made have, as far as I know, been received with great satisfaction. As I raised the question, I beg to thank him, in the name of the Crimean men, for what he has done.

Resolution agreed to.

25. "That a sum, not exceeding £257,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges of the War Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892."

(5.45.) **GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY** (Hammersmith): I should be glad if the Secretary of State for War would tell us briefly what has been done in regard to the re-organisation of the Artillery. I also hope that during the recess the right hon. Gentleman will be able to give his attention to the condition of the retired purchase officers.

**MR. E. STANHOPE**: I shall be very glad to give the Committee a short explanation of our proposals with regard to the Royal Artillery, which are just about to take effect. The Commander-in-Chief and I came to the conclusion some time ago that great necessity existed for strengthening the *personnel* of the Royal Artillery, who have to deal with coast defence. The great strides made in the science of coast defence of late years have not as yet been accompanied by corresponding changes in the organisation and training of the Garrison Artillery. The great improvements in, and the great variety of, the guns now used in coast defence, the introduction of complicated mountings, of range and position finders, of electricity and of hydraulic power for working guns, varying with the circumstances of each fortified place, and even with the interior arrangements of each fort, require not only greatly improved training, but also that the Artilleryman should have, in order to fight the guns to the best advantage, a complete knowledge of the battery he



has to work. And this is specially important in our Service, because the Garrison Artillery has to be largely supplemented by Militia and Volunteers, who have few opportunities of practice with the guns they may have to serve. The Royal Regiment of Artillery does not, as at present organised, fulfil these requirements, and the organisation of that part of it which deals with garrison work has never been adapted to the modern system of defence. Moreover, the Garrison Artillery offers few attractions to officers or men. The proportion of foreign service is considerable. Much of the work is of a monotonous and solitary character. They have few opportunities of active service, and are hardly worked. The result is, that the best officers are always looking to appointments in the mounted branches, and do not readily settle down in what ought to be the most scientific branch of the Artillery. Moreover, the present mode of relieving a battery strips it of all of those possessing local knowledge, and renders the defence inefficient until the necessary knowledge is acquired. It is with the view of meeting these and other difficulties that we have now framed a scheme which, while avoiding any violent disturbance of existing arrangements, modifies them in accordance with all modern requirements. We do not propose, for the present at any rate, to destroy the existing regimental organisation of the Royal Artillery, but we separate the two main branches. While allowing some latitude for the first three years of an officer's career, the scheme will, after the three years, retain him in the same branch of Artillery until he attains the rank of lieutenant colonel—that is, a Garrison Artilleryman will remain a Garrison Artilleryman, subject to certain very limited exceptions which need not be described now. Service in the Horse and Mountain Artillery will, as now, be treated as special service. The non-commissioned officers and men of the Garrison Artillery will be divided into two large classes. One of these will be specially associated with the armaments and equipments, and will include first-class gunners and other specialists who have to deal with machinery and appliances, and also a number of senior and Staff officers conversant with the schemes of defence.

*Mr. E. Stanhope*

The numbers quartered at each place have been carefully calculated on its exact requirements, and a system of relief by small parties will be adopted, so that no portion of the defences will be stripped at one time of all men of special local knowledge. The Coast Brigade will be absorbed into this class. The other class will consist of less highly trained men formed into companies, each under a major, which will move about in relief, as batteries do now. The specialist Staff officers and non-commissioned officers will receive certain special rates of pay, and all Garrison Artillery officers and first-class gunners will receive extra rates of pay. I further propose to develop the Schools of Instruction, and to give them a permanent organisation, and generally to raise the standard of scientific acquirements in the Garrison Artillery. I ought to add that we have carefully safeguarded the interests of existing officers by giving a long term of grace before the scheme comes into full operation, during which their cases will be considered upon their merits, and by facilitating transfers from the mounted to the unmounted branch. The long required separation between Field and Garrison Artillery will thus be effected in the fairest manner, and the result of the re-organisation of the Garrison Artillery will, as I believe, be to adapt it to all modern requirements, and to provide a highly scientific force thoroughly able to cope with the complicated armaments and defences of the present day. It will come into operation at once. I have tried to describe the scheme as shortly as possible, so as to enable hon. Members, who will see the details published in the newspapers, to thoroughly grasp the object at which we aim.

(5.55.) COLONEL NOLAN: The subdivision of the two branches of the Artillery is a very important matter. It is very necessary it should take place at some time or other, and probably this is the time it should take place, as the scientific position of the Artillery has been much changed. The Garrison Artillery has been looked upon as the refuge of the destitute, and everything ought to be done to make it attractive. If you want the officer in the Garrison Artillery to be a good officer you must make his position as good as that of the officer in

the Field Artillery, and you must take into consideration such advantages as the Field Artillery officer always has in the free use of horses. I did not catch whether the scheme provides for power of exchange between the Garrison and Field Artillery. Some officers might prefer the Field Artillery, and others might like to enter the Garrison Artillery, and I would recommend the Secretary of State for War to consider the propriety of allowing officers to exchange.

\***(5.57.) MR. MORTON** (Peterborough): At the request of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I did not last night move the reductions I had intended to do. The right hon. Gentleman suggested that I would have an opportunity to-day on Report, and he also offered that either he or the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would go through the Estimates with me privately. I shall probably keep the right hon. Gentleman to his promise, though I do not intend to deprive him of his holiday. Now, there are one or two points I wish to raise on this Vote. I have scrupulously avoided making anything like an attack on the Government with regard to the private soldier; but outside the House there is a feeling that the private soldier is not in many matters treated so fairly or generously as the officer, and on this point I simply ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will, at any rate, consider the applications I have placed before him. So far as I am concerned, I should be glad if everything connected with war was done away with; until it is, we shall not have anything like a perfect world.

**MR. SPEAKER:** The hon. Gentleman has not referred to the Vote yet.

\***MR. MORTON:** I was going to refer to the office of Commander-in-Chief. In the Report of the Royal Commission it was strongly recommended that the office should be abolished. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether that Report is kept in mind? The special matter to which I ask attention is that upon which I have given notice—that of gambling in the Army. Of course, I will not now go into the question of Army Regulations or necessarily move a reduction. I find in the Army Regulations that all gambling in garrisons, camps, and cantonments is forbidden, and commanding officers are

enjoined to discountenance any disposition to gambling among their officers. I want to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he has taken notice of this matter with the view of bringing the conduct of officers into accordance with the regulation? One matter I do not quite understand in regard to a question put to him. About the middle of the month of June the right hon. Gentleman brought from several officers an apology for having apparently broken the Regulations; but on June 22 he stated, in answer to a question, that the Order had not been broken, and, considering the apology tendered, I confess I cannot understand that answer. Now, there is a feeling that private soldiers and officers are not treated on the same footing, and a letter from a private soldier has been printed in the *Daily Chronicle* exemplifying this. To this I desire to call special attention. I do not desire to go back upon anything that has been done, but I would urge that there should be fair play alike to officers and men in the enforcement of the Regulations against gambling. I am induced to mention this also by reading an account of something that occurred recently in connection with a Middlesex Volunteer regiment. In an article, published by the *Times*, it is said—

“We are but expressing the universal feeling of the millions of Englishmen and Englishwomen whose wish is, in Lord Coleridge’s words, ‘to keep our institutions sacred and respectable.’”

Well, of course, we all desire to keep the Army as respectable as we can, but I do not see how any sacred character can attach to the military profession. A late Bishop of Manchester remarked that gambling, unlike other vices, showed no trace of any perverted virtue; it was wholly vicious; and I suppose this was the view of the framers of the Army Regulation. But in this respect we are really behind the morality of the Turk, whose Koran forbids all games of chance—

**MR. SPEAKER:** For the second time I have to remind the hon. Member that his remarks are not relevant to the Vote.

\***MR. MORTON:** I thought I should be in order in illustrating my remarks by reference to the state of things in other countries, but I go no further now than to press upon the right hon. Gentle-

man that he should enforce the Regulation against gambling among all ranks in the Army.

(6.10.) MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Gentleman has fallen into some little confusion in reference to the Regulations. The Regulations in regard to gambling have been, and will be, strictly enforced in the Army. The Regulation recently called in question was one concerning an officer who had not reported a certain occurrence to his commanding officer. In regard to gambling in the higher circles of the Army, the Regulations are strictly enforced.

Resolution agreed to.

26. "That a sum, not exceeding £221,100, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Admiralty Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892."

(6.11.) THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I do not know whether I am strictly in order, but I desire to say that it is the intention of the Government that a certain contribution shall be made out of naval funds towards the entertainment of the French Fleet at Portsmouth. The Treasury Rules require that if any expenditure is incurred which is not provided for in the Estimates Parliament, if sitting, shall be notified of the fact. Accordingly, I now notify that a certain expenditure will be incurred which, we believe, will be met out of the surplus of other Votes. If not, a Supplementary Estimate will be proposed in the coming Session. I feel quite sure that the House and the country generally will be satisfied that a certain contribution should be made towards entertaining the French Fleet.

\*MR. MORTON: I wish to move a reduction in regard to the first part of this Vote. The Naval Lords who are paid £1,500 also receive considerable sums as pensions, and I contend that while they are in receipt of a salary their pensions should cease. I also desire to include in my Motion a reduction of the salary of the Civil Lord of the Admiralty. This, so far as I can make out, is a sinecure office, and I must protest against the expenditure.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£221,100," in order to insert "£220,100."—(Mr. Morton.)

Mr. Morton

Question proposed, "That '£221,100' stand part of the Resolution."

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. FORWOOD, Lancashire, Ormskirk): I can assure the hon. Member that the question he has raised in regard to the position and salaries of the Naval Lords has been, duly considered. They receive half-pay for naval services in the past, and the salaries paid are not too high for the responsible duties they discharge. As regards the Civil Lord, it is quite clear, from the remark of the hon. Member, that he has little knowledge of the duties of the Admiralty Office. The duties of the Civil Lord include important supervision of many financial and administrative details.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I appeal to the hon. Member not, at such a period and with such a House, to proceed to a Division. I associate with that an appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say what he proposes when the Government Business is disposed of.

MR. SPEAKER: This has little to do with the subject-matter of the Resolution.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): Arising out of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement in reference to the visit of the French Fleet to Portsmouth, may I ask if any provision will be made for Members of this House to attend the Naval Review? I know there exists among some hon. Members a desire to be present and to pay respect to the Fleet of France.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

(6.15.) MR. GOSCHEN: If I am in order I would say, in reply to the question of the hon. Member (Mr. Cremer), that the suggestion he has made shall be communicated to the Admiralty.

GENERAL SIR F. FITZWYGRAM (Hants, S.): There is just one question I wish to ask in reference to the allotments paid to sailors' wives at the dockyard, Portsmouth. There is considerable discontent because they are required to attend to receive their allotments at a fixed time, and wet or fine the sailors' wives have to come, sometimes considerable distances, for the purpose of receiving their allotments. What I wish to ask is whether some more con-

venient arrangement might be made for payment through the Post Office?

MR. FORWOOD: I will make inquiries. The number of allotments has largely increased in the last 12 months. I quite sympathise with the hon. and gallant Member's object, and I will see if it can be carried out.

Resolution agreed to.

Postponed Resolutions 1, 2, and 3 (see pages 945 to 997) agreed to.

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £252,897 (including an additional sum of £5,040) be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad, and of the Consular Establishments Abroad and other Expenditure chargeable on the Consular Vote."

\*MR. MORTON: I wish to ask a question in reference to the appointment of our Representative in Roumania. The answer given by the right hon. Gentleman yesterday does not seem to be quite understood, and has been variously reported.

\*(6.20.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): I thought my statement was clear enough for anybody's comprehension. The head of the Legation at Bucharest will receive £3,500 a year, instead of £2,500, and it may be necessary to ask for a Supplementary Vote, but this may be set against the decrease of £1,400 in this year's Estimates.

\*MR. MORTON: But is it possible for the Government to take money voted for one purpose and use it for something else?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Under certain regulations, savings under one head are transferred to another head of the same Vote.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolutions 5 to 15 (see pages 1012 to 1027) agreed to.

#### SUPPLY [30TH JULY]—REPORT.

Order read, for Consideration of Postponed Resolution.

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,075,357 (including a Supplementary sum of £906,225), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year

ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, for Public Education in England and Wales, including Expenses of the Education Office in London."

\*(6.28.) MR. MORTON: The House was good enough to postpone this Resolution last night, and I now ask the question of which I have given notice. I rather gathered from what the Vice President said that last year he had been paying money to the day training colleges, but I desire to have this point made quite clear. Also, I wish to ask a question in reference to the use of the Catechism in the Church schools, the extraordinary Catechism to which so much attention has been drawn. The Inspector signs the time table of the school. Would it not be well to require the school managers to insert in that time table in relation to the religious instruction what Catechism is used? There would then be the means of getting definite information when questions on this matter arise.

(6.34.) THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): As to the Vote for Training Colleges, there is simply a new sub-head under the Vote. As to the other question, the Inspector signs the time table simply as indicating that the provisions of the Conscience Clause are carried out; but with the character of the religious teaching given the Inspector has no power to interfere. It is laid down in the Code that it is no part of the Inspector's duty to inquire into the religious instruction given. I hope the opinions which have been expressed in reference to the particular Catechism the hon. Member has in view will effectually check its further use.

Resolution agreed to.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Resolution [31st July] reported.

"That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1892, the sum of £32,335,139 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

Resolution agreed to.

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to apply a sum, out of the Consolidated Fund, to the Service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight

hundred and ninety-two, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament, and that Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Jackson do prepare and bring it in.

Bill presented, and read first time.

MARKETS AND FAIRS (WEIGHING OF CATTLE) BILL.—(No. 438.)

Lords Amendments considered.

Amendment moved, in page 1, line 30, after "and," insert "showing, so far as the market authority can ascertain the same," the said Amendment, agreed to; but transferred to line 28, after "prescribed."

A Consequential Amendment made to the Bill amended.

Amendment moved,

In page 1, line 30, after "thereat," insert "such market authority may, for the purpose of making a prescribed return, cause any cattle which have been sold at the market to be weighed without fee,"

the next Amendment, agreed to.

Amendment moved,

In page 2, leave out lines 4, 5, and 6, and insert "(3.) If a market authority makes default in complying with the requirements of this section, it shall for each offence be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds, or in case of a continuing offence, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds for every day during which the offence continues," the next Amendment, read a second time, and amended by inserting, in line 1, after the word "authority," the word "wilfully."

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Subsequent Amendments agreed to.

COINAGE BILL:—(No. 375.)

COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee,

(In the Committee).

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

\*MR. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel): On behalf of the hon. Member for Uxbridge (Mr. Dixon-Hartland), I beg to move the Amendments in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 19, to leave out sub-section (3).—(Mr. Montagu.)

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's,

Hanover Square): I have explained to the hon. Member that it is not possible to consent to this. The sub-section will not be necessary in many cases, but it is regarded as a protection. I am sorry I cannot accept the Amendment, but I do not think the hon. Member desires to press it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, sub-section (3), line 20, to leave out "three," and insert "four."—(Mr. Montagu.)

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I have explained to the hon. Member that I cannot accept this, and I understand that he will not persist if I give an assurance that when sovereigns have lost more than three grains in weight the Bank of England will pursue the same course they did in regard to the pre-Victorian coins. The three grains will be a guide to the Bank, and not a hard and fast standard. The same liberal method will be employed by the Bank of England in regard to Victorian coin as was employed in regard to pre-Victorian coin. I understand the hon. Member will be satisfied with this public assurance.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

New Clause—

(Weight of half sovereigns.)

Amendment moved, in page 1, after Clause 1, insert the following Clause:—

"After the passing of this Act all half sovereigns shall be coined of nine-tenths fine gold and one-tenth alloy.

Each half sovereign shall be of the following weight:—

Imperial weight.	Metric weight.
Grains.	Grammes.
62.77866	4.56798,"—

(Mr. Montagu.)

—brought up, and read the first time.

\*(6.45.) MR. MONTAGU: I trust the right hon. Gentleman will take a favourable view of the reform I advocate. I have pointed out repeatedly that our gold coins are made of too soft a metal, and that they wear away more quickly than those of other countries, which use gold of 9-10th fineness, whereas our coins are of 11-12th fineness. With the exception of Turkey, Portugal, and Brazil, where, however, little gold circulates, all countries use harder gold coins than Great Britain. I do not desire that the intrinsic value of our gold coins

should be diminished in any way, but that they should be rendered more durable by the addition of one grain of copper to the half-sovereign, and of two grains to the sovereign, and I think it would be wise to make the alteration proposed in the clause. The alteration would not cause any expense, for the value of the increased amount of copper required would be infinitesimal, and we should have the advantage of having large masses of foreign gold coins of 9-10ths fineness always available for our coinage. They manage these things better in France, where a Commission which has been recently engaged in investigating questions affecting the coinage has estimated the gold currency at £140,000,000 sterling, which is about double that of England; and from testing about 12,000,000 20f. pieces, it has been estimated that the cost of restoring the gold currency would be less than £160,000, whereas our reduced estimate for a similar purpose and for half the quantity is £400,000. The greater portion of this difference in cost is due to the difference between the standards of the two countries. I hope the Government will try the practical experiment I suggest, especially with respect to the half-sovereign, which wears away much more quickly than the sovereign. This is attributable, I think, to the greater use of the half-sovereign. Half-sovereigns, I believe, are required only for circulation, whereas sovereigns are required for exportation and for holding in reserve. All will admit that the half-sovereign is a very expensive coin. The noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord R. Churchill) said a few years ago that it was a profligate coin. Under the circumstances, I trust the Chancellor of the Exchequer will try the experiment of making it of more durable metal by adding one grain of copper to each piece. The half-sovereign is not used for international payments at all; and I feel perfectly certain that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer avails himself of this unique opportunity of dealing with it in the manner I suggest, he will find that he has done a wise thing. The right hon. Gentleman has stated that he will have to re-coin about 70 per cent. of the half-sovereigns in circulation, and if he also calls in at the same time the hideous jubilee type of the coin he will have a

much larger percentage to deal with. I am persuaded that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer makes this experiment with regard to the half-sovereigns, and is in office eight or nine years hence, he will see the expediency of carrying out the same reform with respect to the sovereign.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Clause be read a second time."

\*(6.54.) MR. GOSCHEN: There is no doubt the hon. Member has given great attention to this matter, but his proposal is one which must be dealt with with the very greatest caution. The hon. Member is not prepared to make a change with regard to the intrinsic value of our gold coins, but with regard to their weight and fineness. If his proposal were adopted we should have in circulation gold coins of two different standards of fineness, which, I think, would be a great disadvantage. I would ask the hon. Gentleman to consider what is the difference between the wear and tear of gold of 9-10ths fineness and that of 11-12ths fineness. The French Government have had experiments made on the subject, and I asked Professor Roberts-Austen to go to Paris and ascertain the results of those experiments. The experiments were made with the object of ascertaining the effect of various kinds of friction on coins made of gold of different standards of fineness with regard to loss of weight. A very ingenious machine was employed for the purpose, but I am bound to say that the results obtained cannot be regarded as conclusive, as it is impossible by means of a machine to represent the actual wear and tear to which a coin is subject. The experiments showed, however, that in the case of a coin of the English standard weighing 12.903 grammes the loss amounted to .669 grammes in 30 hours, which corresponds to a loss of about £5 3s. 8d. per £100. In the case of a coin of the French standard of the same weight the loss was .656 grammes, representing a loss of about £5 1s. 8d. per £100. The difference in favour of the French standard was, therefore, slightly over 2s. per £100. But the wear and tear represented would be equivalent to the wear and tear of a life of 150 years. Therefore, it would be 150 years before the hon. Gentleman would realise the full saving of the change suggested. I

do not think it is worth while, for the sake of so slight a difference as that, to undertake the re-coinage of the gold in circulation.

\*MR. MONTAGU: The Chancellor of the Exchequer states that he cannot regard the French experiments as conclusive, and yet he has drawn his deductions from them. I would point out, however, that there are two different standards in France with regard to the silver, and I see no objection whatever to having two different standards of gold—one for the sovereign, and the other for the half-sovereign. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer is opposed to any alteration in so technical a matter, of course I cannot press it on the Committee, but I do not think the right hon. Gentleman has fully considered the great advantage of being in unison with the rest of the world on this subject.

Motion and Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

STATUTE LAW REVISION (RE-COMMITTED) BILL [LORDS].—(No. 433.)  
Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER in the Chair.]

Schedule.

(7.5.) SIR H. DAVEY (Stockton): On the Motion that this Schedule stand part of the Bill, I desire to say that I am not going to oppose the Motion, but I wish to express my surprise and amazement that the Bill should be reported to the House in its present form. A distinct engagement was made with my right hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton by the First Lord of the Treasury, on the faith of which my right hon. Friend withdrew his block to the Bill. The Bill is not in the form in which my right hon. Friend understood it would be, and I think the circumstances ought not to pass unnoticed, because my right hon. Friend regards it as a breach of faith and of the understanding on which the Bill was allowed to be read a second time.

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): In replying to my hon. and learned Friend, I have to say  
*Mr. Goschen*

that I am sorry there was a misunderstanding with regard to this Bill. The First Lord of the Treasury, in a communication to me, states that he had thought it possible to divide the Bill, so as to allow a portion of it to pass at once, leaving the 5th and 6th Victoria to be dealt with next Session. That was the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury, and doubtless the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton took that to mean a pledge. I understand that the Committee on the Bill did not consider the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury as binding upon them; but I am sure it is to be regretted if, in consequence of the action of the Committee, it is thought that my right hon. Friend has been guilty of a breach of faith. I understand, too, that had the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton insisted upon the observance of what he considered a pledge, the Government would have been compelled to withdraw this portion of the Bill; but I believe the right hon. Gentleman waived his objection, though he felt strongly the course which was being taken.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir E. CLARKE, Plymouth): With regard to this matter, I am sorry there should have been a misunderstanding in the conduct of the Committee. I certainly felt it was the duty of the Committee to go through the Bill, as it was referred to them, and that the question of any Parliamentary engagement made across the floor of the House should be dealt with in the House itself.

Schedule agreed to.

Bill reported, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

STATUTORY RULES PROCEDURE BILL.  
(No. 397.)

As amended, considered.

Clause (Publication of sale of statutory rules.)—(*Mr. Cross*.)—added.

An Amendment made.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 55.)

As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill read the third time, and passed.

CONVEYANCING AND LAW OF PROPERTY ACT (1881) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 427.)

As amended, considered; an Amendment made; Bill read the third time, and passed.

BETTING AND LOANS (INFANTS) BILL [LORDS].—(No. 367.)

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(Mr. Jackson.)

(7.10.) MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I wish to say a few words on the Motion for the Adjournment of the House. The greatest difficulty with regard to this question is to entertain anything like a sense of humour in relation to it, because, after a five years' struggle to deal with it, and at the end of a long Session, during which the House has sat for seven months, it would be in the highest degree ridiculous to regard it as a subject for humour. Although I have some sense of humour, I shall not endeavour to tax it now—

MR. JACKSON: I rise to order. If the House will allow me, I will withdraw my Motion for Adjournment.

MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman having moved the Adjournment of the House is desirous of withdrawing the Motion in order that this matter may be discussed.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I object to the Motion being withdrawn. I have not objected to the last three private Members' Bills being taken, because all three of them were unopposed; but now we have got to a highly contentious Bill. I do not know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer has read this Bill, but it bristles with disputed points; and if the consideration of that measure is to be entered into now, I do not know how much longer we may be detained in discussing it. I am extremely sorry to oppose the measure, but I would remind the House that there were a number of gentlemen kept here until very untimely hours this morning for the purpose of either supporting or opposing this Bill. We have now arrived at the close of the day, which was especially given to the transaction of the Government Business. None of us knew that Private Business was to be

taken to-day at all, and some hon. Members have paired for to-day, not knowing that this Bill was to come on at all. For the right hon. Gentleman to introduce this highly-contentious Bill as a reason for not moving the adjournment of the House seems to me to be a very inconvenient course. I hope the Secretary to the Treasury will stand by the Motion he has made, and so far as I am personally concerned I shall do all I can to prevent the Motion being withdrawn. We have been doing all we could to afford facilities for the Government in getting through the measures that they have placed upon the Paper, and both last night and to-day I have used every effort in my power to induce hon. Members not to divide or even to speak, so that the Government Business might be transacted. Now, I think it is a most ungrateful return for the loyal assistance we have given to the Government that they at this stage of the Session, after having forced us to sit till after 4 o'clock this morning and after sitting all through to-day, should now, at the fag end of the business, call upon us to deal with this most contentious Bill. I say that that is about as tyrannical a course as the Government could possibly pursue. I have no objection whatever to the Motion being withdrawn; but if it is intended to be withdrawn merely for the sake of facilitating this Bill, I repeat that it is most unfair on the part of the Government.

(7.18.) THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square): I must remind the hon. Member that I reserved the right of private Members to bring forward their Bills, and I especially said that this was a Bill as to which some anxiety was felt on the part of the majority of Members in this House. The House will remember that although this is not our Bill, it is one in which the greatest interest is taken on both sides of the House. The hon. Member says it is a very contentious Bill. My own impression is that there are not ten persons in the House who are opposed to it, and that the number of its opponents is only two. It is a very small matter to withdraw the Motion for Adjournment in favour of the wish of the immense majority of Members, and on a question of great social interest. I appeal to the hon. Member to say whether he does not think he has



sufficiently discharged his conscience in the protest he has made; but if he is inclined to persevere in the attitude he has taken, a Division on the Motion to adjourn would probably test the feeling of the House in reference to the Bill.

(7.22.) **SIR H. DAVEY** (Stockton): I am somewhat surprised at the opposition offered to the consideration of this Bill in Committee, after the general acceptance it has met with in the House. I have been spoken to on the subject by many hon. Members from all quarters of the House, and I have found that there are only two hon. Members, namely, the Members for Dundee and Aberdeen, who are opposed to the Bill. There may be others, but if so I do not know who they are. I say, therefore, that this being a Bill which is accepted by the majority of Members in every quarter of the House, I must raise my voice in support of the request that we should not be put to the trouble of dividing on the Motion for Adjournment, but should allow that Motion to be withdrawn, and the Bill to be proceeded with. I may add that this Bill has been before the House for several weeks. Since it passed the Second Reading not a single Amendment has been put upon the Paper in opposition to it. I repeat, that from the communication I have had with hon. Members on both sides of the House the majority are satisfied with the Bill as it stands.

**MR. CALDWELL** (Glasgow, St. Rollox): With regard to the merits of the Bill, I would remind the House that it passed its Second Reading as a Bill which met with the general approval of the House. I know nothing whatever about the Bill itself, but a Saturday's Sitting is altogether an exceptional circumstance, and it was only for the purpose of facilitating Government Business that this Sitting has been held. Indeed, there has never been any Saturday Sitting except for the transaction of Government Business; and when such a thing does take place, except for the convenience that it is held for the purpose of getting through Government measures, the Sitting is in the nature of a Wednesday Sitting, which generally deals with nothing but Private Business. If, therefore, we adhered to the Wednesday Rule, which is, that Opposed Business is closed at half-past 5, this Bill could not now be taken. The

*Mr. Goschen*

Chancellor of the Exchequer has stated that in dealing with Private Bills the Government would exercise no discretion whatever, and take no responsibility. They intimated that they would treat all Private Bills on the same footing, without reference to their merits. That being the case, no exception was made to what was done in the case of three Bills preceding this measure; but that was because those three Bills were unanimously agreed to; but when we come to this Bill, which was not discussed in this House on its Second Reading, but which is about to be forced through the Committee stage, the case is different; and when we find a Member of the Government moving the adjournment of the House immediately after the Government measures, and those unopposed Bills are got through, we are entitled to expect that the House would be adjourned. I do not think we ought to give any facilities for passing a Bill when it is being taken in violation of an understanding come to with the Government, and is being given preference over other Bills on the Paper. As the Government are breaking their bargain, I think the complaint of my hon. Friend is quite justified.

(7.31.) **MR. KELLY** (Camberwell, N.): The Secretary to the Treasury has moved the adjournment of the House, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer is going to oppose him. I know many hon. Members, who are strongly opposed to the Bill, have left the House, not knowing that the matter was to be brought on. It is not a Bill to do away with gambling, for infants will continue to gamble whether it is passed or not. No Amendments have been put down to the measure, I admit, but that is because no one expected that any effort would be made to pass it. If it is pressed we shall discuss it clause by clause.

(7.33.) **SIR W. LAWSON** (Cumberland, Cockermouth): I think the Bill ought to be discussed, and I hope my hon. Friend will withdraw his opposition to it.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Eight o'clock till Monday next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 3rd August, 1891.*

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to order), and dispensed with for the remainder of the Session.

## FOREIGN MARRIAGES BILL.—(No. 282.)

Read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

## WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS (SCOTLAND) WORKS BILL.—(No. 284.)

## SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN): My Lords, I do not know that it is necessary for me to go into details upon this Bill. If your Lordships will look at the Bill you will see that its objects are detailed in the Memorandum, and I think it is unnecessary that I should go into any long statement of the causes which have led up to its being introduced into Parliament. It is purely a Rating Bill. As your Lordships are probably aware, the condition of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland has occupied the attention of Her Majesty's Government for a considerable period. Commission after Commission has been appointed, inquiry after inquiry has been made into the condition of the Western Highlands and Islands, with the uniform result of showing that owing to domestic misfortunes, such as the failure of harvests, and the failure of the fishing and other industries, the condition of that part of Scotland is very unfortunate. In consequence of what had gone before, I last year appointed a Commission to inquire into the matter, and ascertain what means might be the best to adopt for alleviating this chronic condition of distress. That Commission made two Reports. The general result of those Reports was: first, that the means of communication between the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland and

the central markets should be increased; secondly, that the facilities for carrying on the fishing industry should be also increased, and with that object they reported that, in the first place, the means of steam communication with the Western Highlands and Islands should be improved; secondly, that an improvement should be made in the telegraphic communication; thirdly, that additional lights should be placed along the coast; and fourthly—I am only stating generally the result—that the railway communication also should be improved. With regard to the latter point, a small Committee is at this moment inquiring into which railway system would best afford the means of communication recommended by the Commission. With regard to the other points, a great deal has already been done; the steam communication has been already improved, and the telegraphic communication added to; the lights which have been recommended by the Commissioners are now in course of erection, and, as I have said, a Committee is now sitting inquiring into the subject of railway communication. But there was a further recommendation made by the Commissioners, and that was, that the harbours and piers and boat-slips should all receive attention. They recommended that certain larger harbours should be provided, and those works will be carried out, if it is found possible to carry them out at all, in the usual way under Provisional Orders; but they also recommended that small harbours and boat-slips should be erected. Of course it would be unnecessary, if not absolutely impossible, that Provisional Orders should in the ordinary course be obtained for carrying out every one of these small harbours and boat-slips. The cost of any of them will not exceed a few hundred pounds; and under the Bill which I am now asking your Lordships to read a second time the extreme limit of cost of any works to be carried out must not exceed £2,000. So that the expenditure upon none of the works undertaken can be very large in extent. The money has already been granted by the House of Commons. Her Majesty's Government have thought it necessary that some provision should be made for the future maintenance of any works to be erected

under the grant of Parliament. The object of this Bill is simply to give to County Councils of counties which are affected by the Bill the power of levying rates for the maintenance of the harbours; and in case of necessity, if the rates should not prove to be sufficient, the power of borrowing money in order that the works may be properly maintained. Those are the general objects of the Bill. There is nothing of a contentious nature in the proposals made in it, and I have, therefore, now only to ask your Lordships to give the Bill a Second Reading.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order); Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with), Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

#### EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE

BILL.—(No. 288.)

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.—(No. 289.)

Read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order); Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with), Bills read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

REDEMPTION OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

(No. 280.)

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY)

BILL.—(No. 283.)

House in Committee (according to order); Bills reported without Amendment: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with), Bills read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL [R.L.]

(No. 37.)

Moved—

"That the Bill, which on the 17th of February last, was ordered to be read a second time that day six months, be placed on the list for To-morrow."—(*The Lord Denman.*)

Motion agreed to.

#### IMPRISONMENT UNDER THE VACCINATION ACTS.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government whether the Secretary of State has no power, under Section 38 of the Prisons Act of 1877, to mitigate the treatment in prison of persons imprisoned for non-payment of fines imposed under the Vaccina-

*The Marquess of Lothian*

tion Acts, said: My Lords, I understand that the noble Lord who takes charge of Home Office matters in this House can answer me this question. It arises out of a question asked by my noble and learned Friend Lord Herschell, who has left town. The section in question—Section 38 of the Prisons Act of 1877—says that—

"The Secretary of State may, from time to time, make, and when made, repeal, alter, or add to Rules with respect to the classification and treatment of prisoners imprisoned for non-compliance with the order of a justice or justices to pay a sum of money, or imprisoned in respect of the default of a distress to satisfy a sum of money adjudged to be paid by order of a justice or justices, so that such Rules are in mitigation and not in increase of the effect of such imprisonment, as regulated by the Prisons Act, 1865."

I apprehend that the case of these persons imprisoned for not paying their fines under the Vaccination Acts would come under this clause, and my desire is to know whether the Secretary of State has power to mitigate the effects of the sentences?

\*LORD DE RAMSEY: My Lords, I must largely repeat what I said in answer to the question put to me by the noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell) last Friday. This section does not apply to convicted criminal prisoners. The law on the subject is explained in the case which I mentioned last Friday of "*Kennard v. Simmons and others*" (15 *Criminal Law Cases*, p. 397), in which Lord Justice Lindley, in 1884, seven years after the passing of the Prisons Act of 1877, explained the distinction between money adjudged to be paid on a conviction and money simply ordered to be paid. The power of the Secretary of State to make such Rules as the Justices might have made under Section 21 of the Prisons Act, 1865, is confined to framing dietary tables; and his power under Section 102 (Schedule I.) of the Prisons Act, 1865, is confined to prisoners who are not debtors and not criminal prisoners. A person imprisoned for non-payment of fines imposed under the Vaccination Acts is a "criminal prisoner." I would point out to the noble Earl that twice in that Section (38) of the Prisons Act, 1877, to which he refers, the expression occurs "imprisoned for non-compliance with an order of a justice or justices," and

then, further on, it says "adjudged to be paid by order of a justice," marking distinctly, therefore, the difference between the convicted criminal offender and the man whose case could be dealt with in a different way, as I have already mentioned.

HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES BILL.  
(No. 334.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

LAND REGISTRY (MIDDLESEX DEEDS) BILL [H.L.]—(No. 246.)

LUNACY BILL [H.L.]—(No. 247.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments considered (on Motion), and agreed to.

SCHOOLS FOR SCIENCE AND ART BILL [H.L.]—(No. 193.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments to be printed, and to be considered to-morrow. (No. 290.)

MARKETS AND FAIRS (WEIGHING OF CATTLE) BILL.—(No. 243.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with Amendments, and a Consequential Amendment to the Bill: The said Amendments and Consequential Amendment to be considered to-morrow.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.  
(No. 257.)

Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendments agreed to; one agreed to, with an Amendment; and several other Amendments disagreed to, with Reasons for such disagreement: The said Amendments and Reasons to be printed, and to be considered to-morrow. (No. 291.)

PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 260.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments made by the Lords to the Amendments made by the Commons to the Amendments made by the Lords agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments to be printed, and to be considered to-morrow. (No. 292.)

COUNTY COUNCILS (ELECTIONS) BILL.  
(No. 248.)

PENAL SERVITUDE BILL.—(No. 249.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

CONVEYANCING AND LAW OF PROPERTY ACT, 1881, AMENDMENT BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> to-morrow.—(*The Earl of Kimberley*.) (No. 293.)

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> to-morrow.—(*The Lord de Ros*.) (No. 294.)

STATUTORY RULES PROCEDURE BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>; and to be printed. (No. 295.)

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

The Lord Foxford (*E. Limerick*)—Chosen Speaker.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Scheme for the appointment of an inspection committee of Trustee Savings Banks for determining the mode in which the members of the committee are to be appointed, and their term of office, and, subject to the provisions of the Savings Banks Act, 1891, their powers, procedure, and duties: Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.  
(No. 256.)

Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendments agreed to; one other Amendment agreed to, with an Amendment; and several other Amendments disagreed to, with Reasons for such disagreement: The said Amendments and Reasons to be printed, and to be considered to-morrow. (No. 296.)

PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) BILL.  
(No. 255.)

Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendments agreed to; and several other Amendments agreed to, with Amendments and Consequential Amendments to the Bill: The said Amendments and Consequential Amendments to be printed, and to be considered to-morrow. (No. 297.)

## COINAGE BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>; to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> to-morrow.—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*.) (No. 298.)

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Ordered, That the Evening Sitting of the House to-morrow do commence at a quarter past Four o'clock.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before One o'clock a.m., till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 3rd August, 1891.*

## NAVY (SEAGOING WAR SHIPS).

Copy ordered—

"Of Return of Seagoing War Ships in Commission, in Reserve, and building; and showing the Naval Expenditure, Revenue, Tonnage of Mercantile Marine, and value of Seaborne Commerce of various Countries for the year 1891:"

"And, Return showing Naval Expenditure on Seagoing Force, the value of Seaborne Commerce (exclusive of interchange with the United Kingdom); and the Revenue of British self-governing Colonies for the year 1891."—(*Lord George Hamilton*.)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 396.]

## COUNTY COUNCILS (ELECTIONS) BILL.

(No. 404.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

## IRISH LAND COMMISSION (TITHE RENT-CHARGE, AND INSTALMENTS IN LIEU OF TITHE RENT-CHARGE).

Return ordered, showing—

"(1.) Gross annual amount of Tithe Rent-charge vested in the Church Temporalities Commissioners by the Irish Church Act of 1869, including (a) the annual amount of same as originally ascertained, and (b) the additions made thereto by subsequent investigations or proceedings down to the 31st day of March 1891; and

Number of separate accounts of Tithe Rent-charge represented by the total amount in foregoing paragraph:"

"(2.) Gross annual amount of Tithe Rent-charge sold for cash between the first day of January 1871 and the 31st day of March 1891; number of separate rent-charges sold; amount of purchase money received for same; amount deducted from gross annual amount of same for poor rate; net annual amount of Tithe Rent-charge sold for cash to the 31st day of March 1891:"

"(3.) Gross annual amount of Tithe Rent-charge converted into Terminable Annuities down to the 31st day of March 1891; gross annual rental of said annuities; number of separate annuities; capital value of purchase money of same; amount deducted from gross annual amount of same for poor rate; net annual amount of Tithe Rent-charge converted into Terminable Annuities down to the 31st day of March 1891:"

"(4.) Gross annual amount of Terminable Annuities redeemed in full down to the 31st day of March 1891; total capital sum paid for redemption of same; number of separate annuities redeemed:"

"(5.) Gross annual rental from Tithe Rent-charge at 31st day of March 1891; gross annual rental from fixed annual Instalments at 31st day of March 1891; outstanding capital value, calculated to the 1st day of May 1891, of all Terminable Annuities for Tithe Rent-charge on the books of the Land Commission on the 31st day of March 1891; original capital value or purchase money of same."—(*Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald*.)

## PENAL SERVITUDE BILL.—(No. 360.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

## NEW WRIT.

For Walsall, v. Sir Charles Forster, baronet, deceased.

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (DAYS OCCUPIED BY GOVERNMENT AND BY PRIVATE MEMBERS.)

Return ordered—

"Showing, with reference to Session 1891, (1) the Number of Sittings on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at which Government Business had precedence; (2) the Number of Sittings on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at which Private Members had precedence; (3) the Number of other Sittings at which, in accordance with the Standing Orders of the House, Government Business had Precedence; the Number of Sittings at which Government Business had precedence under a Special Order of the House; (5) the Number of Saturday Sittings; (6) the Total Number of Sittings at which Government Business had precedence; (7) the Total Number of Days on which the House sat; (8) the Total Number of Motions for Adjournment of the House on a matter of urgent public importance; and (9) the Number of Days in Supply (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 409, of Session 1890.)"—(*Mr. Jackson*.)

## SCHOOLS (IRELAND).

Return ordered, "from all Schools in Ireland, in the following form:—

Names of all Schools receiving Grants (under any head) from the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.	
Mixed.	Mixed or unmixed.
Unmixed.	
Number on roll.	
Average attendance.	
Number of Teachers.	
Roman Catholic	Religion of Teachers.
Church of England.	
Presbyterian.	
Methodist.	
Others.	
I.	Classification of Teacher.
II.	
III.	
Trained.	
Untrained.	
Class salaries.	Amounts received by Teachers from National Commissioners.
Capitation Grants.	
Result Fees.	
Subscriptions.	Amounts received by School from local aid.
School fees.	

—(Mr. Penrose FitzGerald.)

## QUESTIONS.

## IRRIGATION OF EGYPT.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has seen a letter in the *Times* of the 27th July, from Mr. W. Willcocks, Inspector of Irrigation, in which it is stated that the summer supply of the Nile is deficient for the existing cotton and sugar crops, and that with a reservoir sufficient for the requirements of Egypt the value of

the cotton and sugar cane produced might be increased by £10,000,000 per annum; whether there is any information in the possession of Her Majesty's Government which would show that these statements are inaccurate; and, if so, to what extent; and whether the summer or low Nile supplies of 1888, 1889, and 1890, were deficient for the areas of cotton and sugar cane planted in the spring of those years?

\*THE UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.): The reply to the first question is in the affirmative; to the second in the negative. No reliable answer can be given to the third question without reference to Egypt, and the whole subject of irrigation is one that can be more properly considered and dealt with by the Egyptian Authorities in consultation with their technical advisers than in this country by Her Majesty's Government.

SIR W. LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Is there any objection to having maps relating to this matter placed in the tea room?

\*SIR J. FERGUSON: I will inquire, but I doubt the practicability. I may say that the irrigation has been improved—not that there has been an increased area of cultivatable land, but of land that can be profitably cultivated. The case is like that of Scinde, where the irrigation depends upon the rise of the waters of the Indus and the efficiency of the works for irrigation purposes. The area cultivated in any year depends upon the efficiency of the works, both for irrigation and protection from flood, and varies from year to year.

MR. S. SMITH: Has the employment of the waters of the Nile had any effect in diminishing the supply of drinking water?

\*SIR J. FERGUSON: I am unable to answer that question.

SIR W. LAWSON: Has Mr. Willcocks presented any Reports upon the subject?

\*SIR J. FERGUSON: I shall be happy to show all the Papers we have upon the subject to the hon. Member.

## POST OFFICE TRANSFERS.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General, in reference to

the subject of transfers in the Post Office, whether members of the unestablished staff are admissible to the established staff by competition, or otherwise; and, if so, are examinations open to all Post Office servants; are members of the unestablished staff entitled to promotion and increase of salary; and if there is any remuneration allowed for the sale of Inland Revenue stamps?

\*THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University): The adult unestablished staff of the Post Office consists almost entirely of persons who do not give their whole time to the Department, or of persons who are ineligible, on the score of age or health, for established appointment. The few unestablished persons who do not come within either of these categories, as also the large class of boy messengers employed in the London postal service, are eligible, under such conditions as may be prescribed, for employment in the established force without competition when opportunity arises, subject in every case to their obtaining the necessary certificate of qualification from the Civil Service Commissioners. Members of the unestablished staff are not entitled to promotion, and do not receive a rising scale of wages. Officers of the Post Office are remunerated for their work in selling Inland Revenue and other stamps by an additional allowance, the amount of work so performed being taken into account when their salaries are fixed.

#### THE CHANTREY BEQUEST.

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the new buildings proposed to be added to the South Kensington Museum include "suitable accommodation" for the pictures of the Chantrey Bequest; whether he can inform the nation, through the courtesy of the President of the Royal Academy, what is the number of pictures already purchased under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest, and what is their estimated approximate value; and whether, in case the estimated value of the pictures is greater than the estimated cost of providing suitable accommodation, Her Majesty's Government will take steps at once to carry out the terms of the Chantrey Bequest, with a view to acquire a full title to the

*Mr. Flynn*

possession of the pictures "as the property of the nation"?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): No special provision has been made in the plans of the new buildings to be added to the South Kensington Museum for the Chantrey Bequest pictures; but the additional space which will be at the disposal of the Science and Art Department will enable them, if the pictures remain with them, to hang them to better advantage. Fifty-four pictures and seven works of sculpture have been purchased under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest, at a total cost of £39,245. The subject of the last part of the hon. Member's question must be considered in connection with the proposed British Art Gallery, and I cannot at present give any undertaking with reference to it.

\*MR. DE LISLE: In consequence of the reply of my right hon. Friend, I beg leave to give notice that I will call attention to the subject next Session and move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the time has come for the Nation to acquire possession of the pictures and statuary purchased under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest by the 'provision of suitable and proper buildings or accommodation for their preservation and exhibition as the property of the Nation.'"

#### THE KITCHEN DEPARTMENT OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether steps will be taken during the Recess to improve or alter the present limited and narrow kitchen accommodation in connection with the dining department in this House?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET, Dublin University): The House is aware that within the last two years a considerable improvement has been made in the ventilation of the kitchens of this House, and I should be glad to enlarge their accommodation also, but there is no means of extending the existing kitchens without very considerable and costly structural alterations, and during the approaching recess I shall have my hands full in carrying out the recommendations of the Committee which has

reported upon the ventilation of the Houses of Parliament generally.

#### LONDON WATER COMPANIES.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been called to the fact that the East London Waterworks Company, and other London Water Companies, have been charging on the new assessment, which came into force in April last, increased rates for the three months preceding the date of such assessment coming into force; and whether this demand for such increase by the Water Companies is legal?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I have communicated with the East London Waterworks Company on the subject of the hon. Member's question. I understand that it has been the practice of the company to make their rates half-yearly, one quarter in arrear and one quarter in advance upon the valuation in force at the time the rates are made, instead of making and collecting them quarterly in advance as they are entitled to do. The effect of the practice is, of course, to anticipate by one quarter the effect of a new valuation list, whether as regards increases or decreases of assessment. I have no authority to determine whether the practice is legal or not, but the company are now in communication with their legal advisers, and I have received an assurance that if, in the opinion of those advisers, the practice is erroneous in point of law, the company will at once take steps to return any sums which may be found, in consequence, to have been overpaid.

MR. HOWELL: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he thinks it right or legal that, as the company collect the money half-yearly, they should charge consumers on the quarter preceding the period when the new assessment comes into force?

\*MR. RITCHIE: If the hon. Member asks my own opinion, I should say it was neither right nor legal.

#### BRITISH INSTITUTE OF PREVENTIVE MEDICINE.

MR. S. SMITH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether

the statement made in the *Times* of Friday, 31st July, that the Board of Trade has granted a licence to the British Institute of Preventive Medicine to register the institution as a Limited Liability Company, with the omission of the word "limited," is correct; and whether under this licence the members of the institution will be allowed to practise vivisection?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): Yes, Sir. I have granted the licence referred to; but the licence does not convey the power to practise vivisection.

#### FASTENINGS TO RAILWAY CARRIAGES.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been drawn to another serious accident to a child (seven within three months) through falling out of the carriage of an excursion train while in motion; and whether, seeing the serious increase in these cases, he will advise Railway Companies to place an extra handle and hook to the doors, as adopted in all Continental railway carriages?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Yes, Sir. I have received with regret the Report of the accident referred to. I could not advise Railway Companies to adopt the Continental system of placing outside fastenings to the doors of railway carriages. I think such a system would be much objected to by the travelling public in this country. I think those in charge of these children's excursions ought to arrange that some person old enough to keep the children out of mischief should be in each carriage, and that one of the doors should be locked.

#### A TRADE DISPUTE.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that William Barker, William Deacon, and George Lambert were convicted at the Thames Police Court, on the 16th of June, for assault, in connection with a trade dispute, and sentenced by Mr. Mead to two months' hard labour each; and that, on appeal, at the Clerkenwell Sessions, on the 31st July, without any evidence



being called upon for the defence, the conviction against the two first named was quashed, and the men liberated; whether, under these circumstances, he will inquire into the case, with a view to a reduction of the sentence in the case of George Lambert; whether he is aware that, on the day on which the original warrant was issued (15th June), a Mr. Donovan, a friend of the prisoners, applied to see them, in order to procure witnesses for the defence in view of the trial next day, and was refused admittance; that, in spite of the fact that notice of appeal was given against the sentences, and bail offered, the prisoners were sent to prison, and only liberated the following day; and that, on liberation, these working men (two of them innocent as was subsequently shown) were charged a fee of 2s. 6d. each in connection with their bail; and whether he will inquire into all the circumstances of the case?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir. The facts are as stated in the first paragraph. The conviction in the case of Barker and Deacon was quashed on the ground that they committed no actual assault, but the Court held that the assault by Lambert was proved. If any facts are brought to my notice in extenuation of Lambert's offence I will give them my careful attention. I am informed by the Prison Authorities that these men were not received into custody until the 23rd of June, and they have no knowledge of any application made by Mr. Donovan. The Magistrate also informs me that the application was not made at his Court, and that, when the prisoners were remanded on bail, the statutory recognizance fee of 2s. 6d. was demanded and paid. The men were liberated as soon as the recognizances were entered into, which was the earliest moment that they could in law be released.

#### VACCINATION.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether a complaint has been made by Henry Stevens and Thomas Plummer, of Coventry, to the effect that on the 14th May last a fine of 20s. and 11s. 6d. costs was inflicted on

*Mr. Sydney Buxton*

each of them by the Coventry Magistrates, under the 31st section of the Vaccination Act, without an order for vaccination of the children concerned having been previously made and "disregarded," according to the terms of the Act, by the said defendants; whether the Coventry Magistrates acted in accordance with the law in fining the defendants without a previous order; and whether, if the sentences were illegal, he will direct that the fines and costs be repaid to the defendants?

MR. MATTHEWS: The answer to the first question is in the affirmative. If the allegations of the complainants are well founded, the convictions can be quashed; and I understand from the Magistrates' clerk that an application is about to be made for the purpose. Pending this, which is the proper remedy, any interference of mine would be improper.

#### PRISON OFFICERS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what recommendations have been made by the Committee which has recently inquired into the position and conditions of service of prison officers?

MR. MATTHEWS: The hon. Member is probably not aware that I replied to a similar question on the 28th of July. I beg to refer him to the answer which I then gave.

#### THE CASE OF ANN TURNER.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the sentence of penal servitude for life passed on Ann Turner, convicted at the Leeds Assizes of being accessory after the fact to murder; and whether, as it would appear that the offence was committed by the prisoner in order to screen her son, and as she herself gave information to the police after an interval of three days, he will give effect to the strong recommendation to mercy which the jury coupled with their verdict of "guilty"?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have seen a newspaper report of the case. I have not as yet had time to make any inquiry into the circumstances, and am not, therefore, at present in a position to express any opinion on the case.

## INLAND REVENUE OFFICERS.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will explain why the Board of Inland Revenue decline to re-consider the cases of reduced officers of that Department until two years after the date of their reduction; how long this practice has been a rule of the Board; whether complaints have reached him of hardship arising out of the putting in force of this regulation; and whether, if on inquiry he finds that this rule exists and entails hardships on subordinate officers who may be reduced, he will advise the Board to rescind it, and re-consider the cases of such officers as have lost salary and promotion under its operation?

MR. GOSCHEN: Reduction is a punishment reserved for offences of a very serious character indeed. It is clear that if an officer were restored to the position which he held, and from which he was reduced, after only a short interval, the punishment would not be very severe; nor would there have elapsed a sufficient time for the officer to have retrieved the character he had lost. The Board of Inland Revenue have therefore laid down a rule that no officer who has been reduced can be restored to the rank he has forfeited until two years have elapsed from the time of his reduction. This rule has been in force for some years, and is not considered to inflict any hardship whatever.

## THE HIGHLAND RAILWAY COMPANY.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether arrangements have been concluded with the Highland Railway Company for carrying Her Majesty's mails for the period of the next five years; and, if so, whether he can state what improvements of the present Postal Service the Railway Company have undertaken to carry out, and the date from which they will take effect?

\*MR. RAIKES: Terms have been arranged with the Highland Railway Company for a new contract for a period of five years. Under this contract there will be a material acceleration of the down day mail from Perth, which mail, now due at Wick and Thurso about 5 p.m., will be due shortly after 1 o'clock. Power is also taken to

extend the use of the travelling post offices as far north as Helmsdale, and a variety of minor advantages have been secured. The terms of the new agreement were only ratified on Saturday last, but my Department is sparing no pains to bring the new services into operation on Monday week, the 17th.

## REVIEW OF THE FRENCH FLEET.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether any, and, if so, what, arrangements he intends making for Members of both Houses of Parliament who may desire to attend the visit and review of the French Fleet?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I shall be glad to do what I can to facilitate the wishes of those Members of Parliament who may desire to inspect the French squadron that will be at Portsmouth, but at present I have not received any intimation from Members of Parliament that leads me to suppose that any considerable number do desire to be so present.

Subsequently,

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): Is it not usual to put a notice in the Library inviting Members who desire to attend to put down their names? I cannot find that in this case any such notice has been put up.

LORD G. HAMILTON: As so many Members have left town it is of little use putting a notice in the Library, but if hon. Members who desire to attend will write to the Secretary to the Admiralty, it will be ascertained how many desire to attend; and if a considerable number wish to do so, I will consider what can be done for their accommodation.

MR. CREMER: Why not put up the usual notice?

LORD G. HAMILTON: If a notice were put up, hon. Members would not see it until to-morrow, and, in the short time left of the Session, they would be unable to take advantage of it. The best course will be to write to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

## THE SCOTCH GRANT.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the

Exchequer whether he is aware that Rating Authorities in Scotland require to prepare in August their estimates and to issue their assessment notices for the year 1891-2, and that, if consideration of the grant of £110,856 to these Rating Authorities be delayed till next Session, the grant, although received by Scotland before 31st March next, will be lost to those ratepayers who are ratepayers this year but who may not be ratepayers next year; and what remedy he would propose to meet such a case?

\*Mr. GOSCHEN: I am not aware of the facts stated in the question.

#### THE NEW RIVER COMPANY.

Mr. CREMER: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that the New River Company are demanding from persons whom they supply with water a quarter's water rate in advance, and that this demand is made even upon persons who have regularly paid their rates for 20 or more years; if he can state the amount which is thus being added to the capital of the Company; and, if the action of the Company is strictly legal, whether the Government on the grounds of equity will consider the necessity of introducing a Bill or taking any other steps to compel any Water Company which exacts such advanced payments to pay to every person from whom they thus obtain deposits a fair rate of interest for the deposits which they are compelled to make?

\*Mr. RITCHIE: Section 70 of the Waterworks Clauses Act, 1847, which is incorporated with the New River Company's Act, 1852, provides that water rates shall be paid in advance by equal quarterly payments. The section has almost invariably been incorporated with Local Acts or Provisional Orders, by which Local Authorities or Water Companies have been authorised since 1847 to make charges for the water supplied by them. It is also incorporated with the Public Health Act, 1875, and therefore applies to cases where water is supplied by Sanitary Authorities under the general law. The effect of the payment of the water rates quarterly in advance cannot be to add to the capital of the company, as the water rates are applicable as revenue. The right to claim payment in advance

*Mr. Caldwell*

must be presumed to have been considered when the water rates were granted, and I cannot give any undertaking to propose the legislation suggested, which would affect the statutory rights of the great majority of Corporations, Sanitary Authorities, and Companies who supply water for domestic purposes.

Mr. CREMER: Is it contemplated by the Acts to which the right hon. Gentleman refers that householders of 20 and 30 years' standing, who have never been defaulters, should at the end of that time have a quarter's rate demanded in advance?

\*Mr. RITCHIE: I do not understand the meaning of the expression "at the end of that time." Undoubtedly, the Acts in question do entitle the companies to charge a quarter in advance.

Mr. CREMER: In many instances a demand has now for the first time been made upon householders of 20 and 30 years' standing, without being defaulters, for a quarter's rate in advance.

\*Mr. RITCHIE: I have no information on the point why the companies should now avail themselves of their powers under the Acts for the first time, but undoubtedly they possess a power to demand a quarter's rate in advance.

#### CAPTAIN SHAW.

Mr. WOOTTON ISAACSON: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in view of the resignation of Captain Shaw, Chief of the Fire Brigade, whether Her Majesty's Government will consider the expediency of attaching that gentleman to some Department of State, in order that his valuable services may be retained for the benefit of the country?

Mr. GOSCHEN: It is well known that Captain Shaw is an officer of distinguished administrative ability, but I know of no vacant office connected with any Government Department where his services could at present be utilised.

#### MILITARY CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION.

Mr. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether William Murphy (now of Tullow, County Carlow) has applied to the Military Authorities for any pay or compensation; and, in view of the fact that he served 18 years in the 35th Regiment, including the

whole period of the Indian Mutiny, and also that he is now advanced in years, whether the Military Authorities will take his case into consideration?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): This case has been fully considered, and it has been decided that Mr. Murphy is not entitled to a pension.

#### BARONIAL GUARANTEES.

MR. HAMMOND (Carlow, Co.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if the Great Southern and Western Railway Company allow the cesspayers of Carlow credit, in determining the amount of the baronial guarantee for a proportion of the revenue derived from the transit of passengers and goods to or from Rathvilly and Tullow, on portions of the railway other than that between Baltinglass and Tullow?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The Board of Trade have no knowledge of the matter referred to in the hon. Member's question, as they have no duties in the determination of the baronial guarantee. Their functions are confined to the appointment of an auditor in respect of the Killorglin and Castleisland branches of the Great Southern and Western Railway, and arbitration in respect of the Killorglin branch.

#### IRISH NATIONAL TEACHERS.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he can state why the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland have not paid over the sums due out of the Local Taxation grant to the teachers whose schools were examined last April; and when will these moneys be paid to the teachers?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): The Commissioners of National Education report that the schools entitled to participate in the local taxation grant, examined in April, were all paid in due course with a few exceptions. These few cases, which required special consideration, are at present in course of payment.

#### CROOKHAVEN PIER.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he will state the answer he gave to a large and influential deputation (including the

County High Sheriff and clergymen of different denominations) who waited upon him last December to urge the extension and improvement of Crookhaven (County Cork) Pier; whether, after the visit of the Lord Lieutenant and the Under Secretary, Sir Thomas Brady, Inspector of Fisheries, visited and reported on the work; will a copy of his Report be laid upon the Table; and whether, in view of the great importance of this pier to the fishing industry, and its proximity to the best fishing grounds on the South West coast of Ireland, any steps will be taken by the proper authorities to extend and improve the pier?

MR. MADDEN: The proposed extension and improvement of Crookhaven, County Cork, pier has been considered, but this pier being private property there is no power to take it up for repair under the Fishery Piers and Harbours Acts. Crookhaven, however, will be a congested district as defined in the Bill now about to become law, and the Inspector of Fisheries Report referred to will be brought under the notice of the Congested Districts Board at the proper time, who will, no doubt, give the matter careful consideration.

#### PORTSTEWART FISHING HARBOUR.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state what is the present condition of the fishing harbour at Portstewart; whether he is aware that it is alleged by the local fishermen and others that, owing to its being exposed to gales from the west and south-west, the bar has got so filled up with sand and stones to such an extent that at ordinary spring tides the stones are nearly dry, thereby rendering it unsafe for the larger of the fishermen's boats; whether an engineer to the Board of Works has recently examined the harbour; and what Report has he made upon it?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): The clearing out of the stones referred to is a work of maintenance which should be carried out by the County Authorities, to whom the harbour has been transferred. As the Grand Jury has declined to do the work, it will be carried out by the Board of Works and charged to the county.

### VESTED SCHOOL HOUSES IN IRELAND.

MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether the Board of Works have made to the Board of National Education a statement that the funds at the disposal of the Board of Works for building, enlarging, or otherwise improving vested school houses are now exhausted; whether sufficient funds for that purpose will be proposed to be voted during the present Session; and whether, in considering applications for such grants, those which have already been refused owing to lack of funds will be first considered?

MR. MADDEN: This is a matter which is not under the Irish Office, but the Treasury.

MR. JACKSON: The funds at the disposal of the Board of Works for National school buildings for the present year are not exhausted, but notice has been given that they are only sufficient to meet grants already made; no applications have been refused, though some are necessarily postponed. Sufficient funds have been already voted. The responsibility of making grants rests with the Commissioners of National Education, and I am quite sure that they will take into account every circumstance in determining the claims to priority of the several applicants.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Why has no margin been allowed? Have the funds no elasticity at all?

\*MR. JACKSON: I do not know that there is any variation this year, as compared with previous years. It is necessary to avoid a condition of things that would be hardly creditable, namely, that grants in excess to a considerable amount should be made. Application is made to the Commissioners of National Education, who grant the money after a conference with the Treasury. As a matter of fact, the amount of money supplied has hitherto proved adequate to meet all cases. Although a grant may be made now it does not necessarily come into charge during the year. The expenditure does not take place until a long time after the grant has been made, and I do not think that any inconvenience really results.

### WATERFORD FISHERIES.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the report in some of the provincial papers in Ireland that, at a meeting lately held in New Ross, in the County of Wexford, by the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, the Head Water Bailiff of the Conservators of Fisheries in the Waterford District stated on oath that there was an utter disregard of the law in part of the district; that fishing for salmon by nets was openly carried on on Sundays and other close times with impunity; that he could not, with the means at his command, cope with it; and that the administration of the affairs of the district by the Board of Conservators was altogether "a humbug;" and, if so, will he take any steps, by legislation or otherwise, to strengthen the hands of the Inspectors of Fisheries in such cases?

MR. MADDEN: The Inspectors of Irish Fisheries report that the statement attributed to the Head Water Bailiff of the Tidal Division of the Waterford District, as to the disregard of the Salmon Fishery Laws in part of the district, is substantially correct. It would, however, be rather premature to consider what ultimate steps should be taken inasmuch as the inquiry is still proceeding, a further meeting of the Inspectors being fixed for this day at Waterford.

### LOUGH ERNE DRAINAGE WORKS.

MR. KNOX: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the Judgment of Mr. Justice Holmes, at the Londonderry Assizes, in the matter of the Lough Erne Drainage Works, in which the learned Judge is reported to have said—

"The Drainage Board was placed in a most difficult and peculiar, he might go so far as to say impossible, position. The Board was subject to actions from the occupiers of land above the sluice if the gates were not opened in proper time, and on the other hand they were subject to actions from the people below if the water was discharged without reasonable precaution. How such a project could have been brought out at the immense expense it had been was one of the mysteries which a person in his position was unable to understand;"

and whether the plans for the drainage

of Lough Erne, which were inquired into and approved by the Board of Works in 1879-80, provided that the Drainage Board should be placed in such a position?

\*MR. JACKSON: I do not find that the quotation given in inverted commas by the hon. Gentleman is quite accurate. I have not been able to obtain an authoritative report, but I have made this extract from the *Freeman's Journal* of the 25th of July—

"Mr. Justice Holmes to-day delivered an important Judgment in a number of cases brought against the Lough Erne Drainage and Navigation Works, by occupiers of land at Ballyshannon, for flooding, caused, as alleged, by the defective construction and negligent management of the works. His Lordship held that there was no negligence shown since the completion of the works, and for damages sustained during the construction he gave judgment for small sums. He found for the defendants in the cases for alleged damage since the completion of the works."

I do not gather from this any suggestion of defective plans.

MR. KNOX: Has the right hon. Gentleman read a fuller report, which was given in the *National Press*?

\*MR. JACKSON: No, Sir; I have not had the advantage of seeing that journal. I am only able to give the information at my disposal.

#### IRISH MAILS.

MR. KNOX: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether mails from Enniskillen, Clones, &c., to Dublin and Belfast are now carried by the 6 a.m. train from Enniskillen to Dundalk, there connecting with the train which leaves Belfast for Dublin at 7 a.m. and the limited mail train from Dublin to Belfast; and whether provision will be made for a continuance of this service by providing an earlier train to connect with the proposed new express service from Dublin to Belfast, or otherwise?

\*MR. RAIKES: The postal arrangements of Enniskillen were, until Saturday last, substantially as described in the hon. Member's question, but on Saturday certain changes were made in the working of the train from Enniskillen (over which the Department has no control), which will somewhat modify those arrangements. Bags from Enniskillen, &c., will now reach Belfast *via* Portadown by train

due at 10 a.m., but the service with Dublin remains practically unaltered. From Castleblaney and some other places there are no trains available for keeping up the present service, but the best possible arrangements that circumstances admit of have been made. I may add that, as a matter of fact, Clones has never had a despatch of mails by the train formerly leaving Enniskillen at 6.20 a.m.

#### BALLINAMONA AND BALLYCONNELL CANAL.

MR. HAYDEN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether there is any fund out of which the lock keepers on the Ballinamona and Ballyconnell Canal can be compensated for the loss of the salary of which they have been for some years deprived; and if he could say whose duty it is to keep the lock houses in repair?

\*MR. JACKSON: I know of no funds from which the lock keepers referred to could be compensated, even if they have a claim to compensation. The canal is not vested in any Government Department, but in Trustees. The canal has never been used for navigation purposes, and the works have been for many years abandoned by the Navigation Trustees.

#### ARREST IN LONGFORD.

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that Mrs. Doherty, wife of Pat Doherty, on the Tenalick Estate of Lord Annaly, in the County of Longford, was arrested on the morning of the 8th July for taking possession of her house, was lodged in Carrick-on-Shannon Gaol, and still remains in prison without trial; and whether he will take steps to have this woman, who is 58 years of age, and the mother of a large family, released?

MR. MADDEN: I understand that the woman mentioned was arrested by the Sheriff's officer under an Attachment Order for Contempt of Court issued by the Land Judge. The Executive Government have no title to interfere in the matter. Any representation on the woman's behalf should be made to the Judge, who, no doubt, would give it full consideration.

## LAND COMMISSION—NAVAN.

Mr. PIERCE MAHONY (Meath, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Christopher Nulty, of Fargenstown House, Navan, County Meath, applied to the Land Commission to have a fair rent fixed in October, 1887, but that his application has not yet been heard; and whether he can state when a Sub-Commission will next sit in Navan?

Mr. MADDEN: The Irish Land Commissioners report that the originating notice referred to was served on them on 7th November, 1887. It was listed in due course for hearing last October, but was then adjourned on consent of the parties. The date for the next Sub-Commission sitting for the Union of Navan has not yet been fixed.

## DISTRICT INSPECTOR ROGERS.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland if the attention of the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary has been called to the language used by District Inspector Rogers, Royal Irish Constabulary, Carrick-on-Shannon, to his men in the Petty Sessions Court, as reported in the *Roscommon Herald* of 25th July; whether he proposes to take any action in the matter; and whether the conduct of the Inspector was rebuked by the Bench?

Mr. MADDEN: The Constabulary authorities report that their attention was called to the newspaper statement referred to; but that, upon inquiry, it was found to be most inaccurate and misleading; neither was it the case that the District Inspector was rebuked by the Magistrates.

## IRISH RELIEF WORKS.

Mr. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether the works on the relief road Bohola, County Mayo, are stopped or about to be stopped; and, in view of the fact that this necessary work is nearly completed, whether the Irish Government will authorise this work to be proceeded with for an additional week or two until it is fully completed?

Mr. MADDEN: It has been arranged that the relief works in the Electoral

Division named will be closed on the 8th instant, on which day it is believed they will be fully completed.

## Mr. HORNER, J.P.

Mr. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. D. Dunn, P.L.G., of Rostrevor, County Down, accompanied by another ratepayer of the same place, waited on Mr. Horner, J.P., on Sunday, 12th July, to swear certain informations, and that Mr. Horner, "in the exercise of his discretion," refused to take these informations; whether it is the duty of a Justice of the Peace to take informations when persons attend in due course before him to make them; and whether, in the case of a Magistrate refusing to act magisterially, the Lord Chancellor will interfere and take note of the conduct of such Justice of the Peace?

Mr. MADDEN: It is the duty of a Justice of the Peace to take informations; but I have no jurisdiction in the matter, nor am I invited to call upon this gentleman to give me reasons for the course he pursued in this particular case.

Mr. CRILLY: Only on Friday Mr. Horner said he would take informations in the exercise of his own discretion. What I want to know is whether a Justice of the Peace in Ireland can, in the exercise of his own discretion, refuse to take an information.

Mr. MADDEN: He cannot refuse in the exercise of any discretion other than an official discretion.

Mr. SEXTON: Are there any means of calling to account a Justice who fails to discharge his ordinary duties?

Mr. MADDEN: Yes; the Magistrates are under the control of the Lord Chancellor, who can call for an explanation.

LOCAL REGISTRATION OF TITLES  
(IRELAND) BILL.

Mr. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether, under the Local Registration of Titles (Ireland) Bill, parties are bound to register all dealings relative to land with the Clerks of the Crown and Peace; whether these officials are now bound to attend to all their official duties in person, including regular attendance at the Quarter Sessions, as

also at the different Assizes held throughout the year; whether some of these officials (some 8 or 10), are now between the ages of 70 and 80; and, under all the circumstances connected with these offices, whether these officials are bound by Clause 10 of the Privy Council Order, which appeared in the *London Gazette* of 19th August last, which requires all Civil Servants to retire from the Public Service after they have attained the age of 65 years?

MR. MADDEN: No doubt very important duties are cast upon the Clerks of the Crown and Peace by the Local Registration of Titles Bill, which now awaits the Royal Assent. Since I introduced that measure more than two years ago I have had the advantage of conferences with a representative committee and with individual members of that body, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that the Clerks of the Crown and Peace are as a body entirely in sympathy with the Bill and thoroughly capable of working its provisions, under the direction and control of the Land Judge and the central registering authority. It does not rest with me, or with the Irish Government, to determine the question suggested in the fourth paragraph, but I may say that provision is made in the Bill for the exceptional instances in which the Clerk of the Crown and Peace is from any cause not qualified to discharge the duties of local registering authority, in which case the Lord Chancellor is empowered to intrust the management of the office, for the time being, to a duly-qualified local solicitor.

#### ACHILL VIADUCT.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Cowen, late county surveyor of Mayo, changed the plans and specifications of Achill Viaduct so as to render the work much more difficult and costly to the contractor (Mr. Patrick Sweeney) than those laid down by the former county surveyor, Mr. Edward Glover, who originally drew up the said plans and specifications on which the contractor undertook the execution of the work; whether the contractor has been obliged to substitute steel for iron, of which it was originally intended to construct the bridge, and

whether this entailed on him an expenditure of £300 additional; whether he had to sink foundation under the bed of the sea from 18 inches to 9 and 11 feet, which obliged him to execute 568 cubic yards of extra work in the foundation of the centre pier (which part of work was done for Board of Works) under bed of the channel, and that the Grand Jury of Mayo have allowed the contractor extra payment for extra work (£300), unanimously passing a resolution requesting the "Board of Works" to remunerate him for extra labour done on their part of the work; and whether consideration will be given to the contractor's claim for the extra expenditure imposed upon him by the changes made in the plans and specifications after his acceptance of the contract?

MR. MADDEN: The matter referred to by the hon. Member is one for the Treasury rather than for the Irish Government.

MR. SEXTON: Can the Secretary to the Treasury answer the question?

\*MR. JACKSON: I have no objection to make inquiry into the matter; but I think I have already answered one or two questions with regard to it, and the information I have received is not quite in accord with that which has been supplied to the hon. Member. The Board of Works have considered the matter, and are of opinion that the contractor has no grievance. It is the county, however, that is responsible, and not the Board of Works.

#### MR. W. PARKER, J.P.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. William Parker, J.P., Clones, recently ordered a constable to charge a man named Irwin with having a horse standing for sale in a public fair at Clones at a place alleged by the Magistrate named not to be the proper place for the sale of horses; that Mr. Parker sat in judgment in the case and fined Irwin 10s., or, in default, seven days' imprisonment, although Irwin protested against the fine on the ground that he was within his right, and the custom at Clones Fair, to exhibit his horse at the place, and offered, if time were given him, to produce horse dealers and other witnesses to prove his contention; and that Mr.



Parker had Irwin arrested subsequently for refusing to pay the fine; and whether Magistrates are allowed to sit in judgment on persons charged by themselves; and, if not, whether he proposes to take any, and what, steps in this matter?

MR. MADDEN: I understand that the Magistrate mentioned complained to the constable that the man named had been obstructing the foot-path by keeping his horse upon it. The constable, upon satisfying himself that the man subsequently persisted in the obstruction, charged him with the offence. The penalty inflicted by the Magistrate was not as stated in the question, but a fine of 2s., including costs, which the man subsequently paid at the police barrack, and which was then handed over to the Town Commissioners' Clerk.

#### THE CLERGY DISCIPLINE (IMMORALITY) BILL.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is the intention of the Government to make any progress this Session, or at any future time, with the Clergy Discipline (Immorality) Bill?

MR. GOSCHEN: I fear that it will be impossible, in view of the great opposition to this Bill, to proceed with it this Session; but in withdrawing it it should not be understood that the Government have any intention to abandon the general objects it was intended to attain. The Government, in withdrawing the Bill, reserve to themselves the power of re-introducing the measure at an early period next Session.

MR. ATKINSON.

MR. ATKINSON (Boston), who had on the Paper the following Notice of Motion:—

"That this House, having heard the statement of one of its Members, hereby expresses its disapproval of the right honourable the Speaker's discourtesy in not replying at all to a constitutional inquiry of the said Member very respectfully worded; and further expresses its opinion that a Member of Parliament who asks (1) the Speaker, (2) Mr. Milman, (3) Mr. Jenkinson for a ruling or precedent as to whether a Notice is in order or not, is unfortunately situated if he waits one hour for a reply from one or other of those officials, gets none, and is then ruled out of order,"

said: I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can name a day when the Motion can be brought on?

Mr. P. O'Brien

MR. GOSCHEN: No, Sir; it would not be possible to give a day for that purpose.

MR. ATKINSON: May I ask the Speaker if he will kindly give me a day to bring on my Resolution No. 1?

MR. GOSCHEN: No, Sir; we cannot possibly give a day; we have no day that it is possible to give.

MR. ATKINSON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman who is leading the House at present if I may have a day to move that that which has been put on the Journals of the House respecting me may be expunged? because I would rather die than be disgraced, and I shall continue to use every opportunity upon every Bill until the matter is discussed, and until the House, which has passed sentence on me without hearing me, hears the case.

MR. GOSCHEN: I regret that the hon. Gentleman should think that any disgrace attaches to him. The House is aware of what has passed, and I can assure the hon. Gentleman that the feeling towards him is a kindly one. We should regret that any further acrimony should be introduced into this matter. It is perfectly natural that the hon. Gentleman should feel somewhat acutely; but I trust he will accept the assurance I have given him, and that he will allow the painful incident to terminate.

MR. ATKINSON: May I respectfully say that I was drummed, as it were, out of the House, although there were eight guests of mine within the House. I was not considered sufficiently respectable to remain in the precincts of the House during the time of the suspension. Therefore, I must have the odium which attaches to my name debated and either confirmed—in which case I will give up my seat—or the entry struck out of the Minutes of the House.

#### BETTING AND LOANS (INFANTS) BILL.

SIR W. LAWSON: May I ask what course the Government propose to take with Order No. 10—Betting and Loans (Infants) Bill?

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not know that the Government have any control over the fate of this Bill. I can only repeat my wish that it may be passed; but the opponents of the Bill have put down a large number of Amendments; and if they are to be discussed, there is not much hope of passing the Bill. It is

not desirable that time should be wasted in the discussion of a Bill which is not likely to be passed. Therefore, I am afraid the Bill will share the fate of other good Bills.

SIR W. LAWSON: The Bill has come from the Lords, so that it has only to pass this House. It might be disposed of without unnecessary delay, and there would be an end of the matter.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): Is it fair, after so many Members have left London, to push a private Member's Bill of such a contentious character?

MR. GOSCHEN: That question might be answered by asking whether it is fair that a very small minority of Members should persistently oppose a Bill which I believe the great majority desire to pass?

SIR W. LAWSON: I believe there is absolutely no objection to the principle of the Bill; all the objection is to the details. [*Cries of "No, no!"*]

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

##### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

(4.15.) MR. J. REDMOND (Wexford, N.): I rise for the purpose of moving—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the time has come when, in view of the peaceful state of the country, and the lengthened term of imprisonment already served by John Daly, Egan, and other persons, now suffering sentences of penal servitude for treason-felony, a re-consideration of their sentences should take place, with a view of recommending the extension towards them of the clemency of the Crown."

I fully recognise the fact that I cannot hope at the commencement of my remarks to have the sympathy of the House in the appeal I am about to make. It cannot be denied that the offences which were committed in connection with the so-called dynamite conspiracy were of a senseless and cowardly character; and although none of them, as far as I know, resulted in actual loss of life, yet they were distinguished by such a recklessness of consequences that it is not unnatural the House of Commons

should view with impatience an appeal made to them on behalf of men who have been convicted in connection with such crimes; but I most humbly and respectfully submit to the House of Commons that we should take care lest a feeling of this kind should lead us into many an act of injustice. We should remember that the aim and object of all punishment are to deter; and as soon as punishment degenerates into vengeance, it becomes utterly unworthy of a powerful and free nation. I appeal, therefore, to the House of Commons for an unprejudiced hearing, and if I am able to show good grounds for the re-consideration of these sentences, I trust that no feeling, however natural on the part of the Members of this House as to the character of the offences alleged against these men, will prevent the House and the Government from taking a just and generous view of the necessities of the case. I propose to deal, first, with the cases of John Daly and Egan, because they differ in almost every particular from those of the other prisoners who have been convicted of these offences, and I ground my appeal not on any consideration of mercy or clemency, but upon the serious doubt which exists as to the justice of the sentences. Daly and Egan, I believe, are the victims of a dynamite scare created, to a great extent, by newspapers and by public men who by their action and speeches gave to this so-called dynamite movement a vitality which otherwise it would have been impossible for it to have attained. But although Daly and Egan were the victims of this dynamite scare, and although they are now suffering in gaol as dynamiters, it will surprise hon. Members to find that they were neither tried nor convicted of any offence in connection with dynamite. Let me take the case of Daly. He was tried simply for being a Fenian, and not under the Explosives Act of 1883 specially passed to deal with the cases of dynamitards. Under that Act it was possible to award sentences of 20 and 14 years' penal servitude; but that Act has scarcely been used at all in connection with any of these alleged offences. Daly and Egan were indicted for treason-felony upon facts which showed more or less conclusively that they had been connected at some time with the Irish Republican

Brotherhood. The right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir H. James) presented the case against Daly and Egan with the utmost fairness, simply as one of treason-felony. The report of the speech of the right hon. Member for Bury, who was counsel for the prosecution, shows clearly that the offence for which Daly was tried was treason-felony, and the evidence went back as far as 1868. An informer named Moran was produced, who proved that in 1871 Daly was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, an association the objects of which were to levy war against the Queen and to establish a Republic in Ireland. The right hon. Member for Bury did not put the case as one of dynamite, but as an ordinary political trial for treason-felony. The first point I desire to make is that, although treason-felony was the offence for which Daly was tried, and of which he was convicted, it was not the offence for which he was sentenced. The evidence and speeches at the trial were precisely similar to those in all the State trials which have occurred from time to time in the unhappy history of Ireland. The offence for which Daly and Egan were tried was levying war and attempting to raise an insurrection against the Sovereign of these realms. Daly was sentenced to penal servitude for life in 1884 on a State charge of treason which was alleged to have been committed 20 years before. According to the evidence Daly was never a leader of the Fenian organisation. The leaders of that organisation were tried almost a generation ago; some were sentenced to death, others to penal servitude for life, and others to imprisonment for 20 and 15 years; but England, in the exercise of a wise and judicious policy, amnestied those men and gave them back their liberty. At this moment there are thousands of men walking about in Ireland against whom the Government can rake up no evidence, who in 1868, 1870, and 1871 might have been convicted of treason. It is absurd to suppose that the sentence inflicted upon Daly was in respect of the charge for which he was tried. Although the charge was one of treason, the sentence of penal servitude for life was given to Daly by reason of the dynamite reflection that was cast over the case

*Mr. J. Reilmond*

by one or two small pieces of evidence which I propose to explain. With regard to his conviction for Fenianism, I have little or nothing to say. I do not think the Home Secretary will attempt to evade the question on the ground that Daly was rightly convicted, because there was sufficient evidence of his being a Fenian. For the purpose of my argument I am prepared to admit that Daly was properly convicted of treason-felony. My case is that if it had stood simply as a case of treason-felony he would have got a comparatively short sentence, and would have been now a free man instead of being in Portland Gaol with a life-long sentence. What I wish to destroy and explain away is the complexion of dynamite that was cast over the evidence, and I think I shall be able to show that so far as dynamite is concerned, the evidence is unreliable and tainted with the gravest doubt and suspicion. If I succeed, as I believe I shall, in proving my case, then I think it will be absolutely impossible for any man to argue that the clemency of the Crown which was extended years ago to all the leading members of the Fenian organisation ought to be withheld from Daly and the other men like him who are in prison to-day. On the day that Daly was arrested three parcels were found on his person. Those parcels were either explosives or intended to be used in connection with explosives. But I want to satisfy the House that these things were "planted" on Daly by a person in the pay of the Irish Police. That person had been a Fenian, and was able to ingratiate himself with Daly and obtain his confidence. That person gave those explosives to Daly with a story which Daly believed, and which induced Daly to take the parcels a certain distance, although absolutely innocent as to their nature. For seven months Daly had been followed day and night by detectives, as many as 14 persons being employed to dog his footsteps, and practically he was never out of their sight. Yet during the whole of those seven months Daly was never seen by the police officers to do anything suspicious. He was arrested on the early morning of April 11, 1884. The police swore that on the Wednesday previous Daly had gone to Wolverhampton. He went from

Wolverhampton to Birkenhead, and thence to Liverpool, where the police lost sight of him. But on Friday morning, at 8 o'clock, when they returned to Birkenhead, the police knew exactly where to lay their hands on him. How did the police know of Daly's movements, and how did they know he would have these explosives upon him, because they had no reason for arresting him unless they found something upon his person on that morning? They were asked how it was they arrested him that morning, when they had had him under observation for seven months, and their answer was that they saw his pockets "bulky." I submit that the evidence shows conclusively that the greatest doubt and suspicion attaches to this part of the case. Daly was undefended at his trial, and I think that was a great misfortune. Had he been defended by an astute lawyer the whole of the case as to the finding of explosives upon him and the action of the police in connection with it would have been torn asunder, and the Judge and jury would not have listened to it. The theory that these explosives were put upon Daly fits exactly into the case as I have laid it before the House. If it stood alone it would be the duty of the Home Secretary to investigate these matters. But it does not rest there, because not long ago a communication was made to the Home Secretary by an Alderman of Birmingham making a revelation of such a character that when I first read it it almost took my breath away. The Chief Constable of Birmingham went to one of the Aldermen of Birmingham—Alderman Manton—and made a statement to the effect that he, the head of the police of Birmingham, could no longer remain silent, but must and would unburden himself of the secret preying upon his mind, and that secret was that he had knowledge that these explosives had been planted upon Daly by an agent of the Irish Police. Here is the letter addressed to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary by Alderman Manton—

"Holly Bank, Edgbaston,  
"October 6th, 1887.

"Honoured Sir,—It is with deep regret that I feel compelled to address you. Three weeks since, at the request of several members of the Watch Committee, Mr. Farndale, Chief of the Birmingham Police, applied to

you asking the favour of an interview, for the purpose of laying before you the circumstances which led to the arrest and conviction of the convicts Daly and Egan. I am informed you have decided that if the additional evidence favourable to Egan can be produced, you will be prepared to give it favourable consideration; but in regard to Daly, nothing will induce you to interfere with the verdict. Sir, I will take the liberty of stating some of the circumstances connected with the arrest, as they were stated to me 12 months since, without any preliminary remark. Mr. Farndale spoke as follows: 'Mr. Alderman Manton, you will be surprised when I tell you that the explosives found on Daly were planted on him by the police.' I said, 'Can it be possible?' Mr. Farndale replied, 'It is really so.' I said, 'Are you absolutely certain?' Mr. Farndale said, 'I am,' adding, 'and I promise you that I will never engage in another such business as long as I live.' I felt appalled by the revelation, and, after a few days' calm reflection in the conscious presence of a gentleman, Mr. Farndale engaged to visit the Home Secretary, but he thought it best to go alone. Mr. Farndale said it was not exactly the police who planted the explosives on Daly, but a companion and confidant of Daly, who was in the employ of the Irish Police, who not only supplied cash for the purpose of the explosives, but contributed to the support of the confederate, and through him to the support of Daly, for a considerable time. Mr. Farndale has stated as his opinion that Daly had never been associated with dynamitards, and that he would have thrown the explosives out of the railway carriage on the first opportunity, or was Mr. Farndale alone in his opinion? Another police officer of high rank said he believed Daly would have thrown the explosives out of the window in the first tunnel he came to. Mr. Farndale has stated that but for finding the explosives there was no ground for the arrest of either Daly or Egan. With regard to Egan, there were grave doubts at the time in relation to the finding of the canister in the garden. Neither the canister nor its contents were worth hiding or finding. Not a few were surprised at his committal for trial. I have been passing through a most painful ordeal for 12 months. I have earnestly striven by the best means I could think of to obtain some measure of redress for the wrongs inflicted as the result of a vile conspiracy. I verily believe that justice imperatively demands a thorough investigation of the whole case. Nor would I conceal from you, Sir, that the dread of the same men, or other members of the Irish Police Force, may have been, or may still be, perpetrating similar atrocities on others, and thus imperilling the lives and liberties of my fellow subjects, has had very considerable influence in promoting my action. Neither time, experience, nor observation has weakened my resolve. Sir, I earnestly plead for your help. The knowledge of this letter is confined to myself. I pray God that he may be pleased so to order events that, as far as possible, the wrong may be redressed and my soul be relieved of a burden which has been

terribly oppressive for a long period of 12 months!—I remain, honoured Sir, yours most respectfully,

“HENRY MANTON.”

I want to know was Mr. Farndale at that time the Chief of the Police of Birmingham and a trusted officer? Is he still Chief of the Police? If so, how, with any sense of certainty that they are doing right, can the Executive keep this gentleman in gaol? The last time this question was before the House mention was made of conspiracies at the Home Office and of conspiracies by the police. I do not want to make any accusation of conspiracy against the Home Office or the police. I simply say that we have here the evidence of a gentleman of responsibility in one of the greatest English towns, which, if true, shows that Daly was convicted on evidence which, if properly sifted at the trial, would have broken down, in which case the savage sentence inflicted upon him would never have been passed. The Home Secretary has said that he has made some investigation into these allegations, and they have proved to be groundless; but if the result of the investigation was only to show that the Executive were merely able to say that nothing new brought to their notice altered their opinion that Daly's conviction was just, I say that is juggling with the question. I am convinced that the right hon. Member for Bury (Sir H. James), the Attorney General at the time, had no knowledge that the evidence was got up in this way. I am constrained to the belief that the right hon. Gentleman was kept in ignorance of how the evidence had been worked up. If so, the atrocity which has been committed is still more horrible, and not only works injustice on this unhappy man, but inflicts a great blow on the administration of justice in this country. The statements I have made are consistent with the evidence in the case, and consistent also with the statements Daly has been able to make to me. Here I have to thank the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary for the facilities which he has afforded me for having an interview with Daly, and I will now repeat to the House the substance of the statement Daly made to me, with certain reservations for reasons which hon. Members will doubtless ap-

*Mr. J. Redmond*

preciate. I shall, of course, be willing to communicate privately to the right hon. Gentleman such parts of Daly's statement as it will not be convenient for me to relate to the House. Daly belonged to a branch of the Fenian organisation which, it is well known to all who are acquainted with the history of the subject, vehemently and passionately denounced anything in the shape of outrages of any kind. When in America he openly and publicly denounced the use of dynamite, and he quarrelled with O'Donovan Rossa, and was denounced in Rossa's paper. On his return to this country he intended to emigrate to another part of the world than America; but he was approached by a man—whose name I will give to the right hon. Gentleman privately—who had been an old comrade of his in the Fenian organisation, and who asked him not to leave the country, because a few old friends were anxious to keep him here and would endeavour to obtain employment for him, and provide him with funds in the meantime. A short time afterwards that man came to him, or sent for him, and asked him to take charge of a small parcel for him, saying that he was in danger and that he was being followed by the police. Daly took the parcel and hid it in the back garden of Egan's house at Birmingham, where he was living. Daly's statement to me was that he did not know and did not inquire what was in the parcel. As soon as he was arrested the police with unerring instinct walked over to the corner of the garden where the parcel was buried and dug it up. It proved to contain a small bottle holding a very small quantity of nitro-glycerine. The story of Daly's arrest is very curious. Daly had no reason to believe that his friend was a dynamiter, and on receiving a telegram from him at Birmingham he went to Wolverhampton to see him. He missed him at Wolverhampton and then went to Birkenhead, and finally to Liverpool. In Liverpool, on the way to the man's house, he eluded the police. He did not find the man at his house, but he slept there that Wednesday night. The next day the man came to him with three more small parcels, and induced Daly to take charge of them to bury in the garden. He says that after he had taken these parcels the man

asked him what route he was going by, and then urged him not to go till the Friday morning, and then to leave by the 8 o'clock train from Birkenhead—which was some miles out of his way. Finally it was arranged that Daly should sleep that night in the man's house, and on the following morning should cross to Birkenhead and take the train home. All this time the police say they did not know where he was; but on the Friday morning, on his going to the railway station at Birkenhead to take his ticket for Birmingham, he found them waiting for him, they having been duly informed of the hour he would arrive and of what he had in his pocket. So well were the police informed on the point that they brought a black leather hand-bag to carry the parcels, and had provided themselves with handcuffs. Shortly after the man at Liverpool, who had carried on business unsuccessfully there and who was in financial difficulties, left Liverpool, and is now out of the country, as far as I know. If that man who professed to be a friend of Daly's was in reality an agent of the police, who had lured and drawn this unfortunate man to his destruction, and had then been allowed to leave the country with his pockets filled with his ill-gotten gains, the plot was a most horrible one. As to Egan, there was no evidence that he had been connected with the Fenian organisation during some seven years before his arrest, and the only evidence connecting him with dynamite was the finding of this phial of nitro-glycerine in his garden. Egan was declared over and over again by Daly to have been perfectly innocent of any knowledge or participation in the offence with which he was charged. When Daly was given an overdose of belladonna, and was lying upon what he believed to be his deathbed, he solemnly repeated that exoneration of Egan. Considering that Egan has been condemned to 20 years' penal servitude, not because he was a Fenian, but because it was suggested that he was a dynamiter as well, I do think the House will be taking a wise course in dealing leniently with this man and restoring him to his young wife and his children. The case I want to lay before the House is that both these men were never what are called dynamiters.

Egan especially a short time before expressed sentiments in America which it is notorious got him into trouble. He denounced dynamite, and all through that was his sentiment. It is not for me to express my personal belief in the matter, but whatever case there is of Daly being a Fenian, I do not think he has ever been a dynamiter, or tainted with the suspicion of it. It is a terrible thing to see a young man in the prime of his years prematurely decayed, and presenting a picture of horrible suffering, and who has been three times poisoned by mistake in Chatham Gaol. If that had happened to any ordinary prisoner, as soon as he had recovered he would have been released. It is dreadful to see this man penned up for life in Portland Gaol. As to the treatment of him by the officers of the gaol, so far as I can see, they behave with humanity to him. But the cells in which these dynamite prisoners are confined differ from those of the ordinary prisoner in that the windows are covered with an iron shutter, which is punctured with holes, so that the unfortunate dynamite prisoner is deprived of even a sight of the sky, though criminals of the lowest class enjoy that privilege. It may seem a small thing to mention, but it is intelligible that to a man confined for life such a deprivation is an absolute torture. I am not going to make any claim with regard to prison treatment. I think I have made out a serious case demanding investigation, and which, if inquired into, will lead the Executive to the conclusion that this man has been sufficiently punished, and that the savage sentence of penal servitude for life should not be carried out in his regard. In Ireland the conviction is universal that John Daly is innocent of the crime. I have not dwelt upon Egan's case, because it hinges on Daly's; and if Daly's sentence were commuted, it would be impossible for the Government to deal otherwise than with equal leniency in the case of Egan. I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, in the name of justice and humanity, to investigate this case thoroughly; and if it turn out as I believe it will, then I ask him to regard it as a case fit for the clemency of the Crown. The commutation of these sentences would not in the slightest impair authority. The dynamiters.

mite conspiracy is as dead as Julius Cæsar, and the prolongation of the punishment of these men can only have for its object the wreaking of vengeance upon individuals, and not to exercise a deterrent influence upon the community. If that is so, it is a policy absolutely abhorrent to the whole theory of our Criminal Law, and unworthy a great nation and a powerful Government. I ask the right hon. Gentleman for a full and impartial inquiry in regard to Daly and Egan, and in their case and the cases of all other prisoners who are suffering sentences of penal servitude in English gaols I ask for a re-consideration of their sentences, with a view to the speedy exercise of the clemency of the Crown. In conclusion, I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

*Amendment proposed,*

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the time has come when, in view of the peaceable state of the country and the lengthened term of imprisonment already served by John Daly, Egan, and other persons, now suffering sentences of penal servitude for treason-felony, a re-consideration of their sentences should take place, with the view of recommending the extension towards them of the clemency of the Crown,"

—(*Mr. John Redmond*.)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

\* (5.15.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (*Mr. MATTHEWS*, Birmingham, E.): I do not complain either of the Amendment or of the speech in which it has been moved, but I am bound to observe a considerable reserve in what I say, whilst the hon. Member is perfectly free to say what he chooses. The allegation that Daly and Egan are not indicted for dealing with dynamite, but were indicted for treason-felony, is in one sense true; but one count of the indictment set forth that the prisoners, knowing of the existence in the United Kingdom of a treasonable association called the Irish Republican Brotherhood, had aided and furthered its principal object—the overthrow of the authority of the Queen in Ireland—by procuring and having in their possession dynamite shells with intent to employ the same in the furtherance of the afore-

*Mr. J. Redmond*

said object. The indictment also alleged the possession of nitro-glycerine. Therefore, it is hardly accurate to say that the offence alleged was not the possession of explosives with the intent to use them. I agree it is not an ordinary case of having explosives in a man's possession with the intent to use them simply for an unlawful purpose, such as the destruction of the property of a private enemy. The dynamite was to be used for a public treasonable purpose, and in that way it was perfectly accurate to speak of the offence as one connected with the use of dynamite. I need not recapitulate the facts of the case. I have repeatedly gone over them as they came out in the trial, and I am bound to say that if anyone would take the trouble to read the case presented to the jury by the right hon. and learned Member for Bury he would come to the conclusion that the verdict was perfectly right. Daly, having no occupation whatever, came to lodge in the house of Egan in October, 1883, under a false name, that of James Denman. He had no business or occupation, and he frequented places where he was likely to meet with those who took his views of the relations between Ireland and England. Neither at the trial nor through the hon. Member did Daly attempt to give any explanation of the business he had in hand. His movements were mysterious upon more than one occasion. He went more than once to Liverpool, and that was significant, because Liverpool is the port of arrival from America, whence most of these pernicious explosives came. He walked from Birmingham to Wolverhampton, and thence took train to Liverpool. On a particular occasion, on April 9, a Birmingham policeman, who had been watching him for some months, lost him. Leaving the landing stage at Liverpool, he crossed a street, looked over his shoulder several times, and then ran down Covent Garden, and got out of sight. There was nothing extraordinary in Daly being followed and watched, because for a considerable time the police had grave suspicions as to what the errand of Daly was. After he had effected his escape from observation every station by which he was likely to leave the town was watched; he was arrested, and these bombs were found upon him. The hon. Member said they were planted upon him

by the police. [Mr. J. REDMOND: Mr. Farndale said so.] I will deal with Mr. Farndale afterwards. The hon. Member suggested that those bombs were planted on Daly by the police. If that were true, it would undoubtedly be a material circumstance to consider in regard to Daly's punishment. Although Daly was not defended by counsel on his trial he defended himself with great acuteness and presence of mind, and he did not for a moment suggest that he was not aware of what the bombs were, or that he had them for an innocent purpose. He made a speech of great length to the jury, and in the course of that speech he alluded to that crucial part of the case. He said—

"The jury might ask him how he got the bombs. He could invent a story, as the police had done, but he should not do so."

That was all he said to the jury upon that point. It is quite true that in October, 1887, Alderman Manton made a statement to me. It thereupon became my immediate duty to institute a most searching, careful, and full inquiry, and the first person to whom I referred was Chief Constable Farndale. That gentleman assured me that a great part of Alderman Manton's statement was purely imaginary, but he stated that he believed that the bombs were planted on Daly by the police. I called upon Chief Constable Farndale to supply me with every scrap of evidence on which he based that belief, and Chief Constable Farndale did supply me with the Reports of his Inspectors from which he derived that conclusion. I read and studied those Reports with the greatest care, and I came to the conclusion that they did not bear out at all the inference that Chief Constable Farndale drew from them. The truth is that the Birmingham police were greatly annoyed by the whole of that matter. Daly had escaped from their officer, and Chief Constable Farndale was reproved by his own Watch Committee, and it was in answer to that reproof that he made his statement as to the bombs having been planted on Daly. All I can say is that there is not a tittle of evidence to bear out the inference drawn by Mr. Farndale. In the course of the inquiry I made to investigate these allegations, I came to the conclusion

beyond all doubt that the bombs and the nitro-glycerine—certainly the bombs—had been procured from America, and that they arrived at Liverpool just before Daly went to fetch them. They were sent from New York by a person whose name was very well known in connection with transactions of that kind. I had my suspicions as to who the person (on board a steamer trading to Liverpool) was by whose hands those things had come, and who actually conveyed them to Daly. The conclusion to which I came was supported by the evidence. In Colonel Majendie's evidence it was shown not only that the nitro-glycerine was of American manufacture, but that the small glass bottles used for holding the sulphuric acid, which I believe was to cause the explosion, was enclosed in a pen box which had upon it the name "Easterbrook and Co., Vulcan Pen, Philadelphia." That was one of the parcels found on Daly. I do not feel warranted in stating publicly all the information that came under my notice in investigating the statement of Alderman Manton, but I am perfectly satisfied in my own mind that there was not a shadow of foundation for his allegation that an agent of the police had supplied those bombs to Daly, but that, on the contrary, they had been sent to Daly at his request from New York. No Home Secretary has probably ever more carefully watched or more sternly repressed anything in the nature of *agents provocateurs* than the right hon. Member for Derby, who was in office at that time. All the steps taken were duly and constantly reported to the right hon. Gentleman, and were largely within his personal knowledge. The suggestion that Daly fetched those things from Liverpool and buried them in the garden to oblige his unnamed friend, in perfect innocence of heart and not knowing what they contained, is a theory which will not bear investigation. Such actions are not within my experience. The police dug in the garden for a long time before they found anything, and in the course of their digging they found Egan's tin box containing documents, some of them, it is true, 10 years old, but others, including a list of arms, dated only a few months previous to the trial. There was also correspondence between Egan and Daly and a price list of sample fuses—a little circumstance I



had forgotten. All those things pointed to a perfect knowledge, on Daly's part, of the character of the things buried in the garden. It is a little too much in the face of these facts to ask any one to believe that Daly was in perfect ignorance of the contents and nature of those things. The hon. Member, putting himself forward as the legal adviser of Daly, asked to have an interview with Daly out of hearing of the warders, and I thought it right to yield to the request of the hon. Member. I do not dispute the hon. Member's right to use to the best interests of his client the information he then received, but I must be permitted to say that when an hon. Member stands up in the House of Commons and gives an admittedly partial account of Daly's statements—

MR. J. REDMOND: I gave everything that was important.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: With all respect to the hon. Member, I cannot accept those statements of Daly's even if they were reasonable in themselves. But those statements are not such as any reasonable man could accept. It seems to me that to alter the result of the trial much more than mere statements is required. The hon. Member asks me to make full inquiry, but I have not heard anything from the hon. Member which I have not already inquired into. I have an enormous correspondence connected with the case, and if I were to state fully to the House all the circumstances which, after minute inquiry, came to my notice, I am sure I would convey to the minds of hon. Members the impression strongly left upon my own mind, namely, that the suggestion that the bombs were planted upon Daly was a piece of absolute imagination. The sentence passed upon Daly was by no means a severe sentence, having regard to the character of the offence of which he was found guilty. Treason-felony is one of those mitigations of the law due to the humanitarian feeling of modern times, and it is only because the old punishment was somewhat repugnant to modern feeling that the Act was passed altering the law. Although the hon. Member might with truth call it a political offence, treason-felony remains a very grave offence; but when treason-felony is accompanied by the employment of such instruments and means as Daly in his

*Mr. Matthews*

judgment undoubtedly intended to use, it becomes an offence for which hardly any punishment is too severe. Egan's participation in the matter is, no doubt, less clear than that of Daly, and his activity in the matter was also less. It is also true that Daly, in a very chivalrous manner, constantly tried to shield Egan and take the blame on his own shoulders; but, on the other hand, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the documents—some of them addressed to Egan and some of them in his own handwriting—laid him open to the charge of Fenianism just as well as Daly himself; and I am unable to accept the charitable view that somehow or other bottles of nitro-glycerine could get planted in a man's garden without his knowing anything about them. Egan pretended not to know Daly, but the correspondence found buried in the garden showed that the two men were on terms of close intimacy, because they were addressing each other by their Christian names. In face of the verdict of the jury, and in view of all the facts, I am unable to draw any distinction between Daly and Egan.

MR. J. REDMOND: The jury did not find him guilty of the dynamite offence at all, but of treason-felony.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: The verdict of the jury was guilty upon all the counts, as far as Daly and Egan were concerned.

(9.40.) MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): The right hon. Gentleman has not answered the question of my hon. Friend the Member for Wexford, as to whether Mr. Farndale, the Superintendent of Police, is still in the employment of the Government or not? He has passed lightly over whatever information that gentleman gave to the Government, and I am sure that was a strong part of the case emphasised very much indeed by my hon. Friend. There was no charge made against the Home Secretary, or his predecessor, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, as to the employment of *agents provocateurs*. But I would point out that the right hon. Gentlemen in their position are unaware of the machinations of their subordinates. It brings to my mind an incident in my own life, where agents of the Crown were employed to carry out an outrage planned by the police, and with which I was to be

charged. Afterwards the agents of the Chief of the Police gave away the secret, and it is not denied. It is only a very short time ago that a noble Lord, who represented the strong Government in Ireland, apologised to me for that act, and said he knew absolutely nothing whatever about it. Great stress is laid upon the fact that the dynamite found in Egan's garden was sent from Philadelphia. To that I reply that the Government have agents in Philadelphia, Chicago, and all over America, who are in communication not with the Government at home, but with the Minister at Washington. It is quite possible that the substance found in Egan's garden was sent over by one of these individuals. The right hon. Gentleman has said that the Birmingham Police were annoyed. I daresay they were, because they were called upon to keep constant watch upon Daly, and they therefore made accusations against him. It is reasonable to suppose that they came to the conclusion that it was better for their own convenience to put him out of their way. It was a very suspicious circumstance that John Daly was caught on that Wednesday afternoon, and doubt is cast upon the evidence, because the police were ready to arrest him, and with a bag at hand for the reception of the bombs, which undoubtedly they knew had been placed upon him. It is said that Daly was to be suspected because he frequented Liverpool, which is the port of arrival from America. He was in Liverpool by the invitation of the police agent, and I therefore hold that it is wrong for the right hon. Gentleman to suggest that he was in Liverpool for the criminal purpose of receiving the bombs. Then it is said that John Daly had no occupation, but he came here to seek employment. I do not wish to expand the legal question raised by my hon. Friend, but I wish to say a few words with regard to the treatment of the prisoners. The very nature of the imprisonment is such as to entitle them to the clemency of the Crown by the extension of privileges usually afforded to those who have been unfairly dealt with by the authorities. Because they were convicted of treason-felony their treatment has been much more severe. Full scope has been given to the brutality of their

gaolers. The right hon. Gentleman, in reply to questions in this House, has endeavoured to alleviate some of their sufferings, and has removed them to a prison where they can see their friends and relatives. It is an indication of the character of these men, and distinguishes them from the ordinary prisoners, that one of them asked for a book on navigation, in order to pursue his studies while in prison; another for a Latin and French grammar, while John Daly requested to be supplied with the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. It has been pointed out, further, by one of them that the prison officers could not get out of their mind the crime with which these prisoners were charged. It is also known that the officers of the prison left scraps of newspaper about the prison containing news from Ireland, well knowing that the intelligence would give interest to these unfortunate men. Subsequently, they would find these scraps of newspaper upon the prisoners, and this very fact constituted an offence, for which they would be punished. The warders also used towards these prisoners coarse and insulting language, and a Visiting Committee appointed by the right hon. Gentleman gave orders that coarse language was not to be used in their hearing in future. Again, when the time arrived that Egan was to be visited by his wife—widow I should almost call her—it was contrived that he should be under punishment for some trifling offence, into which he had been driven by the insulting and coarse language to which I have alluded, and so Egan's wife was unable to see him. All this will be found in the Report of the evidence, on page 236, where Wilson says that Egan was punished for having a bit of paper in his possession. On one occasion a prisoner was punished for reporting one of the warders, and the Visiting Justice told him that the less the prisoners reported the warders the better it would be for themselves. The investigation of the Visiting Committee, then, was a perfect farce, because they based their Report not on the evidence adduced by the prisoners, but upon the evidence of those who were accused by the prisoners. I have here the letter of a prisoner who was released from Chatham, and who describes the sufferings of these prisoners. Gallagher, he states, has been so cruelly treated as

to produce mental aberration. He mentions the case of another prisoner who a few weeks after punishment died of a pulmonary disease. He also mentions the prisoner whom they poisoned with belladonna; and he concludes by saying—

"I have no hesitation in stating that the general treatment of prisoners in Chatham Prison is an intolerable disgrace to the whole prison system."

Daly, after having been poisoned three times with belladonna, refused to take medicine from any of the prison doctors, though he was suffering excruciating pain from rheumatism, which might have been assuaged. He was afraid to take medicine from men who had poisoned him, who were tolerated by the Government, and who had been reinstated in their positions by the Visiting Committee. Such brutal treatment entitles the prisoners to the consideration of the Government. I have not had an opportunity of making myself acquainted with the number of occasions on which the Government have exercised their power, but I am told that it is usual to exercise clemency to prisoners who have been unfairly treated, or who have suffered in an extraordinary way for which the Prison Rules did not provide. I claim that the same custom or rule should be applied to these men as would be applied to burglars or murderers who had been treated unfairly. It is not too much to ask the Government that such clemency might be extended to such a man as John Daly. It is true he was a Fenian in the past, but those who knew him in the past know very well that he was a man who was incapable of committing the offence with which he was charged, or for which he was sentenced. Daly was a man who had the highest and keenest sense of honour. He was incapable of adopting a mode of warfare that was likely to involve the guilty and the innocent in one common slaughter. He was ready to try and obtain the freedom of his country by force of arms, but I am certain that he feels it an indignity to have to suffer for an offence of this kind, of which he was incapable. He has suffered in a greater degree than was intended by the law, and I think we are justified in asking for the extension to him of that clemency which would

*Mr. J. O'Connor*

have been extended to him had he been sentenced on any other charge.

(6.2.) Mr. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory): There are two questions before the House. The first is the treatment of these men, and the second is the justice or injustice of their sentences. As to their treatment, I am satisfied from conversations I have had that men who have suffered for Fenianism have for some reason or other been treated more brutally than they would have been if sentenced for any other offence. I am satisfied from statements made to me by men of honour and integrity that England treats her political prisoners worse than any country in Europe except Russia. The right hon. Gentleman did not for a moment deal with the point that Daly belonged to a party of Fenians that was strongly opposed to dynamite. The right hon. Gentleman has to show why this sudden change took place in the opinions of Daly on the subject of dynamite. Why were these prisoners, Daly and Egan, instead of being tried under the Explosives Act, tried under the Treason Felony Act? You try them for treason-felony, and, in order to increase the sentence which might be inflicted on them, you bring forward this matter of dynamite. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that these men were guilty of concealing this dynamite, I ask the House what is the use of continuing these sentences to the bitter end when there is now no dynamite conspiracy and no thought of dynamite? Surely the fact that the necessity for the sentences has ceased ought to influence you in extending the clemency of the Crown to these men. Nobody now denies that, whether by accident or by design, Daly was most cruelly treated when he was in Chatham. Have you determined that you will carry out the sentence to the bitter end in spite of this consideration? Surely humanity is not entirely banished from the minds and the hearts of the people of this country. We had hoped that the feelings of bitter enmity between the nations were gradually fading away. Why keep an open sore like this, when by an act of clemency and humanity you can do something to heal the sore and to bring back goodwill, kindness, and fellow-feeling between the

people of Great Britain and the people of Ireland?

(6.10.) MR. J. NOLAN (Louth, N.): My hon. Friend the Member for Wexford drew attention to the very great obstacle which stands in the way of securing the sympathy of this House and of the Government for these prisoners, owing to the fact that they have been found guilty of a crime which excited a good deal of horror in the minds of the people of this country generally. One of the strong things in connection with the case is that Daly and his friends always indignantly repudiated having any connection with the dynamite conspirators. It is difficult to create any body of public opinion in this country in favour of clemency to an Irishman convicted of political offences; whereas it is always possible to do so in favour of an Englishman, Scotchman, or Welshman. Let us try to realise what the feeling would be on the part of the people of this country if they heard that an Englishman, found guilty of a serious offence against morality, had, by the carelessness of prison officials, been brought three separate times to the verge of death. That is the case of the prisoner Daly, and yet I observed that the Home Secretary passed over as a matter of no consequence the fact that the belladonna supplied for use in the prison was of a strength with which the official who dispensed it was unacquainted. Three doses were given to Daly, who in consequence suffered frightful agony, and, in the loneliness of his prison cell, found himself face to face, as he says, with the Great Unknown. Irishmen have shown their readiness to risk great dangers and to undergo great sufferings for their country, but they have generally no sympathy with what is called the dynamite conspiracy. I have attended meetings that have been held in this country and in Ireland, and know that the prevailing impression amongst my fellow-countrymen is that Daly is entirely innocent of the dynamite part of the charge brought against him. Daly would have been prepared to take up arms at any cost for the purpose of obtaining the separation of Ireland from England, but Irishmen feel that he is not guilty of the dynamite part of the charge. I and many of my colleagues would have been better pleased with the Home Secretary

if he had spoken not so much as a lawyer and more as a man. I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the prisoner Daly was represented in any way at the inquiry into his case? If not, the inquiry was absolutely worthless as far as Daly was concerned. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman one question on the subject of prison treatment, namely, whether it is a fact that the right of searching prisoners is one which may be exercised by any warder or assistant warder at any time he may think right to put it into operation? I believe I saw it stated in a popular London paper some time ago, as the experience of an ex-convict, that this was the case. I believe that when a number of convicts have been engaged in work outside it is the custom to halt them before they are sent to their cells, to strip some of them naked, and to subject them to a disgusting search. If this be the system, I would suggest that in the name of common morality and decency it ought to be put an end to. It ought to be made a regulation in convict prisons that no search of this kind should be made except by order of the Governor or of a high official, and in his presence or the presence of some responsible official. Let me direct attention to the effect this regulation is likely to have on men of the temperament of Mr. John Daly and other men who are confined at the present time. It very often happens that the minds of prisoners give way under the pressure of the irritating and degrading treatment to which they have been subjected during their term of imprisonment, and this may happen in the cases of the prisoners to whom I refer. I am firmly convinced that Mr. John Daly was innocent of the dynamite charge made against him, and I claim not merely in his interest, but in the interests of justice, that a full and fair inquiry should be held into this case, and that he should be represented at that inquiry by counsel.

(6.30.) MR. PIERCE MAHONY (Meath, N.): A very serious statement was made by Chief Constable Farndale, and the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary made an observation as to this Chief Constable's reason for his declaration which struck me as being very peculiar. He said the Watch Com-

mittee had complained of the Chief Constable's conduct in not arresting the man who gave Daly the dynamite, and I understood him to say, or to imply, that the Chief Constable had said as an excuse that the person who gave the dynamite was in the pay of the police. If the right hon. Gentleman did not mean that, I fail to see what meaning there was in that particular sentence of his. Well, I wish to know where Chief Constable Farndale is now—whether he has been dismissed, degraded, or punished? If not, it would seem to me to follow that the right hon. Gentleman is satisfied that Chief Constable Farndale did not make this statement as an excuse for neglect of duty, but believes that the Irish Police put the dynamite in Daly's possession, and under those circumstances there is grave reason why this matter should be sifted to the bottom.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: In order that there may be no misunderstanding on this point I may be allowed to say that I did not intend to impute misconduct of any sort or kind to Chief Constable Farndale. I do not think I used language that conveyed that. I stated the occasion on which the Chief Constable's expression was used, and that was when the Watch Committee were complaining that everybody connected with the case had not been arrested. I inquired as to the Chief Constable's grounds for the impression he formed. The reasons of the Chief Constable were sent to the Home Office in writing, and they were the basis of my inquiry. The Chief Constable had not the sole or, indeed, the principal conduct of the inquiries going on about Daly, and had nothing to do with the endeavour to arrest Daly. But on examining the Reports I came to the conclusion that the Chief Constable was wholly mistaken.

MR. PIERCE MAHONY: I am obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for the interruption. Chief Constable Farndale is the head of the Birmingham Police, and therefore an officer in a very responsible position. A graver accusation than that made by him against the Irish Police—that the person who gave the dynamite to Daly was in their pay—cannot be conceived. What I would ask the House to realise is this: What would have been the effect of this

*Mr. Pierce Mahony*

accusation if it had been made at the trial of Daly? Would not the matter have been sifted to the very bottom? The right hon. and learned Gentleman who conducted the prosecution (Sir H. James) would have been the very first to desire that the matter should be sifted to the bottom before the jury, and would have got from the Chief Constable his reasons for making the accusation. We should have had what we have not got now—the information which the right hon. Gentleman says has led him to the conclusion that Chief Constable Farndale is mistaken. Whatever view any person in the House may take on the matter, surely no one will deny that Daly ought to be placed in exactly the same position as he would have been placed in if this evidence had been forthcoming at his trial. The reason we are taking such a deep interest in his case is because we believe he has been unjustly imprisoned. We urge that the Chief Constable ought to be asked to furnish the reasons for making the accusation regarding the manner in which the dynamite was obtained, and I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will submit to us Chief Constable Farndale's written reasons, or the reasons which led the right hon. Gentleman himself to believe that the Chief Constable was mistaken. These are reasonable requests, and requests which we shall have to press on the right hon. Gentleman time after time—and I think the day will come when we shall not press for them in vain. Chief Constable Farndale kept this information locked up in his breast for a considerable time. Apparently, he only brought it out in the end in self-defence. It is a very serious accusation for one police officer to bring against another, and I would ask whether that does not in itself show the necessity of having an inquiry so that no doubt may be cast on the administration of justice. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary laid a great deal of stress upon the fact of Daly's being lost in Liverpool. I say that is a very suspicious circumstance as against the police. The right hon. Gentleman does not regard it as such, but the evidence showed that the occasion on which Daly visited Liverpool was not his first visit. He had been invited to go to Liverpool by a house-

holder, a man of business, well known to the police, and Daly on that occasion received a parcel which he was asked to take away and conceal. This parcel turned out to be the nitro-glycerine which was afterwards dug up in the garden. The police were watching Daly for months, and must have known that he had received a telegram on this particular day, and that he was going to Liverpool. Did the police know of his visit? If they did it is incredible that they did not know that Daly had received a telegram asking him to visit the town, because they were constantly watching him; indeed, they had taken lodgings opposite to his residence for the purpose. Why, then, did they not go to the residence of this Liverpool householder whom they must have known he was visiting? They lost him for two days, and we are asked to believe that they watched every railway station and road, and that it was by the merest accident that they found him at the Birkenhead Station.

MR. MATTHEWS: It was accidental that they were there.

MR. PIERCE MAHONY: It was no accident that 20 or 30 police were waiting at the station. Were there 20 or 30 at each of the other stations? I think it is a far more likely story that the police purposely lost sight of the man—that they knew the house he had gone to, that they had information from the owner of the house as to when and where he would arrive, and that they were, therefore, ready to arrest him. I hope that, in any case, the right hon. Gentleman will not refuse us the evidence or the reasons which induced Chief Constable Farndale to make this serious statement to the Watch Committee of Birmingham, and that he will give us an opportunity of judging for ourselves of the evidence which induced him not to credit Chief Constable Farndale's statement. So much for the case of John Daly and Egan. Now, as regards the general case of all these prisoners, I think the House will agree with me that, however much we may condemn the deeds of which these men were accused, and of which they were found guilty by a Coroner's Jury—and no one can condemn such deeds more strongly than I do—their acts were not performed with a selfish motive. Theirs was not

a selfish motive, and that alone shows that deep down in these men's hearts there was some good. I invite hon. Members to try and get at this good and make use of it. The evil in them has been punished by years of imprisonment. Surely it has been punished sufficiently. Why not, by showing mercy, make use of what is good in these men? Is there not a nobler work than letting them go to their death through vengeance? We are rejoicing now because we are so soon to cease to sit. We are rejoicing at the prospect of getting away from our work here. If these are our feelings how terrible must be the feelings of these men who have before them no hope of release from their sufferings but the release of death. Would it not be nobler to give them—even those who are guilty—some opportunity of making amends to their fellow men in this life, instead of letting them die a miserable death in prison? Surely it is clear that you can do no good in England or Ireland or anywhere else by keeping these men in prison any longer, and you do not know how much good you might do by showing mercy.

(6.50.) MR. ATKINSON (Boston): I do not speak with any personal knowledge of these cases, because hitherto I have put my trust in those whose duty it is to investigate them, and when voting I have followed their lead. But I think the hon. and learned Gentleman who introduced the subject has made out a case for mercy. Inasmuch as I have lately had an opportunity of ascertaining that the right hon. Gentleman who is now answerable for reviewing these cases will not look mercifully into the cases of Englishmen who have merely walked in the streets in order to do good to the bodies and the souls of their fellow creatures, I will not follow the right hon. Gentleman when he stands up and says that he will not have mercy. I have myself, though a Visiting Justice, been prevented from going down and investigating cases in my own constituency. I pity poor men who are suffering penal servitude as these men are. When the Member for Derby was at the Home Office he was afraid that a piece of dynamite might explode near his portly person, and so the police used to pounce upon ladies when they came to the House and take their reticules from

them lest they might contain dynamite. When a person is in the state of mind of the right hon. Gentleman, he thinks that a man who has anything to do with dynamite ought to be put in prison and kept there not only as long as he lives, but as long as the right hon. Member for Derby himself lives. If the pacification of Ireland is attained, I do not see why we should not let out these poor fellows, who no doubt have committed crimes. We have all done wrong at some time of our lives, including the right hon. Member for Derby. Therefore we should have mercy. I have as great a detestation of crimes as anyone, especially of the crimes of those who would blow up the innocent with the guilty; but now that Ireland is pacified I would say let these poor fellows go free, but not from police supervision. Police supervision will take care of them, and if they misconduct themselves again, the sentence can be revived, and they may be taken back to prison.

\* (6.55.) MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to support the Amendment, and to express a desire to hear what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bury have to say on the subject. I will give the House my own experience. I am a citizen of Liverpool, where I have lived for 15 years. No fewer than three attempts have been made by the Irish Police in Liverpool to entrap me. I have been in business in Liverpool for a considerable time, and have been connected with every constitutional political movement of my countrymen there. For that reason, I suppose, I got a little more attention than I desired from the Royal Irish Constabulary stationed in Liverpool between 1883 and 1885. During that period I on three occasions was informed that small boxes had arrived for me from New York, and was asked if I would not call for them. But I was not to be caught. I knew that in business I could not receive any parcels from New York, and consequently I did not call for them. Subsequently, an officer, whom I had no difficulty in identifying as a detective, came to my office and asked why I had not called for the parcels. I asked the man to call a second and a third time, and eventually told him if he did not leave some of his

*Mr. Atkinson*

colleagues from Dale Street would have to come and carry him away. The man who is alleged to have trapped Daly was well-known to me. He was a public house keeper, and the very day before Daly was arrested he stopped me and told me John Daly was in town, and asked me to go to a certain place to meet him. I declined to meet John Daly. That accounts for the fact that I am here to tell the tale. It was not that I disliked knowing John Daly, because I do not believe him capable of a dynamite outrage. I have known of him from the days of Mr. Butt as an opponent of constitutional movements and as favouring advanced or revolutionary tactics. But I declined to see Daly. Now it is said Daly, in order to get to Birmingham, went to Birkenhead Station, and he must, if he did that, have passed several stations whence he could more rapidly have been carried to where he wanted to go. I think this part of the right hon. Gentleman's statement was absurd. The Royal Irish Constabulary will stick at nothing to get a chance of promotion. In my opinion the Liverpool Force would not do such things. But the Royal Irish Constabulary consider themselves independent of the Watch Committee at Liverpool; they arrest with or without warrant. The Watch Committee have no control over these men, who look to Dublin Castle for orders and promotion. The right hon. Gentleman says he has papers in his possession which reveal a good deal of the working of this plot. Then why does he not produce these Reports? He has laid stress on the fact that certain documents were found buried in the garden at Birmingham; and from what I can understand, these appear to be a copy of the rules and constitution of the old Fenian Brotherhood. Well, there is nothing very terrible in that, and nobody ought to be better acquainted with the rules in question than the right hon. Gentleman himself, for they were the rules subscribed to by the men who in 1868 supported him in Dungarvan—men whose votes he accepted, the organisation whose money helped to secure his return.

MR. MATTHEWS: That is an absolute mis-statement of fact.

\*MR. P. O'BRIEN: Then the history of the time is false, which says that the right hon. Gentleman was supported by

the leading Fenians of the time, and portions of his address were printed and circulated and paid for by the money of the Fenian organisation. But all I want to show is that the rules discovered in the garden at Birmingham were as old as the right hon. Gentleman's political career. The right hon. Gentleman says that he cannot give the name of the man who brought the bombs from New York. Why cannot the right hon. Gentleman do so? I believe the reason is, because the man was the servant of the police in Liverpool. I remember how, in the course of the investigations of the Special Commission appointed to inquire into the charges brought by the *Times* against certain Irish Members, we used to hear a good deal about a certain Mr. Jenkinson who was said to have an intimate knowledge of the dynamite plots. I should like to know why Mr. Jenkinson disappeared from London before he could be subpoenaed by the representatives of the Irish Party? Daly was the victim of a plot. Daly was not capable of using dynamite bombs. In his speech from the dock, when he saw no hope of liberty, and had no object in making a false statement, Daly said he had a strong suspicion of where the information came from, but he would not mention names; for if he did he would bring other persons under the vengeance of the same machinery that had run him into the dock. It showed the good nature of the man that he would not run the risk of wronging any man by giving the name. What did he mean by bringing others under the vengeance of the same machinery which had led to his condemnation? He referred to the dynamitards in America, and he felt that any disclosure of the name would lead to that person being run to earth by the same men who made New York too hot for the innocent John Daly himself. John Daly's views were never in favour of the use of dynamite, as he said in his speech in the dock he had striven to teach the Irish people not to be assassins and cut-throats, but a righteous people looking to their rights and liberties. He is not a man to favour the methods of dynamitards. He was convicted of treason-felony. We have at least one hon. Gentleman among us who was convicted of high treason, and he told the House on a memorable

occasion that he had been sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for high treason. And yet he experienced the clemency of the Crown, and there are, of course, the cases of Mr. Davitt and of others. Why should the House not agree to invoke the clemency of the Crown for the unfortunate John Daly? I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby has now any fear of the attacks of dynamitards, and I respectfully urge the Home Secretary to listen to the pleas for mercy which have been urged. The overdose of belladonna occurred at a time when it would have been convenient, in view of the disclosures through Alderman Manton, that the convict should have been made away with. I do not seek to establish any connection myself, but I know the thought is in the minds of many people, and I urge now that no good course will be served by sending this man a prisoner to his grave. Let him have liberty, on condition of emigration if you will. Give him a chance of becoming a useful citizen in other lands.

(7.9.) MR. PARNELL (Cork): I had the opportunity on a previous occasion of saying nearly as much as I wish to say on this subject, and my hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Wexford (Mr. Redmond) has since gone so fully into the case that I do not propose to go so fully into detail as I should have had to have done if I had moved the Motion my hon. and learned Friend has so ably, so efficiently, moved. But I cannot remain silent, as there are certain points in connection with this matter which impress me very strongly indeed, and which I cannot help thinking must have impressed the House, and, to some extent, the Home Secretary himself. I regret exceedingly to hear that the right hon. Gentleman does not intend to reopen the case. I hope that that is not the definite conclusion he has arrived at. I hope that his mind will still remain open to any fresh facts that may be brought before him, supplemented by the information which my hon. Friend the Member for North Wexford has been able to obtain during his brief interview with Daly, and possibly supplemented by information which the Home Secretary may himself be able to obtain from the police in Ireland and in



this country. When we were discussing this matter the other day the right hon. Gentleman said that if it were proved to his satisfaction, or even if a reasonable suspicion were created in his mind, that any *agent provocateur* had been employed in Daly's case, he would be willing to release the prisoner at once. After the investigation which my hon. Friends have been able to make, if one thing seems more absolutely certain than another it is that such a person was employed by the Irish police to hand to Daly the nitro-glycerine and the parcel containing bombs. Does the Home Secretary know the name of the person who handed those articles to Daly? Have the right hon. Gentleman's inquiries brought him as far as that? We know the name of the man, but, of course, we do not intend to mention it at present. Has the right hon. Gentleman, in his re-consideration of the case, inquired what has become of this person, where he is now living, under whose charge he is living, and how he is being supported? There are sources of information open to the right hon. Gentleman which are not open to us, and the right hon. Gentleman can obtain, if he pleases, the whole secret history of this case from beginning to end, and I am convinced that if the right hon. Gentleman were to do so he would be obliged to fulfil the pledge given to us the other day by releasing Daly. The right hon. Gentleman has means of ascertaining whether the person who handed Daly these explosive materials was in the employment of the Irish police or not. We know perfectly well that at the time of Daly's arrest *agents provocateurs* were going about enlisting foolish young men in these dynamite conspiracies and seeking to entrap persons whom they suspected, in order to make a short cut to what they considered justice. If this man was a police agent the Home Secretary can find out the fact. If the right hon. Gentleman is not satisfied in his own mind, it seems to me the additional evidence brought forward by my hon. and learned Friend ought at once to stimulate him to further inquiry as to the character of the person who handed the nitro-glycerine to Daly and told him to bury it in Egan's garden, where it was found by the police six months afterwards, and the same person who subsequently handed to Daly the

*Mr. Parnell*

parcel containing the bombs, giving him the address at Birkenhead where he was arrested. Turning to the case of Egan, I ask the House to remember that that prisoner has been exonerated by Daly from all complicity in the dynamite conspiracy and from knowing anything about the nitro-glycerine, while there is no evidence against Egan about the bombs. Some ancient documents relating to the Fenian movement were found in his possession, dating from somewhere about the time when the present Home Secretary was elected for Dungarvan, with the assistance of his then Fenian supporters. I do not say he did wrong then; we know that men of that Party did at this time take a prominent part in Irish politics, and that Fenianism did in some parts of the country exercise considerable influence. I do not impute to the right hon. Gentleman that he was in sympathy with the objects of the Physical Force Party of Dungarvan at that day, but those men supported him in his election. These ancient documents were the only evidence against Egan. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby did not prosecute upon such ancient and stale charges—in fact, it has not been the policy for many years of any Government, whether Liberal or Conservative, to prosecute what remains of the old Irish Republican Brotherhood in this country and in Ireland. They simply leave that Brotherhood alone, because they do not suppose that the Organisation means to translate their ideas into action, and it has therefore been the policy of successive Governments not to trouble themselves about the proceedings of this old conspiracy so long as its members keep clear of dynamite and murder. It is, moreover, well known to the police of this country and of Ireland—and it was proved before the Special Commission—that the Physical Force Organisation of Great Britain and Ireland was absolutely hostile to the dynamite conspiracies which proceeded from various sections in America—absolutely hostile. Therefore, if it is not the policy, if it has not been the policy, of any Government to prosecute members of the old Irish Fenian Brotherhood, why, then, was Daly sent into penal servitude for life, and why was

Egan sent into penal servitude for 20 years? Daly was so punished because he was supposed to have had some connection with the dynamite conspiracy, but the only crime Egan appears, according to the evidence, to have committed, apart from being in possession of these old documents, is the crime of having a back garden. If the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby shares the view of the Home Secretary as to Egan's guilt, we shall have to take good care when the Liberals come into office that none of us indulge in the luxury of a back garden. It is very miserable to think that this man, who must have been absolutely innocent of any connection with dynamite, should in this year, 1891, after having endured eight years' penal servitude, be still held in penal servitude because he was found in possession of these old Fenian documents. Surely the ends of justice and policy do not require that this should be the conclusion. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will reconsider the whole matter; that he will make inquiry into the position and character of this person who handed the explosives to Daly; that he will inquire into the position of the person in regard to the Irish police, his present position and means of living, and whether he has been an *agent provocateur*. Inspector Farndale has stated he was, and Inspector Farndale must know. The right hon. Gentleman says his investigations have showed that the man was not a police agent. I should like to know how far the investigation of the Home Secretary proceeded as to whether the man who handed the explosives to Daly was in the employment of the police. Did the right hon. Gentleman go to the origin of the matter? [Mr. MATTHEWS nodded assent.] Did the right hon. Gentleman go to the persons who could give him the secret history of the Daly case? Did he go to the Irish police? Did he find out from them the history of this man who handed the explosives to Daly? Because that is the point upon which the whole case turns. If the right hon. Gentleman did not proceed so far as that, then he has only proceeded as far as my hon. and learned Friend, and he has not the materials to enable him to form a decisive conclusion. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to make further investigation, with the view of ascertaining whether this man was employed by the Irish police to entrap

Daly into the conspiracy. I further ask him specially to consider the case of Egan, in order that he may see whether there is a particle of evidence to show that he was in any way privy to the presence of the explosives on his premises, and had any knowledge whatever of the dynamite conspiracy. I also ask the House to remember that these men were convicted of a political offence—treason-felony; that the Act passed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby in 1883—the Explosives Substances Act—was put on one side in the case of every one of these persons, 14 in number, who are still living; and that all, with the exception of Egan, have been sentenced to penal servitude for life. These men could not have received such terrible sentences under the Explosives Substances Act, and the mode of procedure in each case must have been the settled policy of the Home Office, resolved upon for the purpose of striking additional terror among the members of the dynamite conspiracy by giving those who were caught these life-long sentences. Had Daly been convicted under the 4th section of the Explosives Substances Act on reasonable suspicion of having explosive substances in his possession with intent to cause an explosion, he could have received only 14 years' penal servitude. Daly gave to the jury the explanation which he has now tendered to the hon. Member for Wexford; but, as the right hon. Gentleman knows, while a statement made by a prisoner in a speech for his own defence may be used against him, nothing he may say in his own favour can be used to his advantage. I will conclude by asking the House to consider, on the ground of policy, whether these men should remain in penal servitude for life. Whatever was right at the time they were convicted, and whatever panic existed, the same circumstances no longer obtain. These conspiracies, even in America, have been abandoned for many years, and nobody now wishes to blow up the British Empire with dynamite—an idea which has passed out of the view of the most extreme Irishman. These events, terrible, no doubt, as they were, have passed away, and could not a powerful Government and a powerful nation consider the case with clemency and with mercy?

(7.30.) **SIR W. HARCOURT** (Derby): I shall only occupy the attention of the House for a very few moments after the very able and exhaustive speech of the Secretary for the Home Department, which I regret the hon. Member for Cork was not in his place to hear. The hon. Member for North Wexford has brought forward this subject in a most moderate and temperate manner, and doubtless he has merely endeavoured to lay before the House his own convictions on this subject. Neither of the Resolutions that stand upon the Paper in relation to this question alleges that these men have been wrongfully convicted; all that is suggested is that the time has come when, in view of the peaceful state of Ireland and the lengthened term of imprisonment already served by the prisoners in question, a re-consideration of their sentences should take place, with the view of recommending the extension towards them of the clemency of the Crown. The proposition of the hon. Member for Cork and of the hon. Member for Wexford, therefore, is that men who have been rightly convicted shall now be released because of the peaceful state of Ireland and of the lengthened term of imprisonment they have suffered.

**MR. PARNELL**: We do not claim that all the men have been wrongfully convicted.

**SIR W. HARCOURT**: The hon. Member for Cork has said that he put forward that proposition as applicable not only to the cases of Daly and Egan, but to the other dynamite prisoners, such as Whitehead and Gallagher. Whitehead was a person who had carried on at Birmingham the manufacture of dynamite on a large scale for the purpose of its being used for explosions, and Gallagher had been engaged in similar work in London. These were men of the most dangerous kind, and I fail to see that their offences became less heinous because they had added to them the crime of treason-felony. It must be remembered that it was due to such men as those that the explosions took place in Westminster Hall, and in other places in London, and in my opinion the fact that they had also been guilty of treason-felony aggravated rather than diminished their guilt. It is not necessary that I should go in any detail into the cases of these prisoners.

It is many years since they were convicted, and, having no means of obtaining official information, it is scarcely to be expected that I should rely on my memory with regard to their respective cases. I desire, however, on behalf of myself and on behalf of the police, to protest against the suggestion that I sanctioned the latter in employing any *agents provocateurs*. The dynamite conspiracy had its roots in America and in Ireland, and it was absolutely necessary, in order to destroy that conspiracy, that the co-operation of the police throughout the United Kingdom should be secured. Of course, the greater number of those who took part in this conspiracy came from Ireland. [**MR. P. O'BRIEN**: No; from America.] Did not the Phoenix Park murders occur in Ireland?

**\*MR. P. O'BRIEN**: You were referring to the dynamite conspirators.

**SIR W. HARCOURT**: I do not, of course, know what information the hon. Member has on the subject; but, as far as I am concerned, I maintain that I was right in saying that these secret societies were organised in Ireland.

**\*MR. P. O'BRIEN**: I think that the right hon. Gentleman is unfair in dragging the Phoenix Park murders into this discussion.

**SIR W. HARCOURT**: I was speaking of secret societies—of dynamite associations and of assassination associations—and I maintain that in order to put down such secret societies it is necessary to secure the co-operation of the police of the United Kingdom. My clear recollection is that no *agent provocateur* was employed, and that such a system was condemned by all responsible persons. That information should have been obtained with reference to these secret societies is an entirely different thing. It is one of the benevolent provisions of nature that a man who is scoundrel enough to take part in these secret societies is also treacherous enough to betray his fellow criminals, and it is only right that when the poison exists the counter poison should be used for the protection of the community. It was in consequence of the fear I had entertained that *agents provocateurs* might be employed that I abolished the system of offering rewards for the discovery of these crimes, which tempted to the employment of *agents provocateurs*. No doubt in connection

with the Phoenix Park murders large rewards were offered by the City of London and by others; but I thought it more prudent that the rewarding of those who discovered the authors of such crimes should be left to the liberality of Public Bodies, who would not fail to recognise the intelligence, the courage, and the energy of the police in bringing offenders to justice. With regard to the case of Daly, I entirely concur with the Secretary for the Home Department that it is impossible that that man should have been ignorant that he was dealing with a dynamiter. The House is asked by the hon. Member for Wexford to believe that this man, avowedly an ancient Fenian, had accepted innocently from another man first of all a bottle of nitro-glycerine, which he buried, and had afterwards accepted innocently from the same man a number of bombs—and that at a time when a great deal of dynamite was about. That is a representation I am quite unable to accept. If that had been the true story, is it possible that he should not so have said to the jury? But that is not all. Ever since that time, although he has had every opportunity of making that statement, Daly has never done so.

MR. P. O'BRIEN: I must remind the right hon. Gentleman that Daly did say that he knew where the information came from, but that he would not say who the person was.

SIR W. HARCOURT: That is just what I have been saying. That statement of Daly's referred not to an *agent provocateur*, but to an informer. It showed that Daly suspected there was some informer who had told the Government what sort of transactions he was engaged in. I think most people will see that if Daly had a suspicion or a belief that these things had been given to him, not to be used by himself, but for a friend, at some time or other he would have said so. But until that suggestion was carried to him through the letter of Alderman Manton, Daly during five or six years never made that suggestion himself. All I can say is that, whether it was a political or an ordinary crime, I should never stand in the way of a prisoner having the justice of his conviction or his punishment inquired into. On the contrary, I would do everything to promote inquiry. I have been engaged in many such inquiries myself, and I

understand that the Secretary of State has made such an inquiry. He has every means of doing so, and his connection with Birmingham would give him special facilities. That was a Birmingham case. Birmingham was the very focus of the dynamite conspiracy. It was in Birmingham that Whitehead manufactured enormous quantities of dynamite—enough to have blown a great part of the town to pieces. Daly was living there, in the metropolis of dynamite; and, really, when the hon. Member for Wexford asks us to believe that it is possible that a man in Daly's position, living where he did, and being what he was, could have accepted bombs and not have known what they were and what they were intended for, I confess I cannot arrive at the same conclusion. I do not know that I can usefully add anything more to what the Secretary of State has said. The Resolution which stands upon the Paper in the names of the hon. Member for Cork and the hon. Member for Wexford, namely, that persons who were properly tried and convicted of such offences as this would be sufficiently punished by six years' imprisonment, is one in which I cannot concur.

(748.) MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I wish to say a word or two on this question, because I consider I have a duty to discharge in regard to it. I was returned to Parliament by Irish votes, simply because I was "Mr. Parnell's candidate." There are some Members on the Benches near me who seem to have drunk mandragora, and to have forgotten that they were returned to this House simply as voting machines for the Member for Cork. For my part, I have not cultivated a Cork or even a Limerick brogue in order to endear myself to an English constituency; but I have never for a moment forgotten that I was given a seat in this House in order that I might take part in the discussion of Irish affairs. I notice that the Party which has made so much political capital out of their alliance with Irishmen has not been rising like trout at May-flies to take part in this discussion. I am not astonished at the remarkable silence of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, nor even at the high old crusted speech of the right hon. Gentleman the ex-Home Secretary. I have always noticed that on occasions

such as this the row of political man-drakes who usually occupy the Front Opposition Bench are conspicuous by their absence. If there really is a union of hearts and hands at all, it is between the Front Opposition Bench and the Government in refusing to do anything effective for Ireland. It seems to me that a very sufficient case has been made out in regard to the motives which actuated Daly. Several hon. Members referred to statements made by Daly before the jury, and it has been admitted that he was neither bloodthirsty nor mean, because he was ready to take the faults of his associate upon himself. Let me remind hon. Members that on his trial Daly said that as he was a man beyond hope of mercy—and at that moment certainly he was face to face with what might well have seemed to him eternal doom—he was not an assassin, and would not indiscriminately destroy life. Surely, words spoken under such circumstances might be believed to be true. Hon. Members may not be influenced by such language, but as one sent to this House by the votes of Irishmen, I consider it my duty to vote on this occasion, not in favour of releasing these convicts and throwing them upon the country without restraint, but merely in favour of ordering additional inquiry into the conduct of men which was rash and criminal perhaps, but which, if crime can be expiated, has been expiated by the misery of the seven years they have passed through, and which has entitled them to our sympathy.

\*(8.2.) MR. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire): I feel very strongly the responsibility of the vote I have made up my mind to give, and I ask the House, therefore, to allow me to state my reasons for it. I think it is to be regretted that much of the Debate has been wide of the Amendment, which simply recommends a policy of clemency. Reasons have been urged which have gone, for the most part, to the rightness of the conviction. On that part of the case I do not entertain much doubt. I listened carefully to the arguments advanced with a view of impugning the finding of the jury in the cases of Daly and Egan, and it seemed to me that the answer of the Home Secretary was conclusive. There is no doubt that Daly, at all events, had the control of explosive materials which were to be used unjustifiably.

*Mr. Cunninghame Graham*

As to Egan, I am in more doubt. It seems to me he was rightly convicted of treason-felony, although it is not certain he was cognisant of the particular and nefarious way in which the treason-felony was to be accomplished. In these circumstances, it was the duty of any Home Secretary to prosecute with an unsparing hand, and I do not blame the conduct of either the present Home Secretary or his predecessor. The conduct of the police is free from anything like grave suspicion. No doubt it is a serious matter that Chief Inspector Farndale should have entertained the suspicions he did, and probably many people in Liverpool were desirous of assisting the police to get a conviction, but, on the whole, it seems to me the conduct of the police is free from anything like grave suspicion. But these points do not dispose of the Motion. As the right hon. Member for Derby said, attempts at murder are not made less heinous because they are dictated by political considerations. But I belong to the Party which affirms that at that time crime and outrage seemed to be the only means of attracting attention to the grievances of Ireland, and that these acts were committed under circumstances of immense provocation. I am satisfied that it did seem so to a large number of people; but, still, it was the duty of the responsible Government none the less to prosecute the offenders. Now, however, these men have been in prison seven years; one, at least, has suffered much; and he has shown generosity towards his associate in crime. I should be sorry to lay down that, as a general rule, prisoners in this position should meet with exceptional clemency; but, taking into account the political provocation, that Daly was a man who was known and respected among his comrades in Fenian circles, some of them, like Mr. Davitt, high-minded men—a circumstance which may not be altogether irrelevant to the question whether his case ought not to be considered just now—and that we have entered on a policy of pacification towards Ireland—for the Chief Secretary is engaged in carrying out what he believes to be such a policy—I feel that it is desirable to show the people of Ireland that we are seeking to draw them closer to us by granting the inquiry asked for in this case. I

therefore feel myself bound to support this Motion.

(8.11.) MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.): I shall, as on a former occasion, vote in favour of further inquiry, because I believe it is desired with practical unanimity by the Irish people. What is asked is not private inquiry by the Secretary of State, but such inquiry as will carry conviction one way or the other that justice has at length been done. It seems to me to be bad policy, and contrary to the view that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas, to refuse this persevering and strong demand for inquiry made by the Irish Members on behalf of the Irish nation.

(8.13.) MR. W. MCARTHUR (Cornwall, St. Austell): I have never voted on a similar Resolution before, and it is quite impossible for me now to give a silent vote. I agree very largely with the remarks of my hon. Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire. I confess, apart altogether from the question of general clemency being extended to quasi-political prisoners, and without any intention of going into the merits of the trial of Daly and Egan, a suspicion has been aroused in my mind by the remarks of the hon. Member for Wexford. I am not a lawyer, and perhaps that suspicion is wrong. I should be the last man to argue that these men were not properly convicted, or that if they were properly convicted they did not deserve their sentences. But knowing nothing of the case until I came into the House, and having had a suspicion aroused in my mind by the hon. Member's speech that in the case of Daly evidence might have been got up against him, I should like to point out that it is quite possible a similar suspicion prevails outside the House, and when that is the case it is in the interests of justice and of the stability of the law that an inquiry should be granted. Great injury would be done to the cause of justice, both here and in Ireland, if a suspicion were allowed to prevail that these men did not get a fair trial, and I therefore hope that the Government will see their way to granting this inquiry. If they do not, I shall have to vote for the Motion.

(8.18.) MR. O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I think that after this Debate persons outside this House will regard with suspicion the conviction of Mr.

Daly. The point which I conceive the country will require an answer upon is whether it is true that the man who supplied Daly with these explosives was in the employ of the police. There are several points upon which the Home Secretary has given the House no information. There is no explanation as to why M'Dermott, who was really the *agent provocateur*, and who was undoubtedly in the pay of the Government, has not been prosecuted. It was the right hon. Member for Derby who made use of that man, and the attitude that the right hon. Gentleman has taken up is certainly peculiar from a Liberal point of view. Will he tell us what he knows about M'Dermott? He is very much startled and horrified that men use these explosives and weapons of violence in the dissemination of political ideas, but I am old enough to remember when Orsini threw the bombs in Paris, and when he was protected by this country, on the ground that it was a political act. Yet hundreds of men were killed and maimed by that act. Again, there are Members of this House who did not hesitate to support Stepniak, a confessed murderer. It is only when these acts are directed against yourselves that they become crimes. It is time you put aside this hypocrisy. The men whose case we are discussing are the political opponents of both Governments. If Her Majesty's Government desire to carry out a policy of conciliation they will do well not to follow the advice of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. It would be better to follow the course that has been indicated from the Irish Benches. The crimes, if crimes they were, were committed under political impulses, in times of great excitement and exasperation; and if the Government want to put an end to the struggle which has been going on, they had better follow out a policy of conciliation. They will act much more wisely by showing mercy than a desire for vengeance, when the reason for that vengeance has entirely passed away. (8.25.)

(9.1.) The House divided:—Ayes 96; Noes 39.—(Div. List, No. 413.)

Main Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

(9.7.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I desire to say a few words on an important subject, which I have found a

difficulty in bringing forward during the Session—the question of the appropriation of £1,500,000 for free education in England without any corresponding sum being allotted to Ireland. In England for the next six months the children of the labourers, and of those who desire it, will receive a free education, while the same classes in Ireland for the same, and, under certain contingencies, for a much longer, period will continue the payment of school pence. I am glad that the poor in England get that advantage, but I protest against the unequal treatment which denies a similar advantage to Ireland. The Government are much to blame. When they brought in the Bill for free education in England they should have made some provision for the exceptional state of affairs in Ireland, and for applying a certain portion of the money to the needs of primary education there in the interim. The schoolmasters of Ireland are very much worse paid than schoolmasters in England, and yet the Government propose to leave the Irish schoolmasters unaided for the next six months. True, the Chief Secretary has promised a Bill for Ireland next Session, but the affairs of next Session are yet in the clouds, and many things may happen to divert public attention from this subject, and the schoolmasters of Ireland may remain underpaid, and the poorest parents in Ireland be still required to pay school pence. Closely connected with this subject is the general question of the proportion of distribution of Imperial funds in the two countries. This has been notably forced on our attention in the past year by the application, for the second time, of a principle adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman has laid down a principle of distribution in the grants in aid to Poor Law Unions in the three countries. When he did this for the first time, two or three years ago, I vainly protested against it, and the principle was not well understood; and now, for the second time, we have had the same principle of distribution applied—a principle evolved from the brain of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and resting, so far as I can see, upon no substantial basis. The right hon. Gentleman has never stated the basis upon which he makes the distribution. He only says the Treasury accounts have been

*Colonel Nolan*

gone into, and this is the conclusion he arrives at; but he has never given us any facts or arguments to show the justice of the proportion. It is a question both of principle and detail. I deny that England, Scotland, and Ireland are so divided that there ought to be made any difference between the countries in allotting any sum of money, but, if there is any difference to be made, it should be in favour of the poorest country. I leave Scotland out of consideration, as the amount allotted there does not materially affect Ireland, and I have not much knowledge of the circumstances as they affect Scotland. But I deny that the three countries are so constituted that you should set up separate Exchequers. If you restore to us our Parliament, taken from us by fraud, and almost by violence, then it would be just to have a separate Exchequer, and we might fairly enter into an arrangement by which the proceeds of the Imperial Exchequer might be divided; but the principle of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is different, and it has been somehow smuggled into the House and rests on no historical basis; it is absolutely new and unfair. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has not considered all the facts of the case; he sees the thing through his own peculiar spectacles. He says that a large amount of taxation is paid in England and a small amount in Ireland, but he does not make clear the principle of his distribution. What is the basis on which the right hon. Gentleman has made this distribution? The population of each country, or the amount of taxation collected in each, would be a rough-and-ready method on which to proceed. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer has allotted the money, and left it to the Irish Members to prove their case. That is a very difficult position to place us in. Take it upon population or upon taxation, the share Ireland receives should be larger than is proposed; of the two methods taxation would be best for Ireland, but I am quite willing to base it upon population. The taxation of Ireland is, roughly speaking, something over £8,000,000, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer gives Ireland credit only for £6,300,000, and, of course, that makes an enormous difference in the amount of the contribution we receive. But the argument of the right hon.

Gentleman, and I am sorry to say he is supported by the Secretary to the Treasury, is that a large amount of taxation is collected in Ireland on Guinness's stout and Irish whisky, and that these being drunk in England the taxation ought to be credited to England and not to Ireland. I allow that, while you cheat us in the division on the one hand, you provide us with funds for light railways on the other hand—such is your inconsistency. A good deal of money is raised in England on Irish porter and whisky which is looked upon as English revenue, instead of giving the benefit to the poorer country. I object to that principle, because it is creating a distinction between the two countries, and creating two Exchequers. Thus you are giving Ireland the disadvantages of Home Rule without its advantages. It is totally impossible to keep accounts fairly between the two countries, even with the best intentions on the part of the Treasury. True, you may find out how much of the whisky taxation is paid in Ireland, and how much of that goes to England, but it becomes more complicated when whisky is sent from Scotland in bond. I deny that you can follow all the taxation which ought to be credited to Ireland, and which is collected in England. Small parcels of tea, and many other articles of commerce, are sent from England to Ireland in the ordinary way of trade, and even by parcel post, making up a considerable amount in the aggregate. Wines are often sent duty paid to Ireland, the duty being paid in England, but refunded by consumers in Ireland. Mortgagees draw their resources from Ireland, spend their money, and pay taxation in England; I do not mean Income Tax, but the taxation collected on Exciseable goods. It is totally impossible, with the various ramifications between the countries, to keep accounts square. Even supposing the Treasury accounts could be kept in the best possible manner, I should distrust the Treasury officials. There is a specific instance of what I mean. Some years ago—1883 or 1884—I moved for and obtained a Return showing how much money was collected and spent in Ireland by the Imperial Government, and this Return showed, I think, that £8,300,000 was the amount collected in Ireland. Then in 1886 the Home Rule Bill was brought in, and the Government at that time in power

were anxious to show the contributions in the largest possible figures, and brought in a duplication of my Return. If you give an order to the Treasury they can manipulate the Return. In any large business—and, of course, the business of the Imperial Exchequer is a large one—a difference of 2 or 3 per cent. on one side or the other can be made in any Department—balancing it in some other Department—without making the account incorrect. It is manifest that a very careful account indeed would have to be made out, in order to show how much a certain article costs. As a rule, a manufacturer does not exactly know the precise cost of each article he makes, but balances one branch of business with another, so as to show a profit. What I have stated is only a small and very trifling part of the Irish financial grievance; but I only bring it forward because we are now between two acts of injustice, namely, the method in which the money granted in connection with the Poor Law has been debated, and the manner in which the education grant has been dealt with this year without debate. We have had no opportunity of pointing out how the sum has been unfairly allocated this year, and how the arrangement has been summarily enforced without debate. I have been obliged to bring this question forward at this late period of the Session on the Appropriation Bill. I consulted the Chairman of Committees, and found that it would be difficult to bring it on on the Irish Estimates; and I believe that if I had consulted you, Sir, you would have said that there was no Vote on Report of Supply on which I could have dealt with the matter. That is my excuse, and I maintain it is not a magnanimous thing of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to use his great majority in order to take a sum of money away from the poorer country, and not thoroughly to state in the House not only the principles, but the details of his plan, so that they may be properly discussed. I do not think that either the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Secretary to the Treasury can find a precedent for what has been done. Can either of them point to such a state of things existing in any other European country? Does any other European country give money for education to any portion of its people according to



their contribution towards the Revenue? Is there any other country in which there are not separate Legislatures where the richer and more powerful part of the country keeps up a financial distinction between itself and the poorer parts? Of course, there are countries who may treat their colonies in this way—as we used to do when we tried to get as much money out of them as possible. I maintain that if any system of accounts is adopted it should have for a basis the allocation of money according to the system of taxation adopted; and if a correct system of that kind is to be adopted in the case of Ireland, she should be allowed independent representation in the Treasury.

(9.42.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The hon. and gallant Gentleman says he has brought forward this subject on the Appropriation Bill because he found it impossible to bring it forward on any Vote, but I think that in that he is mistaken. It seems to me that he might have brought it forward at some stage of the Estimates.

COLONEL NOLAN: No; the subject comprises many different Votes. Certainly I might have brought it forward piecemeal on about 10 different Votes.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, I do not desire to pursue that point any further. The hon. and gallant Gentleman appears to think that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has done great injustice to Ireland in not treating it in the same way as England. He seems to think that what the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to do is to give Ireland the amount of money which she would be entitled to if her share of the public revenue were estimated according to population alone. But that would not be treating Ireland on a system financially identical with that of England. The real reason why Ireland cannot be treated identically with England is the same as the reason why Scotland cannot be treated identically with England, namely, that different Acts are required for the two countries, and that in certain important respects the financial arrangements of the two countries are not identical. If, for example, you have to deal with Irish education, it cannot be treated in the same Bill with English education, because Irish education is managed in a manner widely different

*Colonel Nolan*

from the former. All that can be done is to find some rough-and-ready means by which you can arrive at the share which the two countries have in common. To take, for instance, the question of free education. The sum of 10s. is approximately equivalent to the fees paid by the English parent; but if you are to carry out as near as may be the principles which the hon. and gallant Gentleman thinks proper to the condition of Ireland, there would require to be allocated to Irish purposes a sum which would approximately cover the sum paid by the Irish parent in the name of fees.

COLONEL NOLAN: They would get 10s.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Not a bit of it. If you were to find a fee grant corresponding in the case of Ireland to the fee grant for England, Ireland would not only not gain in the transaction, but would lose enormously. The principle adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is one far more beneficial to Ireland than the one which would logically follow from the hon. and gallant Gentleman's argument. The hon. and gallant Gentleman appears to think that population is a fair basis. I do not think it is. Surely the contributions to public funds and the money received from public funds are a fairer basis than mere population. But with regard to this subject the Chancellor of the Exchequer has prepared a very elaborate Report, which will in due course be laid before the House, dealing in detail with the numerous questions which the hon. and gallant Gentleman has raised. More than that, a Committee was asked for by the hon. Member for West Belfast and granted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but for some reason or other—not for any reason connected at all with the wishes and intentions and views of the Government—the Committee has never been set to work, and we have not been able to thresh out the question. Under these circumstances, it occurs to me that to attempt to discuss in detail upon the Appropriation Bill the accuracy or inaccuracy of the apportionment which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has arrived at is to ask the House to discuss what it has not the material to discuss. If the House is disposed to criticise the figures, the only way to do so is by a Select Committee.

That Committee will, I hope, sit next Session, and I would strongly recommend the hon. and gallant Gentleman to reserve criticism upon the subject until the Select Committee shall have been able to report. With regard to an Education Bill, he appears to think that we ought to have brought in and passed a measure dealing with the complicated and difficult subject of Irish education this Session. He says we might have passed a temporary measure, but I have, in reply to questions addressed to me in the House, explained my objection to that. If we once allotted money to any interest the difficulty of re-distributing that money would be almost overwhelming. If the teachers in Ireland had been given a portion of this money, that distribution could not have been altered, and the Government would not have had the money behind as an inducement to the House to pass a Bill dealing with the important question of Irish education next Session. Desirous as I am of seeing this question settled, I should have been perfectly insane had I parted with the bribe by which I hope to induce many hon. Gentlemen to agree with that Bill.

(9.52.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I would point out to the right hon. Gentleman that it is not our fault if we have not seen the Returns so long since promised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I am inclined to agree with the right hon. Gentleman that in the absence of the Return to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred, an exhaustive or even a useful Debate upon so difficult, detailed, and complicated a question as the Imperial taxation of Ireland can scarcely be had upon this occasion. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway has been so long awaiting this opportunity of expressing his views that I have no doubt he has carefully considered the subject. Yet I would invite him to re-consider the view that the population of Ireland as compared with that of England can be made an equitable basis of taxation.

COLONEL NOLAN: I did not say it could.

MR. SEXTON: But the hon. and gallant Member must see that he will have to take it both ways; and that if population is to be the basis for abatement, you must make it also the basis for taxation.

COLONEL NOLAN: No, no.

MR. SEXTON: It would be impossible to establish one rule for the basis of taxation and another rule for the reduction of grants. It is a perfectly conceivable thing that a country may be sparsely populated, and yet able to bear taxation; and, on the other hand, it is clear that—as was the case in Ireland during the famine period—a country may be very thickly populated, and yet be unable to bear any taxation at all. In fact, such is the condition of Ireland that the fact that there is an extensive population in some districts, known as the congested districts, so far from being a reason for taxation, is rather a reason for relief from taxation. If the theory were correct that population should be taken as the basis of taxation, at the time of the Union of Ireland and Great Britain, Ireland, which then had 5,000,000 of population, whilst England had only 10,000,000, would have been responsible for something like one-third or one-fourth of the taxation of the United Kingdom. That fact alone is sufficient to dispose of the theory of the hon. and gallant Gentleman. But I agree with the hon. and gallant Gentleman that it is not just to proceed, as the Treasury do year by year, in estimating the revenue of Ireland. I found from the close and careful study I gave last year to the Return of the 7th May regarding the incidence of taxation that wherever I could light upon any ground of presumption that presumption was upon the side of the more powerful partner, the benefit being always to England, and the prejudice going to Scotland or Ireland. It may appear by-and-bye, when we get our Committee, that my conclusion is not well founded. I hold that the judgment of Mr. Giffen is sound. That gentleman looked into the matter, and formed the opinion that, having regard to the relative capacities of the two countries, Ireland should pay 4½ per cent. of the Imperial taxation instead of 9 per cent. The hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Nolan) appears to think that Ireland has lost something by the postponement of the education grant, but I can assure him that the contrary is the case. If the Chief Secretary had dealt with this grant in a temporary way, as he himself declared it would have been, by way of applying it to the Reserve Fund under the Land Purchase Act, how would the

hon. and gallant Member have liked that?

COLONEL NOLAN: I spoke against it.

MR. SEXTON: The money would have been lost to Ireland for ever. I am, therefore, glad that the right hon. Gentleman postponed dealing with the matter until next Session. The right hon. Gentleman has now pledged himself to give the money to free education. He has promised to bring in a Bill for the purpose. If the matter had been dealt with this year, we should only have had the limited opportunity afforded by the Vote in Supply of discussing the question. In that way it would only have been possible to raise one Debate. Now, however, the right hon. Gentleman has bound himself to proceed with the matter by means of a Bill. We shall next year, therefore, have the opportunity of discussing the principle of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal on the Second Reading of the measure, and in Committee we shall have the opportunity of making alternative suggestions. During the progress of the Bill through the House the Irish teachers, and those interested in education in Ireland, will have an opportunity of examining the question in all its bearings. They will have gained by the postponement. Before I sit down I would repeat again the disappointment I have experienced, owing to the failure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to carry out his promise to appoint a Select Committee to consider the financial relations of the three portions of the United Kingdom. He made that promise last year in the Budget Debate, but the rest of that Session and the whole of the present Session have passed, and nothing has been done. It is no excuse to say that one Welsh Member, or a section of the Welsh Members, desire Wales to be included in the inquiry. When the right hon. Gentleman assented to the inquiry he knew very well that it would be in the power of any group of Members, or any one Member, to stop the Committee being appointed if the Motion were brought on after 12 o'clock at night. He should have provided for that contingency, and, by not doing so, I maintain that he has not kept his promise. Pending the appointment of the Committee, the right hon. Gentleman has been preparing material for its consideration when appointed, and some time ago he promised us that this material

*Mr. Sexton*

should be submitted to the House. We have not yet received it, although we have nearly arrived at the last day of the Session. This is probably the last day on which I shall address the House this year, and the last word I shall say will be to express regret that, in addition to the great and inexcusable delay in the appointment of the Committee promised two years ago by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there has been further delay in circulating the information which the right hon. Gentleman has obtained on the question.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD: I regret that an Irish Education Bill has not been introduced this Session, so that we might have had time to consider it in the recess. The subject is one of very great complexity, many interests are involved, and therefore the Bill ought to have been introduced in order that the country might have had plenty of time to consider it before next Session. I understood that the right hon. Gentleman had pledged himself to give us that opportunity.

\*(10.1.) THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I have only one or two words to say in reply to the hon. Member for West Belfast. He must be aware that during a great portion of the Session the Irish Members, and others who are specially interested in Irish affairs, have been so occupied with the Land Purchase Bill that it would have been almost impossible for them to consider in Committee the question of the financial relations between the two countries. Since then, although there has been a desire expressed to proceed with the inquiry, the appointment of the Committee has, as is well known, been frustrated by the action of the Members from Wales. The hon. Member asks why the Government have not produced the materials which have been collected in anticipation of the discussion of the subject. The reason is that we have thought it wise to wait until the Returns can be absolutely complete. The materials now collected relate to the years 1889-1890 and 1890-1891. We thought it well to wait for the information for the year 1891-1892, which will comprise the results of the new census and the Estimates for the current year. The information will, therefore, be quite up to

date. The Government have desired that the Return should be prepared with all the impartiality of statisticians, and without bias in any direction. The Returns will, therefore, be presented by the Department concerned without the slightest desire to establish any particular case.

COLONEL NOLAN: When will they be presented?

MR. GOSCHEN: I hope in two or three days.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

#### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.

(No. 435.)

Lords Amendments considered.

Lords Amendments, as far as the Amendment, page 2, line 30, agreed to.

Page 2, line 30, after "nuisance," insert—

"And shall be otherwise kept in conformity with the regulations contained in section ninety-one, sub-section six, of 'The Public Health Act, 1875,'"

the next Amendment, disagreed to.

Page 3, line 4, after "default," insert—

"(4.) This section shall not apply to any workshop or workplace to which 'The Public Health (London) Act, 1891,' applies," the next Amendment, agreed to.

Amendment, in page 3, after Clause 5, insert, Clause A (Duty of county council as to inspection of workshops and enforcement of sanitation therein), the next Amendment, read a second time.

(10.9.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I move that the House disagree with this new clause, which has reference to the power of County Councils to provide for the inspection of workshops and the enforcement of sanitation therein. The Bill provides for the inspection of workshops by the local sanitary Inspectors, and if the Sanitary Authorities should be remiss in performing their duties the Home Secretary is empowered, under Clause 1, to send Government Inspectors to do the work. By this new clause it is proposed that the unhappy occupier of premises used as a workshop shall be worried and harried by another set of Inspectors

without default on his part. This would, in my opinion, be unreasonable and vexatious, and, therefore, I hope the House will not agree to the clause.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

(10.11.) MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): So far as I have been able to judge of the Debates on this Bill, the sympathies of the Home Secretary have throughout been on the side of the occupiers rather than with the unfortunate workpeople. The right hon. Gentleman's argument is that this clause gives another authority power to worry and harass the occupiers. But as I read it, this will only be done in case of default on the part of the Local Sanitary Authority. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will remember that this Bill, as it stands, places the workshops in a less satisfactory condition as regards inspection than they were before the Bill was introduced. Certain classes of shops have been taken from under the control of the Home Office and placed under the Local Authority. I admit it is true that the Home Office may resume its power over them, but that will only be done in exceptional cases. We want that there shall be some authority over and above the Local Sanitary Authority to see that the latter does its duty. The Home Secretary must remember that his colleague the President of the Local Government Board has already inserted in his Public Health Bill a clause similar to this, giving the London County Council considerable power over the Local Sanitary Authorities, and if such a principle is to be applied to London, I cannot see why it should not also apply to County Councils throughout the Kingdom. I hope the House, sympathising with the unfortunate workers in these workshops, who will be in a worse position under this Bill than before its introduction, will agree to this new clause.

(10.16.) The House divided:—Ayes 66; Noes 45.—(Div. List, No. 414.)

Amendments, as far as the Amendment in page 6, line 23, agreed to.

Amendment, in page 6, line 23, leave out "affected thereby on his or her application," and insert "so employed," disagreed to.

Page 9, leave out Clause 23, the next Amendment, agreed to.

Page 10, line 7, after "pound," insert—

"Provided always, that in the event of any one who is engaged as an operative in any factory or workshop receiving such particulars, and subsequently disclosing the same with a fraudulent object or for the purpose of gain, whether they be furnished directly to him or to a fellow workman, he shall be liable for each offence to a fine not exceeding ten pounds," the next Amendment, read a second time.

(10.24.) **SIR H. JAMES** (Bury, Lancashire): As regards this Amendment, it is regarded as an important one by the operatives. It springs out of the clause which entitles them to receive particulars of the work they are about to do. In the course of the discussion on it, it was pointed out that the information might be sold to a rival employer, and trade secrets thereby disclosed. It was suggested that persons disclosing information given under the power of the clause should be liable to a penalty, and the Lords' clause carries out that view. The operatives have no objection to it, but they think that a person who induces a man to disclose the information should also be liable to punishment; that the tempter should be punished as well as the tempted. The Amendment I intend to propose will secure that, and will provide a double defence for the employer. We are willing to accept the Lords' Amendment if thus amended.

Amendment proposed to the Lords' Amendment,

In line 6, after the word "pounds," to insert the words "provided also that any one who shall solicit or procure a person so engaged in any factory to disclose such particulars with the object or purpose aforesaid, or shall pay or reward such person, or shall cause such person to be paid or rewarded for so disclosing such particulars, shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be liable for each offence to a fine not exceeding £10."—(*Sir H. James.*)

(10.26.) **MR. TOMLINSON** (Preston): I hope that the Government will assent to this Amendment.

**MR. MATTHEWS**: Agreed. I entirely assent to the principle that the briber as well as the bribed ought to be punished.

Amendment agreed to.

Lords' Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Subsequent Amendments agreed to.

Committee appointed, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing with certain of the Amendments made by the Lords,"—**Mr. Secretary Matthews**, **Mr. Stuart Wortley**, **Mr. Ritchie**, **Sir Henry James**, **Mr. Sydney Buxton**, and **Mr. Jackson**:—To withdraw immediately.

Ordered, That Three be the Quorum.

#### COINAGE BILL.—(No. 375.)

##### THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

\*(10.31.) **MR. MONTAGU** (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel): Although I take a great interest in this currency question, I do not propose at this advanced period of the Session to occupy the time of the House with any lengthened observations. When the Bill was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the last hour on a Wednesday there was no opportunity for discussing it, and on the Motion for the Second Reading I was induced to abstain from speaking on the promise that an opportunity should be afforded me on the Third Reading. But a criticism of it cannot be so effective at a stage when its passing is a foregone conclusion. This is a permissive Bill, the operation of which will take a long time, and it may be that the Chancellor of the Exchequer next Session will bring in a complete measure with regard to the currency which will materially affect this Bill and satisfy my friends in the City. I am very disappointed with this Bill, and so are my City friends; its introduction has been greatly delayed on the understanding that it was to be a comprehensive measure of currency reform; and this Bill in no way answers our expectations. Although it has been under the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for years it is a meagre Bill, not at all worthy of a Chancellor of the Exchequer with a commercial education. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman at Leeds produced the belief that we were to have an immediate issue of £1 notes to save the wear of gold and to provide a reserve of gold, so that we might not in future incur obligation to

the Bank of France or the Russian Government. I do not complain of the borrowing of gold from the Bank of France; it was an act of reciprocity, for 30 years ago the operation was reversed, and the Bank of England lent the Bank of France two millions gold. But I do not think we should have asked the Russian Government a favour we should hardly venture to reciprocate. If we had had an issue of £1 notes we should have avoided incurring these humiliating obligations. I was afraid from his Leeds speech that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have gone to the other extreme, and would have issued 10s. notes based on silver, and I am glad that the idea of issuing notes against silver has been abandoned. The only argument against one pound notes is the bogey of forgery, which is hardly worth attention. Four years ago I sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer a German twenty mark note which had never been forged, and inquiries I made the other day show that it has not since then been forged. I think, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman would have done well to have included in this Bill a provision for the issue of one pound notes, for it would have created a reserve of gold and been a protection to the commercial community. I have also shown the right hon. Gentleman that the notes could be issued at a cost of 1d., or £4,000 a year for 5,000,000, the duration of a note being five years.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I do not think that these remarks have anything to do with a Bill for renovating the gold coinage.

\*MR. MONTAGU: Of course, Sir, I bow to your ruling at once. But I desire to point out that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has raised the alarm with regard to the gold reserve and has done nothing to provide a remedy. To my mind the Bill is entirely unsatisfactory, because it provides no remedy for existing defects; neither does it provide for future deterioration. No provision is made for keeping our currency in proper order. It does not alter our system of coining gold without charge, while all other countries make a small charge for mintage. A charge of even a halfpenny on the sovereign would prevent many millions of gold coin from being melted down and the selection of the heavy pieces for melting, which

means the survival of the most unfit. When he introduced his Bill the right hon. Gentleman said there was a mint charge of about 1½d. an oz., but that is not a charge for mintage: it is merely to prevent the loss of interest. A man may take a bar of gold of the weight of 100 sovereigns to the Mint, and receive 100 sovereigns for it, and then melt them down and take the bar to the Mint, so that the Mint loses by each operation. I have known a large quantity of heavy sovereigns to be melted down in order to provide gold for exportation. If there were a small mintage charged it would frequently divert a drain of gold from this country to the Continent. Again, this Bill does not abolish the absurd system of requiring every one to cut light gold. Of course, that provision must be suspended during the operation of this Bill. When the Bill was introduced in regard to pre-Victorian sovereigns I suggested that this law should be abolished, because it was universally disregarded. I am told that even the Bank of England has not cut light sovereigns during the present year. If we had a small charge for mintage the Bank of England could be authorised to keep up the circulation continuously by the withdrawal of all light gold, thus maintaining the currency in proper order. I fear with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it will take a long time to get the light gold out of circulation while the public know that light gold will be received at the Bank at its full value, and I would suggest that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should call in first the Victorian sovereigns that are without the beautiful George and Dragon reverse, and which constitute about nine-tenths of the light gold. When I proposed in Committee that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should increase the weight of our half-sovereigns by one grain, he produced a Report to the effect that the advantage would be very small, and would not be reaped for 150 years. I thought that an exaggerated statement at the time, and inquiries since made have amply confirmed my view. I want the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider whether, before completing this enormous operation in recoinage, he will not take the advice of experts as to various improvements in the currency, and at the same time

issue £1 notes, as he will never have a better opportunity than when light gold is sent in to issue £1 notes against them. This is, I know, a technical subject, and I regret that the suggestions I have pressed on the right hon. Gentleman year after year have not been accepted and acted upon.

(10.45.) MR. ATKINSON (Boston): The hon. Member for Whitechapel has addressed the House as an expert on this subject, and nobody has listened to him. That conveys to my mind the fact that 500 out of the 670 Members of this House do not understand the subject on which the hon. Member has just spoken. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be in the House. If it is not worth his while to defend his Bill in the House, it is not worth our while as Members to pass it. I ask the House to signify their disapproval of the right hon. Gentleman's absence by refusing to pass his Bill. I shall take a Division on the Bill if my hon. Friend opposite does not. I consider the measure very crude, and think the criticisms of the hon. Gentleman opposite are founded on right and justice, and, therefore, I shall support the hon. Gentleman and vote against the Bill. I have been for 27 years the Chairman of a prosperous bank, and I say that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not think it worth his while to defend his Bill he is deserving of defeat, and I shall help to inflict it on him.

\*MR. MONTAGU: May I explain that I have no desire to oppose the passage of the Bill?

MR. ATKINSON: But I have.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) BILL.

(No. 434.)

Lords' Amendments considered.

Amendment, as far as the Amendment, page 11, line 30, to leave out ("cow-keeper,") agreed to.

Page 11, line 30, leave out ("cow-keeper,") the next Amendment, read a second time.

(10.51.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I cannot understand why the word "cowkeeper" should be left out. Surely there are cowkeepers who are not dairymen.

*Mr. Montagu*

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The word is unnecessary, because in the Definition Clause the word "dairyman" is held to include cowkeeper.

Amendment agreed to.

Further Amendments agreed to.

Page 18, line 5, after ("district") insert ("and the giving of sufficient notice of the times appointed for such removal, cleansing out, and emptying"), the next Amendment, read a second time.

(10.54.) MR. PICKERSGILL: I should like to call attention to the additional obligation imposed on the Sanitary Authority, coupled with a penalty of £20 if it is not complied with, by placing upon them the duty of giving notice of the time at which refuse would be removed. I think no inconvenience has resulted from the absence of such notice; and as the proposed penalty is a considerable one, I think we ought to have reasons for the alteration.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): The question is, what is meant by "sufficient notice"?

MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I should like to say with regard to this I have a letter to the effect that if the duty is imposed of giving notice of the exact time the cart will call for the refuse it will be impossible for the Sanitary Authority to comply with the obligation cast upon them. They cannot state the exact hour or minute of calling. I therefore hope the Government will not insist on this clause, since it will only inflict immense inconvenience on the authorities.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I am opposed altogether to treating the Sanitary Authority as a criminal, and therefore object to any extension of that principle.

\*MR. RITCHIE: I have received many complaints as to the neglect of the Sanitary Authorities to empty dustbins. I think it is only reasonable that the Sanitary Authority shall give proper notice of the time of the periodical visits for the purpose of removing refuse.

MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.): It appears to me that this is an attempt to put Local Authorities in leading strings. Certain noble Lords who come to London for a part of the year and give

great balls, the refuse of which fills their dustbins, seem to think that the London Vestries should empty those dustbins at any moment they may be called upon to do so, however inconvenient it may be.

Lords' Amendment agreed to.

Further Amendments agreed to.

Page 23, leave out Clause 41, and insert Clause B—

(Improper construction or repair of water-closet or drain.)

"(a.) If a water-closet or drain is so constructed or repaired as to be a nuisance or injurious or dangerous to health, the person who undertook or executed such construction or repair shall, unless he shows that such construction or repair was not due to any wilful act, neglect, or default, be liable to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds.

Provided that where a person is charged with an offence under this section he shall be entitled, upon information duly laid by him, to have any other person, being his agent, servant, or workman, whom he charges as the actual offender, brought before the court at the time appointed for hearing the charge, and if he proves to the satisfaction of the court that he had used due diligence to prevent the commission of the offence, and that the said other person committed the offence without his knowledge, consent, or connivance, he shall be exempt from any fine, and the said other person may be summarily convicted of the offence,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

(11.5.) MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I cannot help thinking that the Amendment the Lords have adopted will practically destroy the character of the clause which was agreed to by the Committee upstairs, and also by the House on the Third Reading of the Bill. The object of that clause was to impose a penalty upon the real culprits; to protect the owner and occupier from being unjustly fined when they have been guilty of no offence. It frequently happens that owners and occupiers are held responsible for the insanitary condition of their dwellings when the real culprit is the builder or his workman. The owner and occupier may engage a man whom they regard as a respectable builder, and pay him a good sum of money for putting down drains or repairing closets, and yet the work may be imperfectly done and shamefully scamped. Blind drains may be put down, or pipes may be laid down with dry joints, with the consequence

that the people who live in the house are subjected to very unhealthy conditions. For this state of things the owner and occupier are held responsible. The clause, as it left this House, would have exonerated the owner and occupier, and have placed the responsibility on the real shoulders: it would have punished the dishonest builder or workman who performed work of the description I have referred to. The clause, as amended by the Lords, will practically make it impossible to fix the blame upon the man, or men, who were the authors of the mischief. The words of the Lords' Amendment are—"Unless he shows that such construction or repair was not due to any wilful act, neglect or default." Those words will lead to great contention before the tribunal; indeed, it will be next to impossible to prove that the builder has been guilty of such wilful neglect or default. I, therefore, beg to move the omission of the words I have just quoted.

Amendment proposed, in line 3, to leave out from the word "shall," to the word "be," in line 5.—(Mr. Cremer.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Amendment."

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The hon. Gentleman will remember, and the House may perhaps remember, that when this clause was introduced into the Bill on the Report stage I agreed to the clause, but said I thought it was of too drastic a character, and I reserved to myself the power in another place of altering its terms. I am bound to say I think there ought to be some penalty attached to the persons who perform their work negligently or carelessly, in such a way as to be injurious to public health. The clause, as it comes from the House of Lords, proposes that any person who undertakes work and does it imperfectly shall be liable to a penalty unless he can show that the defective work is not due to any default or negligence of the workman. Surely the House will not be prepared to go beyond that.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): The right hon. Gentleman has altogether omitted to allude to the word "wilful." If there is wilful neglect or default a fine ought to be im-



posed. I agree with my hon. Friend that the effect of the Lords' Amendment is to destroy the object of the clause.

\*MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I hope my hon. Friend who has moved the Amendment will be content with the clause as it has come from the Lords, which I think practically carries out what he desires. The Bill as it left this House was not quite fair to the builder. A builder acts according to the plans and instructions of an architect, and it would be monstrous to inflict on the builder carrying out plans that are not well designed the consequences of constructing drains according to those plans, but which turn out to be unsatisfactory.

MR. MORTON (Peterborough): But in 99 cases out of 100 there is no plan at all: the builder does the work without any instructions from anybody. My experience in London causes me to believe that this clause will not be a bit of good unless you make it as drastic and as harsh as you can.

MR. GAINSFORD BRUCE (Finsbury, Holborn): It has never been the policy of our law to make an accidental act a criminal offence. All the clause says is that although the onus of proof is on the builder, if he is able to show that the act has not been done wilfully or intentionally he shall not be liable to a fine. Surely that is reasonable. It is quite possible to make a law that is so harsh that it cannot be enforced.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): My hon. and learned Friend talks about a man accidentally constructing a defective drain. If a man does that he is not fit to be a builder. I trust the House will remember that the punishment is not that of imprisonment, but of a fine not exceeding £20. I think we can trust our Magistrates to use the power properly, and not to impose £20 or any but a nominal fine in trivial cases.

(11.15.) The House divided:—Ayes 73; Noes 30.—(Div. List, No. 415.)

Lords Amendment agreed to.

Amendments, as far as the Amendment in page 28, line 3, agreed to.

Page 28, line 3, at the end of Clause 46, add—

"(8.) Where a person has in his possession any article which is unsound or unwholesome or unfit for the food of man, he may, by written notice to the sanitary authority, speci-

*Sir G. Campbell*

fying such article, and containing a sufficient identification of it, request its removal, and the sanitary authority shall cause it to be removed as if it were trade refuse,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

(11.25.) MR. KELLY: As the House knows, there is no more difficult question than that of diseased meat. No one wishes to shelter a man who sells or exposes for sale diseased meat, but, on the other hand, I am sure the House will like to draw a distinction between a person who wishes to sell diseased meat and the unfortunate person who happens to find himself in possession of unsound meat. The clause provides that when found unwholesome food may be removed as if it were trade refuse. I submit that when a man gives notice that he has an unsound article, and has no intention whatever of selling it or exposing it for sale, he should be relieved from the unhappy consequences of having the food removed by the Sanitary Authority. I invite the House to remember that the fact of being summoned before a Magistrate and having the case reported in the newspapers is a far greater punishment on a tradesman than the infliction of a fine. I therefore beg to move to add to the Lords Amendment—

"And any person who shall have duly given such notice and made such request shall not be liable to conviction under this Act."

Amendment proposed to Lords Amendment, at the end thereof, to add the words—

"And any person who shall have duly given such notice, and made such request, shall not be liable to conviction under this Act."—(Mr. Kelly.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

\*(11.30.) MR. RITCHIE: I hope the House will not adopt the somewhat dangerous course suggested by the Amendment. It is, I think, right and proper to give protection to a tradesman, who finds himself, by stress of weather or from any other cause beyond his control, in possession of food he thinks unwholesome, by enabling him to give notice at once to the Sanitary Authority to remove it; but, on the other hand, I think it is going too far to say that this notice shall be a bar to all prosecution. It is for the Magistrate before whom the tradesman may be summoned to judge whether the notice

is a *bond fide* notice, and should be a protection against proceedings. I cannot conceive, unless the circumstances are of a suspicious nature, that the Sanitary Authority would ever institute proceedings; but there might be a colourable notice given, which, in the opinion of the Sanitary Authority, is not *bond fide*, and then the person ought to be liable to be summoned before a Magistrate to give some further explanation of the circumstances under which he was in possession of the unsound food.

\*(11.32.) MR. T. H. BOLTON: I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that a tradesman who has meat which has gone bad, and who has given notice of this, should not be liable to a summons. If the right hon. Gentleman does not desire that there should be proceedings taken in such a case, then I do not see the harm of inserting the Amendment. It might perhaps be qualified by stating that the notice shall be *bond fide*, or some such qualification might be introduced. I quite see the force of the right hon. Gentleman's objection that the notice may not be *bond fide*, and may be given by a tradesman designedly; but, at the same time, the clause as it stands might be worked very harshly against a tradesman who, by no fault of his own, may have unwholesome meat upon his premises, and who would be only too glad to get rid of it.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): If a person has unwholesome meat on his premises, and is quite innocent in regard to it, then he has a perfect defence, and will not be mulcted in penalties; but if you add these words, then the person who has the food on his premises with design may escape penalties by such a clause as this would be, with the Amendment of the hon. Member added, and justice will not reach him. I am quite sure that if you wish to make the Act deterrent you must be extremely severe in dealing with cases of possession of unsound food; and I hope the House will not agree to this Amendment, which I am sure would prejudice the course of justice.

(11.34.) MR. GAINSFORD BRUCE: If there is no intention to punish a man who in a *bond fide* manner complies with the Act, why not say so in the Act? What possible objection can there be to doing so? If that is the intention of the

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Lords' Amendment why not express it? There is an idea that the Amendment includes diseased meat, but that is not so; it refers solely to unsound or unwholesome food. Let me point out the hardship to a dealer in hot weather. He has food not diseased and perfectly wholesome to-night; he puts it in his safe, and to-morrow morning it is found to be unsound and unwholesome. That is no fault of his; and yet by virtue of the Act he will be liable to a penalty, not because he has exposed the article for sale, but because it is found on his premises in his safe. A case of the kind occurred the other day, and is now under appeal. Surely if a man gives notice at once to the Sanitary Authority he should not be liable to any penalty, and if that is the intention, what is the objection to saying so? It is a reasonable Amendment; it is the only sense in which public opinion, I am sure, will sanction the clause being enforced.

(11.36.) MR. G. CAMPBELL: The proposed Amendment will leave the matter exactly where it is. It simply amounts to this: That an offence is to be punished with a penalty to which a man is not liable if he has not committed the offence. But it is a very different thing to say that when a man knows he is going to be prosecuted he shall be allowed to rush off, and, by giving notice, escape the infliction of a penalty.

Question put, and negatived.

Lords Amendment agreed to.

Page 28, after Clause 48, insert Clause B (Cleansing of cisterns), the next Amendment, amended, and agreed to.

Amendments, as far as the Amendment in page 37, line 28, agreed to.

Page 37, line 28, after "authority," insert—

"When the Sanitary Authority have disinfected any house, part of a house, or article under the provisions of this section they shall compensate the master or owner of such house, or part of a house, or the owner of such article, for any unnecessary damage thereby caused to such house, part of a house, or article; and when the authority destroy any article under this section they shall compensate the owner thereof; and the amount of any such compensation shall be recoverable in a Petty Sessional Court."

the next Amendment, amended, and agreed to.

Amendments, as far as the Amendment in page 37, line 41, inclusive, agreed to.

A Consequential Amendment made to the Bill.

Amendments, as far as the Amendment in page 39, line 13, agreed to.

Page 39, line 13, leave out from "any," to the end of the Clause, and insert—

"Dangerous infectious disease, or for a person suffering from any such disease to enter any public conveyance, and if he does so he shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ten pounds; and if any person so suffering is conveyed in any public conveyance, the owner and driver thereof, as soon as it comes to his knowledge, shall cause such conveyance to be disinfected, and if he fails so to do he shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds, and the owner or driver of such conveyance shall be entitled to recover in a summary manner from the person so conveyed by him, or from the person causing that person to be so conveyed, a sum sufficient to cover any loss and expense incurred by him in connection with such disinfection,"

the next Amendment, amended, and agreed to.

Amendments as far as Amendment, page 42, after Clause 76, insert Clause C., agreed to.

Page 42, after Clause 76, to insert the following Clause C.:—

(Recovery of cost of maintenance of non-infectious patient in hospital. 42 & 43 Vict. c. 54, s. 15. [Of 38 & 39, Vict. c. 33, s. 12.] )

"C. Any expenses incurred by a sanitary authority in maintaining in a hospital (whether or not belonging to that authority) a patient who is not a pauper, and is not suffering from a dangerous infectious disease, shall be a simple contract debt due to the sanitary authority from that patient, or from any person liable by law to maintain him, but proceedings for its recovery shall not be commenced after the expiration of six months from the discharge of the patient, or if he dies in such hospital from the date of his death,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

(11.45.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman proposes to agree with this Amendment. It really raises again a question which was thoroughly discussed upstairs and in the House, and on both occasions a most decisive opinion against the clause was arrived at. There was no point upon which we were more unanimous than that in the public interest it is necessary, so far as it is possible, to isolate in hospitals persons suffering from infectious diseases.

\*MR. RITCHIE: That is what the clause does.

MR. PICKERSGILL: Yes; but the difficulty is to get people into the hospitals, and this clause provides that a person shall be liable (or his representative) for maintenance. But the right hon. Gentleman will say, "Not if the patient is suffering from an infectious disease." Then the clause is unsatisfactory, for a reason he has himself given. As a matter of fact, a Sanitary Authority does only establish a hospital for infectious diseases, so there is no necessity for the clause, and it may have a mischievous effect, raising an element of uncertainty as to whether the person maintained in the hospital was really suffering from an infectious disease. I hope, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman will omit the clause.

\*(11.47.) MR. RITCHIE: No, I cannot do that. When this point was raised before there was a general assent, and I think a special assent on the part of the hon. Gentleman, to the proposition that cases of infectious disease should be removed to the hospital. There is no reason for the clause so long as hospitals for infectious diseases are alone provided by the Sanitary Authority; but the time may come when the Sanitary Authority may find it expedient to provide hospitals for the inhabitants of the district for other than infectious diseases, and then the payment for the maintenance of the patient will be only reasonable.

Amendment agreed to, as amended.

Amendments as far as page 56, line 34, agreed to.

Page 56, line 34, after "only," insert "and—

"(d.) A sanitary inspector appointed after the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five shall be holder of a certificate either of the Sanitary Institute or of such other body as the Local Government Board may from time to time approve, that he has by examination shown himself competent for such office, or shall have been; during three consecutive years preceding the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, a sanitary inspector or inspector of nuisances of a district in London, or of an urban sanitary district out of London containing according to the last published census a population of not less than twenty thousand inhabitants,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

Amendment proposed to the Lords' Amendment, to leave out the words "either of the sanitary institute or."—  
(Mr. Ritchie.)

Amendment agreed to.

(11.57.) MR. KELLY: The House will now see that the Sanitary Inspector is to be the holder of a certificate from such a body as the Local Government Board may approve. The Amendment which has been moved leaves matters precisely where they are, because nobody, I believe, can get a certificate except through the Sanitary Institute; and this body, it seems to me, is merely an association of faddists and amateurs. There is a Council, but it cannot be pretended that the Council understand all the details of sanitary work and inspection. There are alternate requirements for the appointment of Inspector. He must have been engaged for three years either as an Inspector in London, or in an urban district of 20,000 inhabitants. But why this limitation? Why is a Sanitary Authority to be deprived of the service of an efficient practical man because his qualifications do not comply with these conditions? There may be a most efficient man in a small town, or an inefficient man in a larger town. Why should the Local Authority be so hampered in their choice?

\*SIR W. GUYER HUNTER (Hackney, Central): I must say I am amazed at the speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, who has had the audacity to call members of the Council of the Sanitary Institute "amateurs and faddists." I would inform him that the Council of the Sanitary Institute is composed of some of the leading sanitarians of the country. When I mention the name of Sir Douglas Galton as the Chairman of that Council, I think I say enough to show that this body, instead of being a body of faddists and amateurs, is one of the most eminent Sanitary Authorities in the world. To show how popular it is, I need only say that 307 candidates have applied in one year for the certificate of the Institute; and that 22 of the Sanitary Authorities of the Metropolis, and 54 of the provincial Sanitary Authorities, insist on their Inspectors having the certificate of the Institute. This is going on increasing every year. And I would call the attention of the hon. Member who preceded me to the fact that the Sanitary Authority of Camberwell, his own constituency, have decided that their Inspector shall hold the certificate of the Institute.

MR. KELLY: That Inspector until recently was a messenger in the City.

\*(12.5.) SIR W. GUYER HUNTER: All the more reason why these certificates should be required. We do not want messengers as Sanitary Inspectors. But I do not want to say more. I have, I think, said quite enough to show the absurdity of the position of the hon. Member for Camberwell.

MR. STEPHENS (Middlesex, Hornsey): The hon. Member for Hackney may be right that the Sanitary Institute is not an association of amateurs and faddists; but he cannot deny that it is a private venture society, and that it would not be fitting for us to endow it in the way proposed. This clause is to be objected to on many grounds, especially because, after 1895, you will shut out from qualification for the post of Sanitary Inspector the persons experienced in the work of sanitation in our large towns—and it must be remembered that experience earned in towns of over 25,000 inhabitants is of no common order, while, on the other hand, qualification by education is very doubtful and insufficient. No proper facilities exist for teaching sanitation, nor is there at present any body for examining. Therefore, I think the clause should stand as it is.

\*MR. T. H. BOLTON: I think the House should hesitate before passing this clause, because it creates a strict monopoly with reference to an existing occupation. It gives a monopoly to existing sanitary officers, and provides that all future sanitary officers shall pass an examination before some body not at present constituted. It places these occupations entirely in the hands of the Local Government Board. The Local Government Board may authorise the Sanitary Institute to hold these examinations, or may authorise some other body. It seems to me that to pass in this general Act of Parliament a clause creating this monopoly would be a very hasty proceeding. I yield to no man in this House in my desire to see capable and efficient men discharging this duty. I do not think the Vestry of Camberwell have displayed very much judgment in selecting a man for this position of Sanitary Inspector, who, from his antecedents, would probably not be the most suitable person to discharge the duties, but it would be rather hard

because one Vestry may have chosen a man with unsuitable antecedents to jump to the extreme of creating a monopoly in reference to this occupation. It is true that the clause says that this stipulation shall not come into force until the year 1895, but the clause refers back three years, so that after the expiration of a year from now no one will be able in the future to become a Sanitary Inspector unless he has been before 1892 discharging such duties or passes an examination before some body to be appointed by the Local Government Board. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board has in his mind the creation of any particular examining and certifying body. If he has not, I presume he will hand over these examinations to the Sanitary Institute. Well, I have great respect for the Sanitary Institute. I believe it is a very important body, but before conferring on it virtually a charter and monopoly—the power of creating an exclusive occupation of this kind—I think we should make some inquiries and give the matter very serious consideration. If we are to create a new monopoly of occupation, I think we should very carefully consider the examining body and the subjects in which the persons are to be examined, the fees to be charged for the examination, and the certificates which are to be given, and we should lay down the full conditions of the employment. I do not rise for the purpose of objecting to sanitary officers being examined, but I do object to a clause being put in this Bill (a general Public Health Bill) which has the indirect effect of giving a monopoly of employment to the Sanitary Institute, or any other body that the Local Government Board chooses to create. I venture to say that this clause should not be accepted, and that the subject it deals with should be reserved for a separate Act of Parliament.

MR. WEBSTER: I would point out that a clause very similar to this was carefully considered by the Committee upstairs and was rejected, on the ground that it would limit Local Authorities in their choice of Inspectors. I should also like to ask this—no doubt the Sanitary Institute is an im-

*Mr. T. H. Bolton*

portant body, and many of the individuals examined by it are useful sanitary officers, but is not the Institute a self-elected body? I think we should err if we were to give to such a body authority to appoint the Sanitary Inspectors throughout the whole of the Metropolis.

(12.20.) DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): So far as I can follow most hon. Members who have spoken, there is nothing to be said against the Sanitary Institute. I think the more we endeavour to safeguard the health of the public by paying attention to sanitation the better; and if you have a Sanitary Institute, why not avail yourself of its services? The name of the hon. Member for Hackney (Sir Guyer Hunter) in association with the Sanitary Institute is a sufficient guarantee of the importance of that Institution, though the hon. Member does sit on the other side of the House. Nothing that has been said in my estimation undermines the Institute; accordingly, I think this proposal a very reasonable one.

MR. F. S. POWELL: I would point out that the principle of this proposal has already been adopted in several local Acts. As to the experience of two years it is only in precise harmony with a clause passed in the Local Government Act of 1888.

Amendment agreed to.

Lords' Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Further Lords' Amendments agreed to.

Page 61, line 24, leave out Sub-section (3) and insert—

"(3.) Where some only of the persons by whose act or default any nuisance has been caused have been proceeded against under this Act, they shall be entitled to recover in a summary manner from the other persons who were not proceeded against a proportionate part of the costs of and incidental to such proceedings and abating such nuisance, and of any fine and costs ordered to be paid by the court in such proceedings,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

(12.22.) MR. PICKERSGILL: At this hour of the night I will not divide against this Amendment, but I must say it appears to me to be of a very objectionable character. The Amendment in the most light-hearted way runs a

tilt directly against what I may call the very remarkable legal doctrine that contribution cannot be claimed between wrong doers. Suppose in the case of two owners of insanitary property one is prosecuted and fined, you allow him, although he may be the more guilty of the two, to use the medium of a Court of Law to obtain a contribution from the other wrongdoer. That, I think, is a scandalous innovation in the common law doctrine that contribution cannot be claimed between two wrongdoers. There is a second alteration in the Amendment, which gives power to recover the contribution in a summary way. I think that is objectionable, because its effect will be to throw a large amount of difficult and delicate business on the already overburdened shoulders of the Metropolitan Police Magistrates. I think that is a matter to which the attention of the Home Secretary might very well be called.

\*(12.25.) MR. RITCHIE: There are many cases in which the party proceeded against is really the least guilty—has, in fact, only the most remote liability—and I think it hard to say that under no circumstances shall the real offender be proceeded against for at least some portion of the damage or loss suffered.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I admit the reasonableness of the case put by the right hon. Gentleman, but my objection is to the sweeping nature of the Amendment.

Question put, and agreed to.

Subsequent Lords' Amendments agreed to.

#### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL. (No. 435.)

Reasons for disagreeing to Lords' Amendments reported, and agreed to; to be communicated to the Lords.

#### FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS BILL.—(No. 433.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### CLERGY DISCIPLINE (IMMORALITY) BILL [LORDS].—(No. 293.)

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment to Second Reading [29th July], read.

\*(12.29.) MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): I wish that the Government had had sufficient determination to press the Bill to a Second Reading. It would have been carried almost without objection, because the opposition comes from a few hon. Members who I can scarcely believe would have ventured to vote against it. The Bill raises no points of religious controversy, but merely deals with questions of morality and decency. I do not believe that the Nonconformists as a body oppose such a Bill, and I hope that the Government will introduce it again at the beginning of next Session. I very much regret that another six months will have to elapse without a Bill of this kind being passed. I do not believe it is opposed by any considerable section of Nonconformists. Indeed, I think the opposition to the Bill is fragmentary and infinitesimal; it is a slur and a slander on Nonconformists to say that they refuse to give the Church of England this reasonable and moderate protection against a small but very obnoxious class of offenders in its ranks. In the name of religion, in the name of the clergy, and in the name of all who desire the protection of the Church, and I may add the whole community, from indecency and immorality of this kind, I earnestly protest against the withdrawal of this Bill.

(12.32.) MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I am afraid that the Government, out of deference to the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, postponed this Bill so often that at last it became an impossibility to pass it. I look upon the loss of the first four clauses of this Bill as little short of a national misfortune. Nonconformist ministers, like the clergy, agree that immorality on the part of a clergyman is a blow against religion and against their faith, and a more cruel slander upon them was never uttered than when the hon. Member for Glamorganshire declared that they wished to maintain immorality in the Church of England as a lever for the Disestablishment movement. In conclusion, I ask the Government for the fullest and amplest pledge that the measure will again be brought forward early next Session and passed, whatever sacrifices may be necessary.

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I can assure my hon. Friends behind me that the Government regret extremely that they have not been able to carry this Bill. But all who are acquainted with the ways of the House must know that at the end of the Session it would be impossible to carry it in face of the opposition of a few gentlemen, chiefly from Wales. It is a matter of astonishment that they, in the face of the general feeling with regard to this Bill, should have thought it worth while to oppose the first four clauses, which commend themselves to everyone who is in favour of decency and morality among the ministers of the Church. I trust that nothing will be lost by the postponement of this measure, and that nothing will occur in the next few months to make us regret that the measure has not been passed. I can assure my hon. Friends that it is certainly the intention of the Government to give effect next Session to the general policy of the Bill.

(12.35.) DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have sought an opportunity of attacking the hon. Member for Glamorganshire at a time when he was present, and not have tried to make capital out of this business by stabbing him in the back. Hon. Members for Wales thought it their duty to oppose the Bill because it was introduced in favour of what they consider to be an alien Church. I think the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman in stabbing them in the back is unmanly and unworthy the leader of the House.

Order discharged; Bill withdrawn.

### MOTION.

#### POST OFFICE MAIL CONTRACT (BELFAST AND FLEETWOOD MAILS).

\*THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I have to move—

"That the Contract with the North Lancashire Steam Navigation Company, dated the 28th day of January, 1891, for the conveyance of Mails between Belfast and Fleetwood, be approved."

The period of the contract is three years from July 1, 1889, and the rate of pay-

ment is £1,000 per annum. The service has been going on for some years.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Then the contract expires in July, 1892?

\*MR. JACKSON: Yes, Sir; but it will be continued after that date.

Resolved, That the Contract with the North Lancashire Steam Navigation Company, dated the 28th day of January, 1891, for the conveyance of Mails between Belfast and Fleetwood, be approved.—(Mr. Jackson.)

#### STATUTE LAW REVISION BILL [Lords]. (No. 433.)

As amended, considered; Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

#### LOCAL BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 151.)

Order for Committee read.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I am sorry to have to move the withdrawal of this Order, but the Attorney General's Amendments are such that the Belfast Chamber of Commerce would prefer to see the Bill dropped rather than accept them.

Order discharged; Bill withdrawn.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(Mr. Jackson.)

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to take this opportunity of pointing out to the right hon. Gentleman who happens to be the leader of the House, in the lamented absence of the First Lord of the Treasury, that a small Bill of great importance to the labourers of Ireland has been blocked and prevented passing into law; while the Government, by picking and choosing from among the private Members' Bills, have secured the passage of measures promoted by their own supporters. I must protest.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

The House was adjourned at a quarter before One of the clock till to-morrow.

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Tuesday, 4th August, 1891.*

## APPEAL COMMITTEE.

Fourth Report from ; read, and agreed to.

## REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR IRELAND.

Writs and Returns electing the Lord Carberry a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the late Earl of Clonmell, deceased, with the Certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto: Delivered (on oath), and Certificate read.

STATUTE LAW REVISION BILL [H.L.]  
(No. 77.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments considered (on Motion) and agreed to.

FOREIGN MARRIAGES BILL.  
(No. 282.)

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL [H.L.]  
(No. 37.)

## SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, through the research of the noble Lord the Secretary for Scotland it was discovered that "months" meant lunar months, and consequently 13 days are saved which had to elapse before this Bill could have been read a second time. I will state to your Lordships that on the 17th February I very nearly fainted, and I thought I should have fainted. I had been advised by two medical men not to exert myself, and it was, consequently, at very great risk that I came up here. I can only say, without any desire to

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appropriate credit to myself, that I have conscientiously brought forward this measure. If I had died in the course of time after my first bringing in the Bill my wife would have had no vote. The Duchess of Granville, the Duchess of Roxburgh, and the Duchess of Buckingham have also been in the same position, though their servants have all votes. Your Lordships, I really believe, would not regret it if you set a good example to the other House of Parliament, and allow this Bill to be read a second time. With regard to the conduct of a Bill not beginning in your Lordships' House, it really does show a great want of knowledge of the Constitution for anyone to advance that such a scruple should prevail in this House. A Bill was brought in by an ancestor of the Duke of Devonshire at a most critical time when Parties were really violently opposed to each other; and even now I believe that if this Bill were passed it would tend to the promotion of goodwill and good counsels, which are sure to be followed by those, whether they be strikers who almost ruin themselves, or whoever they may be, who have sensible women around them to give them advice at the right time. I beg to move that this Bill be now read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Lord Denman*.)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I am afraid I am not able to say "Content" to this Motion any more than I was six months ago, but the question is not one I should wish to argue in this House at the present moment.

On Question, resolved in the negative.

SCHOOLS FOR SCIENCE AND ART  
BILL [H.L.]—(No. 290.)

Commons Amendments considered (according to order), and agreed to.

## MARKETS AND FAIRS (WEIGHING OF CATTLE) BILL.—(No. 243.)

Commons Amendments and consequential Amendment considered (according to order), and agreed to.

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## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

(No. 291.)

Commons Amendment to Lords Amendments, and Commons reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords Amendments, considered (according to order).

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK): My Lords, the first Amendment is on page 3, line 9, as to inquiries to be made under Section 9 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870. The Commons have disagreed to the Amendment made in this House, because a public inquiry in a School Board district might cause unnecessary delay in providing free school accommodation. To this we propose to assent.

Commons Amendment agreed to.

A further Amendment of the Commons agreed to.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: The next Amendment arises from the circumstance that in the House of Commons an objection was made that the Amendments proposed by this House in the new clause with regard to grouping schools, after Clause 5, infringed the privileges of the House of Commons; and the Speaker held that, inasmuch as it might in contingent cases lead to an increase in the public charges, it was in contravention of those privileges. If I may say so, with great respect to the Speaker, that seems to me to be a decision with regard to this House which would preclude its dealing with many matters in which, upon some contingency, a slight charge might be added to those thrown on the Public Revenue, not being a direct interference with the application of the Public Revenue. At the same time, we are anxious in every way to meet the decision which the Speaker has expressed. Therefore, with the permission of your Lordships, I have to a certain extent to vary the Amendment which is placed in my name on the Paper, inasmuch as I find it does not altogether meet the point which the Speaker thought objectionable in the other House. What I propose would read so that no addition to the charge on the Public Revenue may result from the course taken under the section in

conjunction with Section 19 of the Elementary Education Act. One other alteration will also be necessary, inasmuch as in the House of Commons they struck out the words "not being schools provided by a School Board," and therefore "schools" now would come under the clause. It would be necessary to put in this order that the voluntary schools may not partake, by providing that no Board school shall, under this section, be associated with a public elementary school other than a Board school. I hope the House will assent to this, which, in substance, is the same, though it is put in a different form to meet the decision of the Speaker.

Lords Amendment.

After Clause 5, to insert Clause (A.) (Clause 7 in Bill 257).

"(1.) Where the managers of two or more public elementary schools in the same or neighbouring school districts, not being schools provided by a school board, agree to associate, and elect a committee for the schools in accordance with a scheme to be approved by the Education Department, the schools may be treated as one school for such of the purposes of the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1891, as may be mentioned in the scheme, and the committee may for such purposes be treated as the managers of the associated schools.

(2.) Where two or more public elementary schools are under the same managers, the said schools shall, if the managers so desire, be deemed for the purposes of this Act to be one school."

The Commons disagree to Clause A inserted by the Lords, for the following Reason:—

"Because the clause might have the effect of increasing the Parliamentary grant, at present permitted by law, to certain of the schools associated under the provisions of the clause, and thus create a further charge upon the revenue. The Commons do not deem it necessary to offer any further Reason, hoping the above may be sufficient."

Amendment moved thereupon:

In lieu of Clause (A), to which the Commons have disagreed (and on which it will be moved that the Lords do not insist), to insert the following clause:—

"(1.) Where the managers of two or more public elementary schools in the same or neighbouring school districts agree to associate and elect a committee for the schools, any surplus income on the accounts for the school year of any of the associated schools may be paid into a common fund, out of which contributions may be made to

any of the other associated schools, but the contributions received by any such school shall not be counted as income from other sources for the purpose of Section 19 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, so that no addition to the public charge may result from this section taken in conjunction with the said Section 19. Provided that no Board School shall, under this section, be associated with any public elementary school other than a Board School."—(*The Viscount Cranbrook.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, with reference to this Motion I have to say it appears to me the claim set up in the Reasons sent by the House of Commons is an excessive claim, and much in advance of any that has been made before, and I do not think the decision of the Speaker is tenable. We do not assign to the officer who presides over us the duty of watching over our own privileges, and therefore it falls to me to make a suggestion to the House on the subject. I think, in assenting to this Amendment, we ought to indicate that, though we do so for the sake of the Bill being passed, we cannot consent to the doctrine stated in the Reasons sent up by the House of Commons being made a precedent hereafter, that anything which may indirectly lead to an increase in the public charge is outside the competence of this House. I therefore beg to move—

"That this House, in agreeing to the said Amendment, makes no admission in respect of any deduction which may be made from the reasons offered by the House of Commons, and does not consent that the said reasons should hereafter be drawn into a precedent."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, the matter is one of considerable nicety, and I am not myself sufficiently acquainted with the exact procedure of the House to be able to offer an opinion upon what the noble Marquess has proposed; but I cordially agree with him in saying that I have no doubt he has ascertained that this would be going further than has heretofore been necessary in the practice of Parliament, and that it is necessary this should be done to guard the privileges of the House as stated by the noble Marquess. I wish to say a word on the Amendment itself. I understand the effect of it will be to provide that while the schools may pay whatever surplus they have into a

Common Fund, and may use it for the purposes of the associated schools, any sum which is so derived in excess of what they would have if they were separate schools shall not rank towards the calculation of the amount to be given by the Privy Council Office. If that be so, the result is that it meets the difficulty raised that otherwise we should be adding to the taxation of the country.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: That is so; I believe this will meet it altogether. There has been a difficulty felt in the matter, because if anything was paid in advance it might have the effect to which the noble Lord has alluded with regard to the money having reached the schools in the first instance. It is quite obvious that that objection is now obviated, and I move that this House do not insist upon its Amendment of Clause A, and in lieu thereof to insert the Clause I have read.

Commons Amendment agreed to.

Moved to resolve—

"That this House, in making the said Amendment, makes no admission with respect to any deduction that may be made from the reasons offered by the House of Commons, and does not consent that the said reasons should be hereafter drawn into a precedent."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Motion agreed to.

Bill returned to the Commons.

#### PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL. (No. 292.)

Commons Amendments to the Amendments last made by the Lords considered (according to order).

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (*Earl CADOGAN*): My Lords, I had hoped it would not be necessary for me to trouble your Lordships with further Amendments on the subject of this Bill; but the Amendment which has now come up to this House is one which is made upon a clause that I had the honour to introduce when the Bill was last before the House, and therefore I think it my duty to call your Lordships' attention to the action which has been taken in another place. Clause 26 in the original Bill was a clause enabling the Land

Commission to place themselves in possession for the purposes of sale. It was thought undesirable that the Land Commission should thus be placed in the position of judges in their own cause; and in this House a provision was inserted in the shape of a new clause, which I moved, enabling them to apply to a County Court for an order to be put into possession. It has been found, however, that there would be some inconvenience in this arrangement, and I now beg to ask your Lordships to agree to a further Amendment to that Amendment. The clause as sent to the Commons applied to all sales by the Land Commission, whether for the purpose of recovering arrears of annuities or of enforcing forfeitures for breach of conditions. As amended, it only applies to the former case, the main object being to strengthen the hands of the Land Commission in the event of a general strike against the payment of annuities. The Amendment was accepted by the Government in another place, the existing law being considered adequate to meet the case of sale on forfeiture. The other Amendment provides with regard to possession not being taken by order of a County Court in any case. Reference to the County Court in cases of small holdings was proposed in the interest of the tenant purchasers; but as the Commons objected to it, and as it did not affect the powers of the Land Commission, it was accepted by the Government. Other additions to the clause give a right to appeal, as to which there can be no objection, and confer upon the tenant purchaser, on paying the amount due to the Land Commission, with costs, within a certain time, power to prevent the execution of the order. This provision has been considered advantageous both to the Land Commission and to the tenant purchaser. The clause, both in its original and in its amended form, deals exclusively with the relations between the Land Commission and the purchasing tenants, and does not in any way affect landlords.

Moved, "That this House doth agree to the Commons' Amendments."—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

Motion agreed to.

*Earl Cadogan*

# CONVEYANCING AND LAW OF PROPERTY ACT, 1881, AMENDMENT BILL.

(No. 293.)

## SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, this is a Bill which has several very useful provisions for further relieving leasees of houses from the consequences of breaches of covenants, that is to say, relieving them from the forfeiture which they would otherwise incur. The law has provided that relief in a great number of cases, and this Bill is to make the law more complete in that respect. It seems to me a very useful Bill, and therefore I beg to move the Second Reading. I understand the Lord Chancellor has certain Amendments, to which I have no objection, but that otherwise he does not object to the passing of this Bill.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order); then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) House in Committee.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, in Clause 2 I move to omit Sub-section 3. In the Conveyancing and Law of Property Act, 1881, there are certain reliefs given on equitable grounds which are considered to be proper to be granted in several cases; but for good reasons, as it appears to me, the authors of that Act struck out from those cases where relief might be given a condition for forfeiture on bankruptcy of the lessee, or on taking in execution of the lessee's interest. I think they were justified in making those exceptions. This Bill, as originally framed, sought to apply that Act to those two contingencies. I think that is a very undesirable thing to do; and therefore I move to omit this sub-section.

Amendment moved, in Clause 2, page 2, line 7, to leave out Sub-section 3.—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I had no notice of this Bill, and I had not seen it before. It is a very wide and strong measure, and affects the rights of landlords all over the country,

affecting them, it seems to me, to some extent injuriously. It is laid down in Clause 3—

“In all leases containing a covenant, condition, or agreement against assigning, underletting, or parting with the possession, or disposing of the land or property leased without licence or consent, such covenant, condition, or agreement shall be deemed to be subject to a proviso to the effect that such licence or consent shall not be unreasonably withheld.”

That means to say that no man may prevent the underletting of his tenement, but he is obliged to go to a Court of Law to know whether it is reasonable or not. This is a very large borrowing from Irish legislation; and as, on what I understand is the penultimate day of the Session, there is no time for considering the Bill, this is a matter which I find it impossible to assent to. I must say that I think the Conveyancing and Law of Property Act itself was a very doubtful bit of legislation. It has been held to be the duty of landlords—I do not complain of that duty—to see that their houses are properly inhabited—that is to say, that they are not used for purposes which are against public policy, public morals, or public law; but the simple way of forcing landlords to fulfil that duty was to enable them to eject tenants for breach of covenant in those matters. Yet the law is to take away that power from the landlord, although public opinion claims from him that he shall effect that result which this power was his sole means of carrying out. It is a very difficult and thorny subject. I do not at all preclude myself from legislating upon it after full consideration, but it seems to me much too grave a subject, and to involve principles much too wide for your Lordships to consent to this measure under these circumstances, rushing it through on what is practically the last day of the Session.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I must say in my own defence that I am not responsible for the Bill coming up so late. I consulted on the matter with my noble and learned Friend, who is far better acquainted with matters of law than I, and he thought that, on the whole, it was a useful Bill. Under those circumstances, I thought myself justified in placing the Bill before your Lordships, but, of course, the noble Marquess at the

head of the Government has it in his power to stop the Bill. There can, I think, be no doubt that the Bill deals with matters of great hardship at the present moment. There is no doubt that many cases arise out of breach of covenant which involve great hardship upon under-lessees, and it seems to me that the law should be carried much further than it is at present. There is an extremely useful clause in the Bill protecting the interests of under-lessees. Under-lessees now frequently suffer from a breach of covenant by the immediate lessee from the original lessor, and the Courts have endeavoured to relieve them from those consequences. This Bill would have gone a considerable way to improve the position of under-lessees. I think, as a matter of justice, an under-lessee should not suffer from the laches of the lessee who holds from the original lessor. Of course, if the noble Marquess objects to the Bill at this stage of the proceedings, it is in his power to stop it. I ought to add this: of course I do not contend that in the case of a Bill coming up so late as this does the Government is bound by what took place in the other House, but I understand it was approved of there after full discussion upon these grievances.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am not denying the existence of grievances in connection with this subject; no doubt such exist, and they ought to be remedied. I only say that it requires consideration. I think it was Sir W. Harcourt who stated that we have “ceased to be a deliberative Assembly.” I hope at least we shall remain a deliberate Assembly, and that we shall not, at all events, rush into this legislation without considering what we do. Some of these clauses have a disagreeable aspect which I do not wish to introduce into this discussion.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, I only wish to explain what my view is upon this Bill. When I saw it, there was pointed out what to my mind was an insurmountable objection, and that I still maintain. I am, of course, not out of sympathy with what my noble Friend has said, but I think I may state what provisions in the Bill might be useful and might be safely passed, notwithstanding Section 3 to

which the noble Marquess has adverted. Practically, I may say this: I found that the operation of Sub-section 3 excepted from the Bill agricultural land, to which the Irish Office added pastoral land; mines or minerals; a house used, or intended to be used, as a public house or beershop; a house let as a dwelling house, with the use of any furniture, library, works of art, or other chattels not being in the nature of fixtures; any property with respect to which the personal qualifications of the tenant are of importance for the preservation of the value or character of the property. I am bound to say that with all those safeguards it did seem to me that, as far as my sight was concerned, I was not able to discern much danger in the passing of the measure. But I have no particular fancy for it, and if the noble Marquess at the head of the Government does not like it I shall not oppose him.

Moved to report Progress. — (*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Motion agreed to.

House resumed.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 294.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD DE ROS: I venture to ask your Lordships to give a Second Reading to this Bill. I confess that I regret it did not come up to your Lordships' House a little earlier in the Session, when more Irish Peers would have been here to discuss its merits. I may say it passed through another place without any opposition being offered to it, and that the Amendments made by the Government were accepted. The object of the Bill is not to enlarge the powers of Boards of Guardians, but merely to remedy the grievance resulting from their inaction, particularly in the Province of Ulster, in reference to the Labourers' Acts. The operative clauses are strictly controlled by the Local Government Board; and I think, the tenant farmers having received so much lately from legislation in their favour, something should be done for the labourers; the labourers are naturally desirous that

*Lord Halsbury*

something should be done for them, and they feel that they have been left out in the cold. These clauses, I think, speak for themselves. The operation of the Labourers' Acts in Ulster is almost a dead letter, on account of the difficulty of getting 12 labourers to initiate the proceedings. Clause 3, therefore, provides for this being done by not less than 12 persons, but they need not be ratepayers. Then the 4th clause is on account of the Boards of Guardians having repeatedly rejected representations made to them, a course which has caused great agitation. The 5th clause is necessary, simply because of the fact that although the powers of the Land Commission are in operation there is no one capable of enforcing those clauses; but this enables the Local Government Board to enforce them. The other clauses I do not think I need comment upon, except the 6th clause. That is to save the expense caused by technical errors in carrying through any improvement scheme. The 8th clause gives discretion to the Local Government Board in cases of wilful neglect by Boards of Guardians. I may say that the last clause has been struck out on the representation being made that it was a money clause. I hope your Lordships will give this Bill a Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Lord de Ros.*)

\*THE EARL OF ARRAN: My Lords, I rise according to notice to ask your Lordships to read this Bill a second time this day three months. I will say at once that I am in considerable sympathy with the objects of the Bill, but it seems to me sufficient time has not been given for its proper consideration. The Bill only passed the other House late on Friday; it came up to your Lordships' House yesterday, and it cannot possibly have been in the hands of noble Lords who do not happen to be in London to-day, as it was only printed in time to be put on your Lordships' Table this afternoon. I believe there is considerable difference of opinion as to how the Bill will work in the South and West of Ireland, and therefore I think it is hardly reasonable to ask your Lordships to pass the Bill through all its stages this evening.

Amendment moved, to leave out ("now") and insert ("this day three months.") — (The Lord Sudley [*E. Arran*].)

EARL WEMYSS: My Lords, there is one point which ought to be noticed in this Bill. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) has pointed out a dangerous principle in a former Bill, and I think attention should be called to a very dangerous principle here. I do not enter at all now upon the question of policy involved in providing houses for people, whether labourers or others, out of the rates; but hitherto the ratepayer has had this protection, as I gather from what the noble Lord (Lord de Ros) has said in introducing the Bill, that it has required the consent of the ratepayers before these Acts can be invoked. If the ratepayers put the Act in motion, then it may come into operation; but this Bill does away with that, for the 3rd clause says—

"Notwithstanding anything contained in the fifth section of the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883, a representation in pursuance of the said Acts shall mean a representation signed by not less than twelve persons, whether rated for the relief of the poor within the sanitary district or not."

Now that, it seems to me, is a very marked step in advance, and an absolute departure from the security which the ratepayers had under the former Act. I certainly do not think the House ought to depart from such a principle too hastily.

EARL CADOGAN: My Lords, the Government have no actual connection with this Bill beyond the fact that they allowed it to pass through the other House of Parliament, and that some verbal Amendments were made in it by the Attorney General for Ireland. The noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Earl Wemyss) has alluded to what in my mind is the main point of the whole Bill, namely, that it adds to the number of those who were previously able to initiate proceedings, in whom lay the power of calling the Act into operation, that is to say, the ratepayers; but my noble Friend, I think, put it rather too strongly. It merely gives them power to join in the representation, and they have no further power in the matter; as proposed by the Bill they have no power

of decision. But I confess I feel some difficulty in reference to the course that has been taken, and by the Motion of the noble Lord (the Earl of Arran). I must leave it to the House to say whether they will accept the Bill or not. As far as the Government are concerned, they consider the Bill is certainly harmless in its objects, and that its passing might be advantageous.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: It seems to me, my Lords, that rather different treatment has been meted out to this measure than to the last. I am not going to argue against this Bill, except on the ground which has been already put by the noble Marquess, namely, that we ought not to pass a Bill without examining it. It may be an excellent Bill, but I certainly have not had an opportunity of examining it more than I had in the case of the other Bill. With regard to the acquiescence which it received from the Government in the other House, I had that plea in my favour with regard to the other Bill. At the same time, the Bill does not seem to be one of a very serious character, and though I feel the force of the objection to passing Bills hurriedly at this period of the Session, and that it is an objection not lightly to be put aside, I hope the noble Lord will act with some magnanimity in not dividing the House, because if the House is divided now the Bill will be assuredly lost.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I can only say the maxim *de minimis non curat lex* may be applied here. It is a very small Bill indeed.

On Question whether ("now") shall stand part of the Motion, resolved in the affirmative: Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly: Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

#### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.

(No. 296.)

Commons Amendment to the Lords Amendments and Reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords Amendments, considered (according to order).

LORD DE RAMSEY: My Lords, the first Amendment is not an important one, and I would ask your Lordships not to insist upon your Amendment.

Commons' Amendment agreed to.

LORD DE RAMSEY: The next is a clause which was inserted in your Lordships' House in regard to the supervision of Sanitary Inspectors, and the Commons have disagreed to it. It was not in the original Government Bill, and I have to ask your Lordships not to insist upon its insertion.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I desire on this clause, though I know of course that it is unavailing, to enter a strong protest against the course that has been taken. This, it seems to me, would have been a very useful clause indeed, as introduced into the Bill in this House. It is a clause which would have enabled the County Councils to superintend the Sanitary Inspectors in the performance of their duties with regard to workshops. I understand the objection taken to the clause is that the owners of the workshops would be harried by having another set of Inspectors, and that it is quite sufficient to provide for inspection by the Sanitary Inspector; and, further—which undoubtedly is a fair argument—that there is a power in the Home Secretary, in case he is dissatisfied with the action of the Sanitary Inspectors, to send a Government Inspector to enforce the provisions of the Act, and see that they do their duty. What I wish to point out is this: I do not think the action of the Home Office would be nearly so efficient in these matters as would be the action of the County Council, and for this reason: that the County Council through their medical officer would be able to keep a watch upon these Sanitary Inspectors in the performance of their duties at all times, whereas the Home Secretary will only be able to act in case he hears, which he may not often do, that the Sanitary Inspectors are not doing their duty. For myself, I think the Home Office have a most undue amount of confidence in these Sanitary Inspectors; they seem to me to have, so to speak, "Sanitary Inspectors upon the brain." That must beso, when we see that they have provided in this Bill that the Sanitary Inspectors are to do certain duties, and apparently suppose that it follows they will perform those duties. I have frequently observed that though it is extremely easy to pass Bills for such purposes, it is much more difficult to get those Bills, when they become Acts, carried into effect; and my

belief is that the provisions made with regard to workshops in this Bill will fail of their effect, and from a very simple cause. In the first place, the Sanitary Inspectors throughout the country, as a rule, are not men of high position, and greatly to be trusted in these matters; but what is of far more consequence, there is a much more serious objection, which has been frequently urged in the course of the discussions upon this Bill, namely, that these Sanitary Inspectors are appointed by bodies which, to a considerable extent, consist of persons who are directly interested in the abuses which the Sanitary Inspectors are to prevent. I am certain that those who know the working of the law in this respect will know that there have been innumerable cases in which the Sanitary Inspectors have failed to do their duty, because they are in fear of those under whom they act. To that extent I think this will prove an unsatisfactory provision in the Bill. I cannot imagine any real sound objection which there could be to placing this power in the hands of the County Councils. They are empowered by the Local Government Acts to appoint medical officers. Those medical officers would, in the performance of their duties, naturally know what are the qualifications of the various Sanitary Inspectors throughout the country, and will be in touch with the various Local Bodies; and though, no doubt, the County Councils are elected by electorates similar to those by whom the Local Bodies are elected, yet it is always a result which is bound to occur where you have a large body extending over a large district. Those who are at a distance are not actuated by the same motives as actuate those who are in the immediate district. It is simply human nature; people are ready enough to deal with nuisances affecting other persons, but they will take extremely lenient views of the nuisances arising on their own property. I merely utter these few words as a protest, and I sincerely trust my vaticinations may prove unfounded; but I have a strong belief that the provisions of this Bill will be found ineffectual, because the power is left in the hands of the Sanitary Inspectors without sufficient control over them.

Commons Amendment agreed to.

The Lords Amendments, to which the Commons have disagreed, not insisted on.

**PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) BILL.**  
(No. 297.)

Commons Amendments to Lords Amendments and consequential Amendments considered (according to order.)

**LORD DE RAMSEY:** My Lords, there are a good many Amendments to this Bill, but there are none of importance upon which I need trouble your Lordships with any remarks. Perhaps it will be as well if I move them altogether, and ask your Lordships to assent to them, as they are all really verbal.

**THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY:** I do not think they are all quite verbal. There is one with regard to leaving out the word "dangerous." The Commons Amendment proposes to leave that word out, and I should like to know exactly what the effect of that is.

**LORD DE RAMSEY:** With regard to this matter, it has been suggested that under this clause, as passed by your Lordships, there might be cases where a person who is presumed to be suffering from a dangerous infectious disease, and who in consequence has been removed to a hospital, might be afterwards found not to be suffering from a dangerous and infectious disease within the meaning of the Bill—that is, patients found to be suffering from chicken-pox who were supposed to be suffering from small-pox, or from measles when they are supposed to be suffering from scarlet-fever. It was said that as the clause stood payment might be claimed in those cases, and that that might check the sending of patients to hospitals in such cases. It is therefore proposed to leave out the word "dangerous."

Commons Amendments agreed to.

**MEDICAL OFFICERS IN SCOTLAND.**  
OBSERVATIONS.

**EARL WEMYSS,** in rising to call attention to the action of the Board of Supervision in the matter of the appointment of medical officers under the Local Government Act in connection with the Government grant of £15,000 in aid of local expenditure; also to call attention to the refusal of the same Board to sanction the employment of the police

as Sanitary Inspectors, said: My Lords, my notice is to call attention to two subjects, but your Lordships will be glad to hear that I do not intend to say anything with regard to the second branch of the matter, which is as to the appointment of Police and Sanitary Inspectors. There is a Committee in my own county considering the matter, and I would rather that another meeting of that Committee should take place before the question is brought publicly forward. But the other matter, to which I shall, with permission, call your Lordships' attention, is one of considerable importance to us in Scotland under our Local Government Act. I think I shall show your Lordships that rules have been laid down by the Board of Supervision which, to a great extent, cripple the free-will of those who have to administer the Local Government Act. Your Lordships may wish to know what that Board of Supervision means. It means bureaucracy for Scotland, and it lives at 127, George Street. It has been called the Board of "Super-vision"—I suppose because its vision is superior to that of the noble Marquess and to the purview of the Act which Parliament has passed. Now, the matter to which I wish to direct your Lordships' attention turns upon the provisions of the Local Government Act with reference to the appointment of medical officers. Nothing can be clearer than the provisions of that Act. It affords to Local Authorities and County Councils two courses which they may take. Indeed, there is a third, but I do not touch upon that now farther than to say that the third course is that, without appointing any head medical officer, either for the district or for the county, they may appoint all the present officers county officers, and have no heads at all. My noble Friend's Office admitted last year that that construction was possible under the wording of the Act, but said that it would be contrary to its spirit; therefore, I eliminate that third course. But the other two courses are perfectly clear. They are contained in the 52nd proviso of the Act, Part VIII. It is stated there—

"That the Council of every county shall appoint or pay a medical officer or medical officers, who shall not hold any other appoint-



ment or engage in any private practice or employment without the express written consent of the Council."

Those are the two courses. You may either appoint an officer who is to do nothing else, or you may appoint a medical officer who will continue his private practice. Well, counties have acted in different ways upon this construction. They were perfectly free to take the one course or the other. They may either appoint, as I have said, an officer who has done nothing in his profession, and who will, therefore, have no private practice; or they may appoint an officer who is in private practice, and give him a letter to continue his private practice. As far as the Act is concerned, if there had been nothing else, the counties would have so acted, and you would have heard no more of it—the thing would not have engaged public attention at all; some Councils would have taken one course and some another; but it so happened that there was a small grant of £15,000 to be distributed among the different counties of Scotland. There was an Act passed upon this grant being given, which I believe said it was to be distributed—I have not the exact words, but the sense of it was that this grant was to be distributed among the different County Councils in Scotland according to rules to be laid down by my noble Friend the Secretary for Scotland. Then, soon after this, there came out rules and regulations laid down by this Board of Supervision; and they are contained in this Paper which I hold in my hand. The date of it is the 8th January, and it is addressed to the clerks of the different County Councils. It says—

"I am directed to inform you that the Board have been in correspondence with the Secretary for Scotland as to the conditions under which the grant of £15,000 towards the cost of local inspectors and sanitary inspectors shall be contributed."

What the origin of this Paper is I do not know. We only know that they say they have been in communication with the Secretary for Scotland. Whether the Board was moved by the Secretary for Scotland or the Secretary for Scotland by the Board, or whether both were moved by the College of Physicians in Edinburgh, I cannot say, but there the matter stands. Perhaps if the College of Physicians moved

*Earl Wemyss*

in the matter they may have thought, if they could get these rules passed, there would be a good many places for doctors with nothing to do. But whatever the reason may be for this document which we have before us, the conclusions which the Board have come to are these: One knows that County Councils have appointed duly qualified medical practitioners to be medical officers at an adequate salary. Talking of medical officers' salaries, I would remark that one great object on the part of these bodies seems to be to encourage expenditure. Take this very considerable grant which is to be distributed: is it to be distributed in proportion to population, or to the value of rateable property in the country, or in proportion to efficiency? Not a bit; it is to be distributed in proportion to expenditure. What they calculate is, I think, 8s. in the £1. I say that is a wrong principle for the distribution of this or any other grant to a county, that it is to be in proportion to their expenditure in certain branches. Then it lays down this: that the medical officer for the county shall not be permitted to engage in private practice, and that his whole time shall be devoted to the duties of his office. They say they cannot recommend a scheme by which a medical officer of a county, or the chief medical officer of a district, is permitted to engage in private practice. Now this regulation has come out, and it has been variously treated by different counties. Some counties have accepted and acted upon it with the view of getting a portion of this grant. Other counties have declined to act upon it, and have stood upon the Act which these rules practically override. They have said, "We will do without this grant; we will maintain our independence, and we will act as we are entitled to, freely, under the original Local Government Act, which we are sent here to administer." The counties which have so acted, to the best of my belief, are—there may be others—Ross, Berwick, Clackmannan, Forfar, and the large County of Perth. A noble Lord says, No. Well, if Perth has not acted in that way it has changed again; because I hold in my hand the result of a discussion of the question, when, by a majority of 99 to 19, the principle of appointing a medical officer with a letter enabling him to continue

his private practice was adopted. There may have been some change since; but, as far as my information goes, those are the counties which have so acted. In my own County Council there are, I think, only four who are in favour of accepting the rules and regulations of the Board of Supervision. Those counties stood on their rights under the Act; and the reasons they did so were twofold: One was that they thought it would be a more economical way of dealing with the question than by appointing a man with a large salary who would have nothing to do but go about to find work—to find something or other to show his *raison d'être*. At all events, we believe that this is the most efficient way of working the Act, and efficient on this ground. Here it is put in this very debate, to which I refer. It was moved in Perthshire that they should act upon the powers which they have, and that they should give a letter conferring power to the officer to carry on private practice. The gentleman who moved that said, “The question was whether a doctor in practice or a doctor without practice was the better man. A doctor in practice was certainly abreast of the times in medical treatment; while a doctor without practice must in a short time cease to have opportunities of studying complaints.” I am perfectly certain of this: that there is not a member of that Board of Supervision, and certainly not, I should say, my noble Friend the Secretary for Scotland himself, who, if he were ill, would call in a doctor who had no practice in preference to one who had a practice; and, therefore, I maintain that, whether you look at the economy of the matter and to the rights under this Act, or to efficiency in its administration, these counties that have stood upon their rights and have declined this “mess of pottage,” offered them in the shape of a share of this £15,000 grant, have properly administered the Act, and have done more wisely than those who have not done so, in the interests of their counties and for the purposes of the Act. I have thought it right to call the attention of your Lordships, and especially of my noble Friend, to this matter, on the ground that I think where you have an Act of Parliament passed after great care, and great attention has been paid

to the subject, and that Act gives an alternative, those who have to administer it are in their right when they administer it to the best of their ability according to one or other of those alternatives whichever seems best. I say it is not sound in principle, or right or just or any thing else when circumstances arise which are supposed to give to those in authority, whether my noble Friend in the first instance or acting really through the Board of Supervision, the power to decide the meaning of that Act as regards the appointment of medical officers, to say, “If you will not do what we say, you shall not get the grant.” I say that is neither right nor sound in policy, principle, or anything else. I have called attention to this matter in the interests of everybody. We do not want bureaucratic Edinburgh government in such a matter as this, and I hope my noble Friend (the Marquess of Lothian) will be prepared to re-consider the matter. In my own county, I may say, it will make very little difference; but I submit to your Lordships that it is not a question of amount, but of principle. I apologise for taking up so much of your Lordships' time on this subject.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of Lothian): My Lords, the noble Lord on the Cross Benches has, with his usual eloquence and energy, brought forward for your Lordships' consideration a grievance which he says is felt in the County of Haddington, and in other counties in Scotland, at the present time. I must take leave to point out to the noble Lord that, whether he agrees or not with the course which has been taken by the Board of Supervision and by myself, we have not, at any rate, been guilty of any act of illegality, but have pursued a course which is perfectly justifiable under the Act he has referred to. Though I am afraid I shall not convince my noble Friend, it is my duty to point out the course we have followed. My noble Friend has referred to the 52nd clause of the Local Government Act. That clause provides that the Councils of every county shall appoint and pay a medical officer or medical officers, who shall not engage in private practice or employ without the express written consent of the Councils. Now, I take quite a

different view from the noble Lord of the effect of that clause, because I think if it had not been held that there was some possible disadvantage in employing a medical officer not in private practice those words would not have been put into the clause. I think the fact that it was required that the written consent of the County Council should be granted when a medical officer engaged in private practice, showed that those in office were of opinion that that should rather be the exception than the rule. But that is not the ground on which the action taken by the Board of Supervision has been based. As the noble Lord has pointed out, the action has been taken on the Local Taxation Act of 1890. By the 2nd clause of that Act a sum of £15,000 was to be distributed under such regulations as might be framed by the Secretary for Scotland. In pursuance of the duty which was laid on the Secretary for Scotland under that Act, I issued certain regulations, and those regulations were to this effect: "That in order to entitle a County Council"—

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: Would the noble Marquess tell us when the regulations were issued, and by whom?

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN: I think it was in October of last year. I have not the exact date—

"In order to entitle a County Council or any other Local Authority to participate in the distribution the arrangements made with regard to salaries and otherwise shall be approved by the Secretary for Scotland on the recommendation of the Board of Supervision."

Naturally, I referred to the Board of Supervision as being the authority most competent to make such a recommendation. They are the authority who administer the Poor Law in Scotland. They have for a long time administered those Acts, and clearly they are the proper body to make such a recommendation. In consequence of those regulations which were issued by the Secretary for Scotland, the Board of Supervision did make certain regulations as they were bound to do. Before issuing the Circular to which my noble Friend has alluded they referred to me as to what were the conditions they proposed to make with regard to the grant of £15,000. I considered that proposal very carefully.

*The Marquess of Lothian*

There was a great deal of correspondence, and there were objections raised on one side and the other, some people approving generally of the course taken by the Board of Supervision; but the general result was that I did not see my way to withhold my approval from the regulations laid down by the Board of Supervision; and, having granted that approval, I must hold myself responsible to that extent for the conditions which have been laid down by the Board of Supervision. Now, the Circular which my noble Friend objected to was, I think, a very proper Circular—I do not mean as to the wording, though I do not understand that my noble Friend objects to that; but I think it would have been very unfair on the County Councils who are affected by this Circular if they had not been informed at once, at the beginning of January, of the conditions under which the grant would be made. Consequently, the Circular was issued, and, as my noble Friend has observed, some County Councils have taken one view and others have taken an opposite view. With regard to the sanitary part of the question, as my noble Friend has not entered upon it, neither will I; but as to the medical officers being allowed to engage in private practice, I think my noble Friend is wrong in saying that so many County Councils have taken the view he states. There are only two exceptions, and those have been allowed by the Board of Supervision on the ground that the circumstances were exceptional—one was Orkney and Shetland (the Islands), and the other was the County of Bute. With those exceptional cases every county in Scotland—Forfar, Berwick and East Lothian excepted, have accepted the view of the Board of Supervision and of myself. My noble Friend has, of course, stated that the action of the Board of Supervision, approved of by myself, is rather *ultra vires* as upsetting the arrangements made under the Local Government Act. I do not accept that view. I think at this present moment, as my noble Friend has stated, the County Council of East Lothian and the County Council of Berwick have both acted under that view. Their liberty has not been curtailed by what has happened since. They have simply not accepted the conditions under which the grant was given, and they do not

obtain their share in the distribution of the £15,000.

**EARL WEMYSS:** The noble Marquess says their liberty is not curtailed; but they are acting under a pecuniary penalty.

**THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN:** It is so far a pecuniary penalty no doubt, they not accepting the conditions. But if my noble Friend's County Council had accepted the conditions the pecuniary penalty would not have attached. I am not concerned further than to say that whatever view may be taken by my noble Friend or others as to the desirability of allowing medical officers to engage in private practice, I believe there is nothing illegal in the course which has been followed, and that the Board of Supervision have taken a course which it is perfectly competent to them to adopt. I can only express the hope that my noble Friend's County Council will come to take an opposite view, and they will thereupon obtain their share of the £15,000 grant.

**THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN:** My Lords, the noble Earl has done very rightly in bringing this matter before the House. It is a point in Local Government which is considerably larger in its application than many of your Lordships may suppose, and it will apply to England just as much as it will to Scotland. With reference to this particular matter, of course the question which has been raised is a very small one. It is really a question of principle, but it is also a question of how a sum of £15,000 is to be divided. Now, the Act says that that sum is to be divided in such manner and under such regulations as the Secretary for Scotland shall make; and if the noble Marquess will tell us that he himself, as Secretary for Scotland, says he thinks it right that no county should have a share of this grant unless it debar the medical officer of the county from private practice—if he says that is his own deliberate opinion, there is nothing to be said in answer to it. He has the power to enforce it; that is the power given by the Act of Parliament. But the account which he has given us of the transaction, and of the part which he took in the transaction, is quite of another sort. The noble Marquess said that he informed the County Councils that he was going to

ask the Board of Supervision to make certain regulations or recommendations; but it by no means followed that those recommendations would be accepted. If the noble Marquess means that whenever he asks a person for advice he considers himself absolutely bound to do what that person proposes, and that everyone who is affected by that advice, and who is informed that certain recommendations are going to be asked for, is thereby bound to anything which that advice may suggest as necessary to be done, I think that is a very extraordinary state of things. But I think the noble Marquess was quite right to ask the Board of Supervision for their advice, and that he was perfectly right to act in whatever manner he saw fit with regard to the advice given him; but the point which I think the County Councils must insist upon is this: that the Board of Supervision have no authority whatever over a County Council, and, moreover, that the Board of Supervision ought not to conduct correspondence with County Councils except upon such matters as they may have some executive authority upon. If it were a matter of the dismissal of a medical officer or of a Sanitary Inspector, there, I admit, the Board of Supervision has a perfect right to write to the County Council, because an officer cannot be dismissed without the consent of the Central Authority; but on such a matter as this the Board of Supervision ought never to have written to the County Councils at all. Any advice ought to have gone direct to the Secretary for Scotland, and the Secretary for Scotland himself ought to have informed the County Council what he proposed to do. He was at liberty either to take advice from the Board of Supervision or from any other advisers he might choose; but his action ought to be his own, and the Board of Supervision ought not to have taken any direct part in the matter. I do not say anything on the nature of the correspondence which was conducted by the Board of Supervision. I do not wish to say anything against them at all; on the contrary, I wish to uphold their authority within their proper sphere. I think it would be unfortunate if the Central Authority in Edinburgh were abolished or done away with; but I must say I think their epistolary style is of a

the part stated to have been borne by the Maharajah Holkar in instigating the crime?

SIR J. GORST: The Secretary of State has been informed by the Government of India that the Gwalior Durbar has appointed a special Judge, who was shortly expected at Nijain, to try the case. The Government of India is watching the case.

#### THE INDIAN FACTORY ACT.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the final telegram to the Viceroy of India regarding the Factory Act, contained in Parliamentary Paper, No. 224, presented on 5th May, and ending "By decision of Her Majesty's Government Bill must be passed without delay," was sent by "the Secretary of State in Council," and after the Council had had due opportunity of expressing an opinion as provided by law?

SIR J. GORST: The telegram was sent as urgent, under Section 26 of the 21st and 22nd Vic., cap. 106, and subsequently submitted to Council as therein prescribed.

#### INDIAN IMMIGRANTS.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can say whether the news from Natal, published in a Reuter's telegram, is authentic in so far as it states that the Legislative Council have passed a resolution pressing to get the period of indentures of Indian immigrants extended to 10 years, at the expiration of which they are to return to India, thereby subjecting Indians to compulsory labour for the whole period of their residence, and also that, after being dealt with by a special Committee, an amended Constitution Bill has been presented, by which the Colonists still insist that the Governor shall only exercise his powers over the Natives by advice of the Executive Council, and that the annual Vote for the Natives shall be subject to the control of the Council?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. DE WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): In answer to the first part of the ques-

*Mr. Keay*

tion, I have to say that the Secretary of State has no information beyond the Reuter's telegram referred to, but as the proposal appears to have been to open a correspondence on this subject between the Colonial and Indian Governments, the latter, without whose concurrence the step cannot be taken, will be in a position to fully protect the interests of the immigrants. The Papers about to be distributed will show that the present position of the Bill is as stated by the hon. Member; and that the Legislative Council has been informed that Her Majesty's Government adhere to their previous objections to the proposed provisions respecting the natives.

#### BURT DISPENSARY.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what action the Local Government Board intend to take with regard to the complaints as to the condition of the dispensary at Burt, County Donegal; and will they sanction four dispensaries in one district?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): I am informed by the Local Government Board that the Local Government Inspectors have already called attention to the unfitness of this building.

#### TRAWLING IN BRANDON BAY.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that a steamer has been lately trawling in Brandon Bay, County Kerry, contrary to a bye-law made many years ago prohibiting trawling in this bay; and, if so, what steps will be taken to prosecute the owners or master of this vessel; and if there is any coastguard or other authority near this bay to prevent infractions of the law; and, if not, what steps will be taken to enforce the observance of the law, and protect the fishermen from such conduct?

MR. MADDEN: The Fishery Inspectors say that it is the case that the offence referred to in the question was reported to have occurred in Brandon Bay, and they are engaged in making the necessary inquiries.

## SALMON STREAMS.

MR. T. M. HEALY : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether representations have been made to him that the law relating to the enforcement of gratings on mills in England, to prevent salmon entering the watercourses of mills, has been proved to be ineffective for the purpose; and, if so, is it on account of the deficiency or want of funds on the part of Boards of Conservators to erect such gratings, or whether the English Board have sufficient funds to erect and maintain them; whether millowners in England have offered any opposition to put up such gratings on streams frequented by salmon; what is the general nature or character of the working power of the mills in England, that is, whether worked by bucket wheels or turbines; where gratings have been put, what has been their character, at whose expense have they been erected, and in what places, or at what mills in England; have they been proved injurious to the effective working power of the mill; if any complaint that they would, or do, who decides the matter; is there any appeal; and, if so, to what Court; and have any complaints been made by any Boards of Conservators, or any other persons interested, against the insufficiency of the present laws in England bearing on this subject; and, if so, what is the nature of the complaints or the reasons given by them that the law is insufficient or ineffective?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I am informed that the Boards of Conservators in England and Wales complain generally of difficulties which they experience in the erection of gratings at mills under the provisions of the Salmon Fishery Acts, in consequence of the absence of a means of determining beforehand the differences which frequently arise between themselves and the occupiers of mills on the subject, and that, in many cases, they abstain from erecting gratings from fear of the expensive litigation which might ensue, their funds being in most cases limited. In the event of a decision being sought on the point whether a grating which had been erected was injurious to the milling power, it might be obtained by the occupier of the mill under the 54th

section of the Salmon Fishery Act, 1873. I am not aware of any case in which the question has been tried. The mills are in the majority of cases worked by wheels, either overshot or undershot, but of late years, in many instances, turbines have been introduced. A Return of all the gratings which have been erected could only be obtained by application to each Board of Conservators, and it does not appear that the utility of such a Return would be at all commensurate with the labour involved in its preparation. I am not aware that any gratings injurious to the milling power are maintained.

## SEED POTATOES.

MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Miller, one of the Inspectors appointed by the Land Commission, refused to pass 50 tons of potatoes delivered by Mr. Thomas Ryan, in accordance with a tender approved by other such Inspectors, at Cavan for the use of the Cavan Union, and that, on the Guardians refusing, as they were bound by "The Seed Potatoes (Ireland) Act, 1891," to do, to accept these potatoes, Mr. Ryan brought an action against the Guardians, and recovered damages and costs, the jury refusing to accept Mr. Miller's Report; and whether, as the Land Commission prevented the Guardians from sending two experienced members of their body to Scotland to select potatoes, and compelled them to buy by tender and sample, and to act in accordance with the orders of the Inspectors, the damages and costs will be paid by the Land Commission or the Local Government Board, through the action of whose agents they were incurred?

MR. MADDEN : A Report has been called for since the question appeared on the Paper, but I have not yet received a Report.

## GREENCASTLE AND MAGILLIGAN FORTS.

MR. MAGUIRE (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, as Greencastle and Magilligan Forts have been dismantled, he would send a stationary man-of-war to remain in Lough Foyle for the protection of the district?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): These forts have been condemned as obsolete, and the dismounting of the smooth-bore muzzle-loading guns, with which they were armed, has practically left the defence of Lough Foyle where it was before. It is not considered necessary to maintain a coast defence ship in Lough Foyle.

#### UNIVERSAL LOAD LINE.

MR. ATKINSON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade in what position the negotiations with Foreign Governments with reference to the adoption of the universal load line now stand; and whether he will press on these negotiations?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: In August, 1890, the Foreign Office, at the request of the Board of Trade, called the attention of the Governments of all maritime countries to the provisions of the Merchant Shipping (Load Line) Act, 1890, but no final replies have yet been received.

#### POLITICAL ACTION OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will, during the Recess, communicate with Ministers at the head of the different Departments with a view of issuing orders removing all exceptional restrictions upon the political action of Government officials, so that, out of official hours, they may enjoy the same rights as other citizens?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's Hanover Square): No, Sir; for my own part I am not prepared to adopt the course suggested by the hon. Member.

#### STROME FERRY.

DR. McDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Postmaster General, with reference to the letter from the General Post Office, dated 30th December, 1889, to the Commissioners of Stornoway, which stated that the Strome-Stornoway mail steamer went to Portree for shelter only, and that the owner, Mr. Macbrayne, promised that

"Under no circumstances, unless compelled by storm to do so, would the steamer be diverted from her course,"

whether this promise has been adhered to; whether the steamer now running, the *Clydesdale*, is 29 years old; whether the average time of the journey is now eight to nine hours instead of six as promised; whether the Government will adhere to the promise to put this mail route up to public competition, and when will the tenders be called for; whether it was only on three occasions during the whole of the last fishing season that the mail steamer did not get an inside quay berth in Stornoway; and whether she has always had priority for such a berth over all other steamers, when possible?

\*THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University): By an arrangement concluded in the spring of this year the contractor for the Strome Ferry and Stornoway Mail Packet is allowed, in the event of accident—storm, or other like circumstance of special and exceptional character preventing the despatch in due course of the Strome Ferry Portree steamer—to divert the former steamer from the direct course so as to admit of its touching at certain ports in Skye. I am not aware of any case in which, without permission obtained, this privilege has been improperly exercised. I have no exact information as to the age of the *Clydesdale*. I think the hon. Member is misinformed as to the average duration of the voyage of the *Clydesdale*, and that it is about two hours less than he conjectures. A careful Return shall, however, be prepared, which I shall be glad to show to him when completed. It is intended to put the Stornoway Service with other services up to competition, and that not later than the spring of next year—perhaps earlier. I cannot answer the fifth and sixth questions of the hon. Member's without inquiry in various quarters; but I will make that inquiry, and acquaint him with the result.

#### IRISH MAILS.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that great inconvenience is experienced by passengers travelling to and from Kingstown by the Royal Mail boats by reason of the fact that telegrams cannot be despatched except by the payment of special

messengers, not always available, to convey them to the Kingstown office, a quarter of a mile distant, on week days, and on Sundays, when the Kingstown office is closed, they have to be sent to the General Office, Dublin, a distance of eight miles; and whether he will have an office opened on the Mail Pier, and a telegraphist to attend during the hours of arrival and departure of the mail boats, or make arrangements for a telegraph messenger for the conveyance of messages to the Kingstown and Dublin offices?

\*MR. RAIKES: I shall be glad to make inquiry into the matter to which the hon. Member refers, and I will let him know the result in due course.

MR. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he has ordered the mail car now plying between Tinahely, Hacketstown, and Kiltegan, to be withdrawn; is this car to be run from Baltinglass to Kiltegan and Hacketstown instead; will this arrangement cause the Tinahely letters to Hacketstown and Kiltegan to be sent *via* Dublin, a distance of 100 miles, instead of six miles by the car; and whether he could run one car from Baltinglass to Kiltegan, together with the present car from Tinahely to Hacketstown?

\*MR. RAIKES: I do not know that I can add much to the answer which I gave last week on this subject to the hon. Member for North Longford, and in which I fully explained the reasons for the proposed change. I am afraid that circumstances would not warrant the employment of two cars, as suggested by the hon. Member; but I will with pleasure make inquiries on this point, and acquaint him with the result.

#### LUNACY ADMINISTRATION REPORTS.

MR. KNOX: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury why the Report of the Committee appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to inquire into the Lunacy Administration in Ireland was printed in Scotland; and whether any Reports relating to England or Scotland have ever been printed in Ireland?

\*THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): The question has not come before me. The only reason I can conjecture is that the course pursued was found most convenient.

#### CASE OF MARY BRAITHWAITE.

MR. MACLEAN (Oldham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the case of Mary Braithwaite, who, on account of some informality in the certificate on which she had been sent to Wadsley Lunatic Asylum, was discharged therefrom, and was not re-certified, and who afterwards while at large committed the murder for which she was tried before Mr. Justice Grantham at the recent Leeds Assizes; whether the jury found that she was guilty of the crime, but insane at the time she committed it; and whether any blame attaches to the authorities concerned in the case?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): The facts are as stated in the first two paragraphs of the question. I am informed that the Lunacy Commissioners, who have themselves no power to discharge, pointed out to the asylum authorities the informality of the certificate, and recommended the patient's discharge. This recommendation was given with a view that the woman when discharged should be immediately re-certified in the ordinary course, and it was so understood by the asylum authorities. Accordingly, the woman was discharged to the workhouse, and was there examined by the medical officer, the person, as it happened, on whose certificate she had, on September 19, been sent to the asylum. He, however, examining her again on October 8, declined to certify that she was then of unsound mind, and accordingly she went home. There she remained with her husband and children until the end of June following, when the crime was committed. There appears no ground for attaching blame to any of the authorities concerned, and I regret that all the facts were not brought before the learned Judge.

#### THE LAND COMMISSION.

MR. STACK (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has yet obtained information as to the extent of the farm at Drumroe, Causeway, County Kerry, sold through the Land Commission by Mr. Hussey to Bartholomew



Dowling; and whether any portions of the same holding were included in a further sale to labourers, thus being sold twice over?

MR. MADDEN: This question only appeared on the Paper this morning, and I have not been able to obtain official information. I hope to receive it tomorrow.

#### LISTOWEL-TARBERT LIGHT RAILWAY.

MR. STACK: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the present position of the matter with regard to the proposed construction of a light railway from Listowel to Tarbert, in County Kerry; and what steps the Government propose to take in respect of it?

MR. MADDEN: A Memorial in favour of the construction of a light railway between Listowel and Tarbert was submitted locally to the Lord Lieutenant, and a resolution in favour of the same project has been passed by the Listowel Board of Guardians; but so far no definite scheme has been brought under the notice of the Government.

#### FREE EDUCATION IN IRELAND

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state to the House his reason for departing from the intention he expressed of introducing this Session a Bill dealing with the question of free education in Ireland? I have to protest against the alteration of this question, and also that it appears in the name of a former Member who is dead.

[The question was in the name of Mr. Peter M'Donald.]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. MADDEN: The general views of the Government on this question may be gathered from the statements made in this House by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He was at one time in hope that he might be able to prepare and lay before the House a measure dealing with this question during the present Session. Owing, however, to the short time available for this purpose and the importance of the subject, it has not been found possible to complete the measure now in course of

*Mr. Stack*

preparation so as to enable my hon. Friend to introduce it during the present Session.

#### IRISH POST OFFICE.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General if the following positions in the Irish Post Office establishment are vacant at present, namely, a surveyor's clerkship in the Irish Southern District and a principal clerkship in the Accountant's Department; and, if so, how long have these appointments remained unfilled; whether it is intended to fill them; and what is the cause of the delay?

\*MR. RAIKES: Both of the appointments to which the hon. Member refers have been vacant for some months. Suggestions have been made with a view to a re-adjustment of the duties, and until these suggestions have been more fully considered I am not prepared to state whether the appointments in question will be filled.

#### "MACRARY V. COLERAINE BOARD OF GUARDIANS."

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Irish Local Government Board have decided to make the law costs in the case of "Macrary v. the Coleraine Board of Guardians" (an action which arose out of the construction of the Castlerock Sewerage Works) a charge upon the ratepayers of the rural sanitary districts of the Coleraine Union, instead of a special charge upon the contributory area of Castlerock only, and have refused the request of the Coleraine Board of Guardians to grant an inquiry into the whole subject, with a view to have their decision re-considered; is he aware that there are two precedents in the Coleraine Union where law costs for defective sewer construction and waterworks were charged on the contributory areas; and, if so, how have the Local Government Board arrived at the conclusion to make the costs in Macrary's case a charge on the entire union; whether the plan of the Castlerock sewerage scheme was sanctioned by the Local Government Board after receiving the approval of their engineer, and did not the Coleraine Board of Guardians carry out the plan exactly as sanctioned;

if so, what blame is to be attached to the Coleraine Board of Guardians; and whether the Local Government Board will grant the inquiry asked for, seeing that it is urgently and unanimously demanded by the Coleraine Board, the representatives of the ratepayers interested?

MR. MADDEN: This question appears on the Paper for the first time to-day. I will bring the matter under the notice of the Local Government Board.

#### PRISON DISCIPLINE AT CHATHAM.

MR. ATKINSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that a convict at Chatham has been whipped for not working, then taken to the hospital to be made ready to be whipped again, put out in the frost in the winter between three casks because he would not work, and punished again and again; and whether he will allow a Visiting Justice of 27 years' standing to visit the prison in which this man is, to see if he is badly treated, as reported, or not?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have made inquiry of the prison authorities, who inform me that they presume the prisoner referred to is one Joseph Betts, who since his conviction more than two years ago has persistently refused to do any labour whatever, and for this reason has received various punishments, including corporal punishment. The allegations that he was taken to the hospital to be made ready for whipping again and put out in the frost because he would not work are unfounded. He has been taken out to work in the winter with other prisoners, but has refused to work as they did, and had, therefore, to be restrained by handcuffs and otherwise until the party returned to prison. There are Visitors appointed for Chatham Prison, who have free access to all the prisoners, who can enter the prison at any time, and who make periodical visits for the express purpose of ascertaining, among other things, whether prisoners have been improperly treated. I am aware of no sufficient reason which would justify me in superseding the Visitors and authorising a special visit to which neither a Justice of the Peace nor the Visiting Justice of a local prison is entitled by the rules.

SIR W. LAWSON (Cumberland, Cocker-mouth): At whose discretion was the flogging administered?

MR. MATTHEWS: Corporal punishment is only administered after inquiry upon oath, and by order of the Directors of the prison.

MR. WOODALL (Hanley): Have the Prison Visitors made any special Report with regard to this particular prison?

MR. MATTHEWS: No, Sir; they have not. The Visitors of the prison are the County Court Judge and two of the local Magistrates.

MR. WOODALL: Will the right hon. Gentleman make special inquiry into the case?

MR. MATTHEWS: I will willingly do so if the hon. Member wishes it. This has been a very troublesome prisoner in every prison in which he has been confined.

#### THE BETTING AND LOANS (INFANTS) BILL.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will to-night move the Adjournment of the House at the conclusion of Government Business instead of waiting, as he did this morning, for certain private Members' Orders to be called on?

MR. GOSCHEN: If the hon. Member think it necessary that infants should continue to bet for the next six months, I am afraid he must take the ordinary steps to prevent the Bill from passing. The Government wish to pass the Bill, and will endeavour to do so.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: The Bill has absolutely nothing to do with betting by infants, and I give notice that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer repeats to-night the tactics which he has hitherto pursued I shall take the opportunity on the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill of calling attention to the unjust, partial, and oppressive way in which the right hon. Gentleman has used the facilities given him for Government Business.

#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time to-morrow.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS).  
COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That Mr. Speaker do now leave the  
Chair."

(3.0.) MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars): Mr. Speaker, as this is the only opportunity I shall have, I desire to bring before the House some matters relating to the employment of labour in Indian mills and factories in conformity with the notice which I have had on the Paper for some time past, to the effect that further reforms are necessary in the Law of India dealing with native labour in factories and workshops. Even before the recent Labour Conference held at Berlin labour questions had come to receive more attention, not only in this country but throughout Europe generally, and we have recently ourselves been engaged in discussing a new Factory Act, chiefly made up of amendments to the principal Act of 1878, and a principal object of the new Act is to alter the age at which children may begin to work and the hours of labour for women, and to introduce remedial clauses for their benefit. India, too, has had its Factory Acts, and there has been one recently passed which is to take effect on the 1st day of next January, and one of the main objects I have in bringing forward this question is to draw attention to the inadequate character of this Act to meet the reasonable requirements for the control and regulation of native labour in India. The present position of labour in that country is that it has almost no protection whatever, except in the case of children. Any person above 12 years of age may be worked at any hour night or day, and for as many hours as employers think proper; the sole exception is that children between 7 and 12 years of age cannot be worked in mills more than nine hours a day. It is to remedy this and other conditions that the recent Act has been passed, but its provisions are so inadequate, and the Act deals with such a small percentage of Indian labour, that I have no doubt the House will agree with me in con-

sidering that the recent measure which has not yet come into operation will, before it does so, have to be re-amended and much enlarged in its scope in order to be of any real value to those whom it is intended to protect. No amount of time for which I could at present ask the indulgence of the House would be sufficient to make a fully adequate statement of the case. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a bare recital of a few facts, which perhaps after all may be the most forcible way of presenting a case of this kind. The position I take up being, in my judgment, a strong one, I hope the right hon. Gentleman who represents India will be able to make some statement promising a re-amendment and an extension of the scope of the recent Act in order at least to do partial justice to the labouring classes in India, who are unable to combine for their own protection or create those labour organisations with which we are familiar in this country. It is impossible to urge on the part of the Indian mill-owners that theirs is a declining trade, or one that is suffering from severe competition. Even if such reasons existed they would be entirely inapplicable, because no one dare advocate the employment of men, women, and children under unreasonable conditions, even to make a trade profitable, which otherwise would not be so; but, as a matter of fact, it is so profitable that the trade of cotton-spinning in India has been increasing by leaps and bounds. The first mill was erected as lately as 1854, they had multiplied to 67 in 1883, and between that time and the present, that is to say, in a period of some seven or eight years, the number has more than doubled, and there are now nearly 150 cotton mills in India. In some of the Indian newspapers they have spoken in respect to the mill workers as if they rather liked the long hours and the other existing conditions of employment. Well, Sir, we were told here a little while ago that the children in Lancashire preferred, and that it was beneficial for them, to go to the mill at 10 years of age instead of waiting until they were 12, but we had these views successfully disputed at the time, and they have since been thoroughly exposed by the evidence given a few days ago by Lancashire

schoolmasters before the Labour Commission. If, therefore, we find that little dependence can be placed on statements, made as these were, relating to persons at our own door, how much less dependence should be placed on statements made about operatives so far away as India. On this point, no doubt, under certain circumstances, they would often find workers who would express themselves as satisfied with existing conditions. I have said, Sir, under certain circumstances, as this would make all the difference as to the views which might be expressed by the workers themselves. On this point I shall quote a sentence from the Report of the recent Commission on Indian Factories, where the Commissioners say, in speaking of native witnesses—

“Operatives who had been answering our questions freely while alone, were in many instances reduced to silence or evasive replies by the accidental presence of their employers.”

This shows how little dependence is to be placed on statements coming from India to the effect that the workers rather like their existing regulations. The remark from the Report of the Commission, which I have just read, will show that there are certain coercive influences which can easily be brought to bear on operatives in India to cause them to give evidence which might lead those unacquainted with the facts to suppose that they were very well satisfied with their present conditions of employment. I have reason, Sir, I think, to consider the House, also the Government, will be in favour of the view that the Act which has been passed by the Indian Council is insufficient to adequately remove the abuses connected with Indian labour, and I will also say that it is necessary that this House should assist the Government in this matter. The Government themselves must, I believe, be dissatisfied with the scope of the Act, as it certainly does not go anything like so far as they intended it should go; and, indeed, for what has been done in India we have, in my opinion, chiefly to thank the Secretary of State for India and the right hon. Gentleman who represents the Indian Government in this House. The new Factory Act was for a considerable time under discussion, and the Secretary of State for India sent

a Despatch to the Governor General stating that—

“The general principle of all factory legislation, as already adopted in this country and in India, is that life and limb must be protected, and that the health of all women, young persons, and children must, so far as possible, be assured. To this principle Her Majesty's Government have recently, in the Berlin Conference, declared their adhesion, thus recommending it for adoption by the other Powers of Europe. How far this general principle has been already applied in India is a matter for your consideration. As regards any additional factory legislation in India, due regard must be had to the circumstances of that country, which are in many respects different from those of an European nation. But the same general principle is, nevertheless, applicable, and the object of any such legislation must be to secure without fail for the various classes of operatives in India an amount of protection for life and limb, and an amount of security for the health of women, young persons, and children not inferior to that which is afforded by the law of England.”

Now, Sir, let us see how far the Indian Council has carried out the views which they were asked to attend to; and, although this could be better shown in tabular form, I will try to make the enormous difference between the Act as passed and the legislation of this country as clear as I can without the advantage of a table. The Indian Act applies chiefly to textile factories, and I shall compare its provisions with those which exist in our own Acts. By the Indian Act children may be worked at nine years of age for 42 hours per week; our limit of age is 11, and the hours 28½ per week. Girls above 14 and women are to work in Indian mills 66 hours per week; our limit is 56½; and the intervals for meals and rest are with us two hours, while they are only one and a half in India. In India the rest days for all workers will be 52 days during the year; with us they are 84. The limit of the working day for children is to be from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m.—that is, 15 hours per day; here they are limited to 12. There is no limit to the working day in India for male young persons, for women, and for men, unless the mill is run on the shift system; but where this is not done, women and young persons may be employed at night, which cannot be done with us—a practice which has been condemned by all medical men as particularly injurious for women and all young

persons under 18. In India, as the mill runs from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m., it presents great difficulty to the Inspectors—and this branch of mill supervision is notoriously weak in India. In reference to this, I may quote what the Home Secretary said in his speech on the Second Reading of the Factory Bill this year, one object of which was intended to put a stop to the evil of loose limits in working hours. The Home Secretary, in commenting upon them, said that they seriously interfered with the work of inspection, as

“There is no process by which the Inspector can detect that women are being overworked, as there is nothing to show when they commenced, when they left off, and when they took their meals.”

On this account, the Bill recently passed through the House requires a specified period of 12 hours to be fixed by the employers, and the *employés* are to be given 1½ hours for meals. These loose limits are in the Indian Act, and require to be altered, as inspection with respect to the hours worked by women, children, and young persons will be of no value while such conditions exist. Now, Sir, can it be said the regulations of the Indian Act come up to the standard laid down by Lord Cross in his Despatch? So far from this being the case, they have not in any particular whatever similar conditions or hours for working in India to those instituted by Statute in this country. Lord Cross demands that—

“Without fail for the various classes of operatives in India an amount of protection for life and limb, and an amount of security for the health of women, young persons, and children, not inferior to that which is afforded by the law of England.”

Now, Sir, some persons suppose that in India children may be employed at an earlier age than in this country, as they mature at an earlier age. But it is only true that they develop earlier in certain functional ways. So far from their maturing earlier than Europeans, I may quote Mrs. Peachey Phipson, who has practised medicine among women in India, and who, in a recent lecture in Bombay, said—

“A Hindoo girl of 15 is about equal to an English girl of 11, instead of the reverse, and that statements to the contrary by Englishmen who have no opportunity of being acquainted with family life were totally misleading.”

*Mr. Provand*

The truth is, Sir, that bone and muscle take about the same time to develop in every climate. With respect to night working, it has been defended on the ground that it is cooler and more agreeable to the workers. Why, Sir, the temperature in the Indian mills is 90 degrees or over, whether it is day or night, and the highest medical authorities could be quoted, if I desired to take up the time of the House, to show that night work is as bad for the Indian operative as it is bad for labour everywhere else; and I would call the attention of the House to the fact that every man operative who gave evidence before the late Commission asked that the hours of labour should be from 6 in the morning until 6 at night. I might here point out that the Indian Act does not cover anything like the whole of Indian labour. Many workshops and factories will be entirely outside the Act. Indeed, only a small percentage of the people of India will come within its provisions. But even worse than the condition of the cotton mills, to which it chiefly applies, is the fact which was stated in the House on the 4th of last month by the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India, in reply to a question put by myself, that in mines in India women and children are now employed underground. It is more than half a century since this was made impossible in the United Kingdom, and it should not be necessary to wait for legislation to stop it in India. Surely the Council could, by an Order, make such a thing illegal forthwith. Now, Sir, by what arguments do the Indian millowners oppose legislation? Let me appeal to the *Times*, and read a few lines from the article on this question, in which the writer says—

“Any readers who will take the trouble to go back to the evidence which was adduced by Lord Shaftesbury in support of the reforms which are inseparably associated with his name will find that opposition to the Factory Acts in England proceeded on precisely the same lines as those on which it is now being conducted in India.”

That, Sir, spares one the trouble of occupying the time of the House in dealing with the Indian objections to reform, as we have long ago settled them in our own Debates on these questions. Reforms must be insisted on, and I cannot show the necessity of this so well by

any language of my own as by reading another short extract from a leading article which appeared in the same journal last year, which states—

"It would be an absolute disgrace to this country, the acknowledged pioneer of factory legislation in Europe, if Indian manufacturers were still suffered to practise the barbarities from which our Representatives at the Conference fancied themselves able to denounce from a position of unusual security."

It is the Berlin Conference that is here referred to, and I might extend what I have said by some quotations from the speeches of our Representatives at the Conference, but I content myself with quoting but one sentence which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India, who represented this country at the Conference, in which he made the following important and explicit declaration:—

"We can pledge ourselves for Great Britain that our Government, faithful to its actions in the past, will conform resolutely in the future, if it does not go beyond them, to the benevolent principles of the Conference."

Now, Sir, there is hardly one of the principles to which our Representative referred in the words quoted, with respect to the ages, hours, and conditions at and under which women, young persons, and children labour that is not violated by the Indian Factory Act just passed. I have nothing whatever to say against the manufacturers of India. They are neither better nor worse than other classes in every country, as employer treat *employés* as unjustly as they can or dare so long as the law permits them. In this country combination among *employés* has done much to improve their position, but the law had first to make combination possible. In India such combination, although perhaps allowed, is, from the nature of the people, impracticable, and consequently the law must at once step in and restrain the action of the employers. Now, Sir, I have finished what I intended to say to the House on this subject. I have read the Despatch of Lord Cross in which he takes up the position that India must have substantially the same labour legislation as the United Kingdom, differing only in such circumstances as are necessary for local requirements. I have also read to the House the words of the Under Secretary for India pledging our Go-

vernment to at least conform to the principles of the Berlin Conference, and no one can deny that there is a great gulf between the principles he spoke of and the terms of the new Indian Factory Act. The arguments used in India against a change are the same old ones revived that did duty in Lord Shaftesbury's time against reforms long since agreed to by us, and which are admitted on all hands to be highly beneficial in their effect. I have not, Sir, said a word nor used a quotation with the object of making an appeal to the feelings of this House; and I might have read scores of extracts from the Reports of medical men, Inspectors, and other qualified persons which would have had that effect, but I have refrained and confined myself to a bare statement of the more important facts bearing on the case. I think, Sir, after quoting Lord Cross's Despatch and the Under Secretary for India, it will be unnecessary for me to move the Resolution which stands in my name, or to divide the House. I trust I am right in looking for a sympathetic reply from the right hon. Gentleman who represents India, and that the Government will impose upon the Council of India the terms sent in their own Despatch and, as the *Times* said in its leading article—

"He will not permit to exist in India a state of things which would be an absolute disgrace to this country—the acknowledged pioneer of factory legislation in Europe."

We are, Sir, discussing the position of people who have no Employers' Liability Act, and politically weak are really unable, although numerically strong, to combine for their own defence as workmen do in Europe. It is not too late to enlarge the scope of the new Act so as to make it of some value, as the Council will meet in October, and the Act does not take effect until the 1st of January. I hope I may also rely on the support of hon. Members on the other side of the House, for this is not a Party question, and as another reason for this I may add that nothing can relieve this House from its responsibility in seeing that reasonable and fair conditions are framed for the regulation and control of labour throughout British India.

(4.2.) MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I trust that the appeal of my hon. Friend who has brought forward this sub-

ject, and who has urged further legislative restrictions of the Indian Factory Acts, will not be acceded to by Her Majesty's Government. He has put forward two grounds for a reform; in the first place, he seeks to have them assimilated to the Acts in this country; and, in the next place, he bases his appeal upon the decision of the Berlin Conference. Now, with regard to the decision of the Berlin Conference, we all recognise that the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India was a most worthy Representative of this country at Berlin, and that he urged upon the Conference the necessity for further factory legislation in all European countries; but we also have to acknowledge the fact that the representations of the right hon. Gentleman and the decisions of the Conference have not been carried out by the Ministry of which he is a member. It would, therefore, be altogether inconsistent if Her Majesty's Government were to endeavour to enforce legislation in reference to factory labour in India, while, at the same time, they are not willing to insist on the recommendations of the Berlin Conference being adopted in their own country. Another point upon which my hon. Friend urges the Government to take action is that it is desirable to bring up Indian factory legislation to the same level, in all its details, to factory legislation in England. Now, it does seem to me that my hon. Friend, in desiring the House to accept a proposal of this kind, is endeavouring, by means of a discussion, and political pressure, to usurp the functions which are delegated to the legislative authority of the Governor General in Council. If the House were once to embark in such an undertaking, it would be embarking in an undertaking which would be extremely unfair both to the people and the Government of India. I must, therefore, protest against the attempt of my hon. Friend to urge the Government to enter into any legislation of the kind. As far as I have been able to read the Papers which have been laid before the House, what we have rather to complain of is that the Government have in the past brought undue pressure to bear on the Government of India in regard to the Factory Act which has just been passed. My hon. Friend

*Mr. Buchanan*

quoted the Despatch of Lord Cross, of May, 1890; but my hon. Friend did not mention the fact that the Despatch was sent out to cover certain Memorials from the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce, which had been sent to the Secretary of State urging upon him to press the Government of India to adopt the conclusions which the Memorialists had arrived at. Now, with all due deference to the Lancashire Chambers of Commerce, from which the Memorials emanated, I venture to doubt whether they are an impartial body to decide what is good for factory legislation in India. Apart from the Despatch of Lord Cross of 1890, all the information supplied to us is contained in four pages of telegrams from the Secretary of State pressing the Government of India for action. I find that the Bill dealing with the question was postponed for a year, the Government of India expressing their willingness to consult the native Governments; but we find a constant repetition of telegrams urging expedition. Those telegrams convey no information to the House, but express a constant desire that the Viceroy should expedite matters. In the next place, we have a series of telegrams between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India by which we are given to understand that the details of the new Factory Act were settled by instructions from the India Office and under protest in regard to several matters from the Viceroy of India. Then we have this telegram from the Secretary of State—

"Her Majesty's Government have considered your telegram of the 20th inst., and have decided that the Bill must be proceeded with and passed without delay."

And we have heard to-day from the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State, in reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell), that the final telegram to the Viceroy, stating that Her Majesty's Government had decided that the Bill "must be passed without delay," was sent as urgent under Section 26 of the 21st and 22nd Victoria Chapter 106, which makes special provision for cases of urgency. This is a provision which empowers the Secretary of State, but only in matters of extreme urgency, to override the opinion of the Government of India, and also to override the

opinion of the members of the Indian Council. Therefore, I think that my hon. Friend has no ground to complain as to want of pressure being exercised by Her Majesty's Government in securing the passing of the Factory Act. There is one matter of detail to which I must refer, as it was alluded to by my hon. Friend. My hon. Friend, having contended that there ought to be a levelling up of factory legislation in India to that which exists in this country, referred to Mrs. Peachy Phipson as an authority on his side, and quoted articles from the *Times*. Now, the *Times* of July 17 contains a letter from Mrs. Peachy Phipson stating that she had seen with surprise the letter of Mr. Holt Hallett in reference to Indian factory legislation, but that her astonishment had reached a climax when she saw words of her own quoted as an argument against the employment of women in the Indian factories. She proceeded to point out that the result of what had already been done by the Indian Factory Act had been to turn women out of the lighter work in the factories and to drive them to the heavy work of agricultural labour. I could quote similar statements on the subject from other authorities; but if the hon. Member will go through the selections from native newspapers in the *Voice of India*, sent to Members of this House, he will see it repeatedly stated that the Act, in the belief of native Indian opinion, was the result of political pressure at home. As a matter of fact, Her Majesty's Government have undoubtedly put pressure upon the Government of India to pass the Factory Act in the form in which it has been passed. My hon. Friend the Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) put a question in February of last year upon the subject. He urged the Indian Government to pass the Factory Act; and, in calling attention to certain details of factory work in India, he based his appeal to the Government to press the Indian Government to embark in factory legislation, among other things, upon the fact that "great indignation was felt by the Lancashire operatives at the competition to which they were exposed." That gives us one of the causes of the political pressure put on the Government. The factory legislation which my hon. Friend

then urged upon the Government to adopt has since been adopted. My hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Mr. Provand) now assumes a different attitude, and urges much further legislation, although my hon. Friend the Member for Flintshire acknowledges himself that one of the principal motive causes for legislation in India was the indignation of the Lancashire operatives at the competition to which they were subjected. I believe that the demand for legislation comes chiefly, if not exclusively, from Lancashire, which is exposed to very severe competition from the Indian cotton mills. My hon. Friend the Member for Oldham (Mr. Maclean) has had great experience of India, and he also knows something about factory legislation. My hon. Friend and I were Members of the Grand Committee on Trade when the Factory and Workshops Bill was discussed, and there was no more strenuous an advocate on behalf of the factory operatives of Oldham, nor one who took a more prominent part in resisting the application of the recommendations of the Berlin Conference to labour in this country, than my hon. Friend; yet my hon. Friend takes an entirely different view of the recommendations of that Conference when they are to be applied to Indian labour in competition with Lancashire labour. On the 17th of February last the hon. Member for Oldham put a question in this House urging that the Indian Factory Act should include the recommendations of the Berlin Conference as to age and other matters, and such was the weight attached to the opinion of my hon. Friend that in one of the Despatches of the Secretary of State for India particular reference was made to the question of my hon. Friend. Without absolutely urging the adoption of the view of my hon. Friend the Secretary of State placed it before the Government of India, and put pressure upon that Government to adopt the views of the Lancashire Members generally. I do not think, after all that has occurred, that it is expedient Her Majesty's Government should give encouragement to Motions of this kind urging them to put pressure on the Government of India. We all know that such things have taken place before,



and it is my belief that on the present occasion an attempt is being made to repeat the experiment. I think the House ought to enter a strong protest against the course which my hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow is urging the Government to take.

\*(4.29.) MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I do not intend to say much upon this occasion, as I have a Motion down in my own name, but as my hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) has referred to a question which was put by me last year, it is only right that I should offer an explanation. My hon. Friend only read a portion of my question. What I spoke of was the competition between the Lancashire operatives and those in India who were working for 80 hours a week. I can only say that to some extent I share the feeling of my hon. Friend, and that I fully appreciate the great danger of imposing severe restrictions upon Indian factory labour. It is quite true that I felt that the time had come when we should have some kind of factory legislation in India. Children of seven years old had been reduced to skeletons by the cruel conditions under which they had to work, and I felt it was disgraceful to see a Christian nation standing still and not moving a single muscle to abate abominations which went on in India, and which we stopped in this country 50 years ago. I am not afraid, or ashamed to say, in face of the native population of India, for whom I have always pleaded in this House, that the manufacturers of India are not only native Indians, but largely Lancashire capitalists, and that the Indian factories work to a large extent with Lancashire capital. These slave drivers in India are not only wealthy Indians, but are sometimes wealthy Englishmen. I say that on the ground of justice and humanity legislation of this kind is absolutely called for. I do not believe such legislation will do the slightest harm to trade in India even more than it did in Lancashire. The same arguments are used against it now as were used against it formerly in India. However, I quite believe that it would never do for this country to force upon India legislation which would have the appearance of being suggested by jealousy of her national manufactures.

Mr. Buchanan

I would be the very last man to support such legislation. I would not agree to the Home Government forcing legislation upon India in too hasty a manner. I wish to stand, as it were, impartially between those who wish to bring factory legislation in India at any cost to the level of English legislation—which I do not think possible—and those who wish merely to adopt a policy of *laissez faire*, which I cannot countenance. I hope the House will excuse my intervention in this Debate.

(4.34.) SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): When we made the change in the procedure of this House, which enables all sorts of Indian subjects to be discussed before we come to the Indian Budget, I ventured to express doubt and dissent as to the expediency of the alteration. It seems to me that the proceedings of this evening are a justification of the doubts I then expressed. The Legislature has not contemplated that India should be administered in this House, but no doubt the finances of India are very closely connected with the interests of this country, large sums of money being borrowed by India from this country. Therefore, Parliament in its wisdom thought fit that there should be an opportunity for this House to deal to some extent one evening in the Session with the finances of India. We have now departed from that arrangement. There is very little doubt that the finances of India will not be discussed at all this evening, and the result will be that the object of discussing those finances will be lost, and we shall be treated instead to a Debate on all sorts of subjects. I have rather prophesied that the subject of factory law reform in India would be a matter of close interest in this country. I am very ready to admit that the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) is not actuated by personal motives in this matter, as we all know him to be a man of wide philanthropy. At the same time, I must take exception to what he has said. I ask him where is the evidence of the abominations which he says have taken place in the India factories? No doubt some precautions are required for the fencing of machinery, and for providing that the health of the operatives is duly cared for. But as to children being

reduced to skeletons by the overwork to which they are subjected, I believe the evidence conclusively shows that there is nothing of the kind; they have a system of voluntary shifts by which the labour is shifted as they like, and two or three persons do the work which is done by one in this country. The evils against which we have to guard are evils of another kind. As regards the greater part of what has been said by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan), I believe that the representative Lancashire manufacturers are not the people to deal with this matter. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Provand) has an interest in mills in Manchester—

MR. PROVAND: Permit me to make a personal explanation. I have no interest whatever in mills. I have not sixpennyworth of interest in any Manchester manufacture. I have never been spoken to on the subject by anyone interested in Manchester manufactures. The only interest I have is a tripartite interest. I am interested in a limited company, formerly a private firm, which sells Indian spinnings in China, which sells large quantities of American cotton goods in China, and which also sells cotton goods in China. I have moved in this matter for no reason whatever except that I believe the accounts that have come from India respecting the barbarities perpetrated in factories there—

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I must apologise to my hon. Friend. I always thought that he had some Manchester business—

MR. PROVAND: Having some Manchester business is very different from owning cotton mills.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I never said my hon. Friend had some mills, but I said he had some cotton interest. He tells us that he has such an interest, and that he does export Lancashire manufactures for sale in India.

MR. PROVAND: I said to China. Ascertain your facts.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I thought he said to India. Well, Sir, I will not be personal to my hon. Friend, but I will say that it is Lancashire cotton people who press on the Government the necessity of restraining the manufactures

of India. I am not surprised that the hon. Member for Oldham is not in a hurry to take part in this Debate. He pressed on the Government the obligation of imposing on the people the Resolutions of the Berlin Conference, from which India was really exempted by the distinction that was drawn between Northern and Southern manufacturers. On the other hand, my hon. Friend has been from the very first one of the most extreme in pressing the Resolutions of the Berlin Conference upon India; yet he was one of those who objected to applying them to Lancashire. But I think my hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) has already dealt with that point, so I will not say more about it. But although I admit that there may be something in the position taken up by the Lancashire manufacturers, that they were subject to some restrictions, while their Indian rivals were not, I say that they ought honestly to speak as rival manufacturers, and not in the character of philanthropists, because I think that all the agitation has arisen from rivalry and not from philanthropy. I do not think any case has been made out of atrocities with regard to the work and labour of Indian men, and women, and children, to which allusion has been made. I have no wish to enter into the details of these matters; but it seems to me that the Government of India have gone as far as they could reasonably go, and the Government of India, in my opinion, are the best judges in this matter. [*A cry of "No!"*] They have approached it in a fair, candid, and honest spirit. They have looked to the interests of all parties. They have gone as far as they should go. They have done all that it is necessary to do, and the question is, whether they have not gone a little too far in regard to the women of India? The hon. Member for Edinburgh has suggested that this legislation may have an injurious effect upon the women of India. I say that that would be an enormous evil to India. Of all things we should try to bring forward the women of India: to give them an opportunity of getting work at fair wages, and thereby to raise themselves to a higher position in the social scale. Such an opportunity they have been getting in the Indian factories, and it is

one which we should endeavour still more to develop. What I say is, that at the instigation of jealous Lancashire manufacturers to put any clogs or hindrances on such employment would be to do a very great injury to the people of India. I am free to admit, as the hon. Member for Edinburgh has said, that if the Government of India has not done more, it has not been for want of urging on the part of Her Majesty's Government. I do not think it was right or proper that Her Majesty's Government should have gone so far in the direction of the representations of the people of Lancashire in urging the Government of India to go further than the Government of India desired to go. The Under Secretary of State for India shakes his head; but I think, looking to the correspondence and the telegrams which have been quoted by the hon. Member for Edinburgh, especially in view of the statements made by the First Lord of the Treasury and others, it is the case that Her Majesty's Government, who very much depend on Lancashire votes, did urge the Government of India to do a great deal more than they were willing to do. But a great deal of good has been done by the firmness of the Government of India in doing their duty to the people of India rather than accepting the views of Her Majesty's Government. There is only one point in the speech of the hon. Member for Glasgow which I should like to correct. He said that the people of India do not know how to combine. Why, the people of India knew how to combine long before the people of this country. Trades Unions, combinations, strikes, are a far more highly developed institution there than in this country. We who have known India for the last 50 years know that these strikes have long continued there, and that nowhere in the world have they been better organised. I was reading the other day the *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, and there I saw that in one case, when the people were not satisfied with the land revenue assessment, they combined together, and that so thoroughly that the Governor of the country and his family were almost starved, because they were so effectually boycotted that they could not get food. Therefore, it is not for my

*Sir G. Campbell*

hon. Friend to run away with the idea that these strikes and combinations had not been developed in India. I think the people of India in this respect are pretty well able to protect themselves. Well, Sir, as I have said, I will not go into details. I decline to discuss the details in this House. But what I do say is this: that the conditions of India are totally and entirely different from the conditions of this country, and of every country in Europe. I say that the Conference of Berlin, wise as they were, feeling and knowing that they knew nothing about the conditions of life in India, entirely abstained from laying down any rules applicable to that country; and we, who know a good deal less than the members of that Conference, should not take that duty upon ourselves. Therefore, while not entering upon the details, I protest against our occupying this evening in the discussion of matters which are matters not for this House but for the Government of India to decide.

\*(4.50.) MR. MACLEAN (Oldham): I had not intended, Mr. Speaker, to make any remarks on this subject, because on other occasions I have spoken sufficiently about it already. But the flattering references made by hon. Members opposite to the part I have taken in the discussion of the question make me desire to say a word or two. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell) has suggested that I have been playing something of a dual character with regard to this question—that I took one view in respect to India and a different view in regard to Lancashire. Now, I have never pretended to have taken up this question of factory labour as a philanthropist. On the contrary, I have invariably advocated the restriction of the excessive hours of labour that factory operatives in India have to work on the ground that it was unfair that the operatives of this country should be exposed to competition of that kind. It is quite true that I pressed the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State to take action in this matter—not on my own account so much as that I represented a large body of employers and factory operatives who had brought this matter in successive years to the notice of the Secretary of State. And I certainly thought that as a certain stan-

dard was being set up at the Conference of Berlin, it was desirable that it should be set up for India as well as for other countries. But what was it that actually took place? We did not obtain from the Government of India the acceptance of the regulations laid down at the Conference of Berlin; and, therefore, I was perfectly free, when the question of the regulation of the labour of children in Lancashire was before this House, to take the line that it was impolitic to raise the age and reduce the hours of labour there when the Indian Government would not concede what had been laid down at Berlin. I do not think there was anything inconsistent in my action, therefore, in that respect. With regard to the Motion of the hon. Member for Glasgow, which he has not moved, I confess I think it is inopportune for a Motion of that kind to be brought forward. I know a good deal about the way in which this movement has been conducted in England, and I have had no protests from the working men or the employers of Lancashire, since the new Indian Factory Act was passed, to amend that Act and carry on a fresh agitation. And I may say that my hon. Friend the Member for North-West Manchester and myself, who have taken a most active interest in this matter in this House, consulted together when that Act was passed, and we determined that it was better to wait and see how it works before renewing the agitation for further restricting the hours of labour in India. Because, I desire to say, I have no unkindly or ungenerous feeling towards the mill industry of India. It would be most ungrateful of me, looking to what I owe to India, if I had any such feeling. I only ask for fair play for our own operatives. But I could not help considering, after that Act was passed, that there was a political aspect to this question. We know that the concessions which have been made—and they are very substantial concessions—have been wrung from the Government of India against their will. I do not hesitate to say boldly that the Government of India behaved very badly in this matter—[“No!”]—and that they encouraged the agitation of the millowners in India. But we are face to face with this declaration of the Government of India: that if they were called upon to make larger concessions than they had

made they would not answer for the consequences, as a strong feeling of animosity would be thereby aroused in India against the English people. Well, now, that would have been a real danger, and I considered, and my hon. Friend the Member for North-West Manchester considered too, that it was better to be satisfied with the concessions we had already obtained, and to wait until the working of the new Factory Act showed both the millowners and the operatives of India that this improvement of the hours is better both for them and for the industry in which they are engaged, and then we may hope that further reforms will be made. Having made these remarks, and as I think the only Motion before the House is that you, Mr. Speaker, should leave the Chair, I shall be in order in calling attention to the subject of the Motion which stands in my name.

\*MR. S. SMITH: May I rise to order, Sir? I have a notice on the Paper which comes next.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman has already spoken on the Main Question.

\*MR. S. SMITH: But may I submit, as a point of order, that I simply rose to make an explanation in reference to an allusion which the hon. Member for Edinburgh made to a question of mine? I merely rose under the belief that I was quite in order in alluding to it, and that it would not debar me from bringing on the Motion standing in my name.

MR. SPEAKER: It is a well-established rule. The hon. Member is quite out of order in speaking again on the Main Question. The hon. Gentleman spoke, and I was surprised at his intervening, knowing that he had a Motion on the Paper; but there is no rule for his speaking again.

\*MR. MACLEAN (resuming): I will now proceed, Mr. Speaker, to make some observations on a very important question really affecting the financial position of India. My hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy said he hoped this night would not be wasted in discussing all sorts of extraneous questions, so that no question really affecting the finances of India could be brought before the House. I wish to call attention to a very important matter really affecting the finances of India. I would point out,

in the first place, how very serious a burden the present great military expenditure is upon the people of India, and then I would suggest a way by which, in my opinion at all events, any increase of that very heavy expenditure would be avoided. Now, at the outset, I should like to soothe any alarm that might be created on the opposite Benches, or amongst the Liberal Party in the country, at the mere mention of the name of Candahar. I have no intention of suggesting more than that it is desirable to extend the railway as far as Candahar. I have no intention of reviving old controversies, still less have I any aggressive purpose in my mind. But I think that in the interests of commerce, not only of India and of Afghanistan, but of this country also, it would be extremely desirable to extend the railway system as far as Candahar. That is the simple motive of the Resolution which I have put upon the Paper. Now, I daresay many Members are hardly aware of the extraordinary burdens which the present system of frontier policy imposes on the taxpayers of India. No doubt the state of the Indian finances is at present excellent; and I do not think that anybody could improve upon the way in which the accounts are submitted to this House. There is especially, in the explanatory statement of the Secretary of State for India, a balance sheet presented which is most satisfactory to all who are interested in that country, because it shows that there are actually in India tangible assets representing the whole of the liabilities of that country, with the exception of about £38,000,000 sterling, or rather less than one year's revenue. We may, therefore, say that the condition of India is now very flourishing, and that is further shown by the very large revenue now derived from the railways, whose total revenue has yielded an interest of about 4½ per cent. on the whole of the capital invested in the railway lines. We also see from the Budgets presented by Sir David Barbour to the Legislative Council that the surpluses increase from year to year far beyond his Estimate. There is a most remarkable instance in the Revenue Accounts for the year which has just expired—1890-91. In March of last year the surplus was estimated at

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£270,400. I use the word "pounds," because it is a more familiar notation to this House than tens of rupees. Last August the Under Secretary told us that the estimated surplus had increased to £1,870,000. In March of this year it was estimated to be £2,787,100, and in August of this year the surplus for the financial year just expired has risen to the very large sum of £3,665,000, instead of about £270,000, as originally estimated. I see also that the Budget Estimate for this year, which showed a surplus of £115,000, has already increased, in spite of the Manipur events, to £395,000. These are very remarkable figures, and I think that they show that the Finance Minister has systematically underrated the flourishing condition of the revenues of the country. If I may offer a suggestion, possibly his reason is this: that he is afraid that if he told the Legislative Council of India what was the real state of the finances of the country, the whole of the surplus would be seized and swallowed up in the devouring gulf of military expenditure. That military expenditure has increased since the close of the Afghan War, and has been almost entirely due to the extraordinary expenses incurred in securing what is called a strategical frontier on the North West of India. I find, from figures given on pages 40 and 41 of Sir D. Barbour's Financial Statement, that the average military expenditure before the Afghan War might be taken at about £17,000,000 a year. The total since the Afghan War is £216,124,000, so that we have an increased expenditure since the Afghan War, in 11 years, over the normal expenditure of about £29,000,000. Then there are the special defence works, which amount to £4,663,000, and the amount expended on strategic railways amounts to £9,500,000, so that we have got an extra expenditure in 11 years of £43,287,000. You have to add to that about £1,000,000, which has been paid in subsidies to the Ameer of Afghanistan, so that you get a total of £44,000,000 for the 11 years, or about £4,000,000 a year increased expenditure for military purposes since the Afghan War. This average would have been greatly increased had it not been for the fact that there was a reduction in two or three years after the war up to 1885-86, when a great increase suddenly took

place, and has since been maintained, in consequence of the outlay on the plan of frontier defence adopted by the Indian Government. At the present moment we may assume that the increase is £6,000,000 a year over the expenditure which was experienced before the Afghan War. This is as near an estimate as I can form of the total sum spent by the Indian Government on these purposes. We are forced, then, to this conclusion: that the armed peace which we have now is very nearly as costly as the Afghan War was, which was condemned as an extravagant waste of money. This policy which is being pursued in India was not deliberately adopted by the Indian Government, but it was forced upon them contrary to Indian opinion by the feeling of the people of this country. We know that the Indian Authorities were anxious when they were once established at Candahar to remain there. The opinion of the Military Authorities in India was that if we had a force constantly stationed there, and connected by railway communication with India, that no invading Army would venture to pass that force without risking an engagement. The force would be stationed there on the flank of an invading Army, and it would be necessary for the invaders to turn aside and defeat this strong advance guard of British India, before they could continue the work of invasion. The opinion of this country forced the Indian Government to abandon Candahar, and I am not going to become a judge of that action. But look at the consequences that ensued. We have formed a vast camp at Quettah; we have made roads and railways through various Passes along the frontier, and every year this expenditure goes on. Naturally, the appetite for that sort of expenditure grows with what it feeds upon. The military engineers no sooner make one Pass secure than they discover another by which they can be taken in flank, and then an immense outcry is raised about the necessity of further defence, and so they go on from year to year. There are probably 300 Passes through this range of mountains, and we can see what an enormous military expenditure would be involved if we were to defend this immense extent of frontier. It is a far more for-

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midable task than France has taken in hand in fortifying her Eastern Frontier against Germany. This frontier from Kashmir down to the Persian Gulf covers in a bee line, I should say, fully 1,000 miles. Where are you going to get the troops from to defend that immense frontier line? It would take four or five times the troops we have in India to accomplish a work of that kind. The Indian Government, knowing this to be the real state of the case, are actually resorting to the hazardous experiment of allowing levies to be made by Native Chiefs under British officers to supplement the Native Army under our own control in India. I say that is a very hazardous experiment, because you have troops of very inferior quality which could only be employed in keeping the communications open, and in time of danger, if any disaster were suffered, these troops would be the cause of infinite mischief to our rule in India. But even when all this is done, I find that the Indian Military Authorities still believe that, if any hostilities were to break out on the frontier, they would be obliged to send a force in advance to Candahar; that they could not allow the enemy to approach this frontier, which is such a marvel of scientific strategy. No doubt whatever that is what would have to be done. Where have we gone with this wonderful railway system of ours? We have pushed it forward not only as far as Quettah, but we have just pierced the range of mountains with a tunnel which is about 70 miles from Candahar, and there the splendid system of Indian railways ends in what is literally a hole in the wall. It is almost incredible that the policy should have been adopted by a strong and far-seeing Government, such as the Indian Government, of not carrying forward this railway. They pierce a range of mountains and get to the frontier line on the other side, and there is then only 70 miles of intervening country between the end of that tunnel and Candahar, but the Government will not advance a single mile further towards that natural terminus of the railway. I remember the speech of my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary for India two or three years ago, in which he assured the House that he would welcome with the greatest gratitude the proposition that not a

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single soldier should be allowed to advance through the tunnel until war was declared. Look at the feeling which the Ameer of Afghanistan must entertain towards the people who act in this way. We have materials actually stored to carry the railway as far as Candahar, but the Ameer is told that this project will only be carried out if war ensues. If the Russians, for instance, invade Afghanistan, or if Afghanistan should in any way act against our rule, we should then take the course of constructing this railway to Candahar. The natural consequence of a policy of that kind is that the Ameer looks upon the railway as a standing menace. It seems to him a vast military engine always held in readiness to crush him if he shows the smallest symptom of independence. Why should we not make some attempt to show him that, instead of that, the railway is a beneficial institution which will develop the resources of his country, and make him a much richer man, and his people much more prosperous and contented than they now are? This is the change which I ask to be made in the policy of India towards Afghanistan. I say that we are making a very great mistake indeed when we shut ourselves in, as it were, behind a Chinese Wall on our North-West Frontier; when we say that we will never carry civilisation beyond those mountains; and that we will leave the Afghans in a state of anarchy; and that this country, which has been formally given over as a part of our sphere of influence by Russia, shall never be invaded by a single English merchant or trader. I say that that is a pusillanimous and short-sighted policy, which can do no good to our Empire in India. It was not by a policy of that kind that we gained India, and it is not by a policy of that kind that we can hope to retain it. The motto of the men who created our Indian Empire was always that of Danton—*Il faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace*. This Empire was built up first by the efforts of daring adventurers, who, when once they had planted their foot in a country, obtained the support of the Government for carrying out their designs. Although private individuals have done the beginning of the work, still we have always seen that popular

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opinion in this country, moved by a strong commercial instinct, has supported with its Armies and its Fleets those private individuals until we gained the complete control of India. This commercial spirit has lasted from the spacious times of great Elizabeth down to our own day; it has been the strongest power in the government of this country. I dare say that, of late years, a change has taken place in that respect: the commercial spirit has been superseded largely by the industrial spirit. Looking back to a generation ago, I find that a Committee of the House of Commons—a very strong Committee—had no hesitation in proposing that a guarantee should be given for the construction of a railway right across, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and this vast design was approved of by the men of a past generation. But nowadays political power is transferred almost entirely into the hands of the working classes; and the majority of the men who live by manual labour, of course I except the intelligent artizans, who know how much depends upon the extension of trade with foreign countries, and how largely and immediately their own interest is connected with that extension; but the majority of the working men who live on weekly wages naturally want the foresightedness or courage to undertake vast or comprehensive designs for the extension of our Empire, or for the benefit of trade. The horizon of their hopes and fears extends a very short way beyond their own cottage doors. No doubt it is very desirable in many respects we should give attention to the improvement in the condition of the working classes; but, at the same time, we ought not to abandon those great commercial designs which have always been the source of the wealth and the power of England. Now, I maintain that if we were to approach the Ameer of Afghanistan in a very different spirit to that in which we have dealt with him in the last 10 years, we should find him open to reasonable representations as to the advantages of developing commerce between his country and India and England. Though I daresay hon. Members are not aware of what is the present condition of trade between India and Afghanistan, it shows very little signs of developing in any direction, and

the risk is great, because the Russians on the north of Afghanistan push their railways right through that part of the country which falls within their sphere of influence. The region of Merv is becoming already, under their influence, as prosperous and fertile as it was in the old days, because railways in Asia carry with them everywhere cultivation and population; and you will soon see, under the rule of Russia, those countries become, as they were in former days, flourishing, and once more worthy of their old reputation. What is the position of England in the face of a competition like that? Russia can take down her goods cheaply to the very frontier of Afghanistan; we pause at our own frontier, and refuse to adopt the means available for carrying out the development of our trade. If the railway were completed right up to Candahar we could carry goods to Afghanistan as cheaply as can Russia, and as cheaply as we can place them in the capital of the Punjab. If the Ameer were approached by the Indian Government he might be induced to relax the differential charges put on English goods, and not continue to give preferential duties to Russian goods. Mr. O'Connor, the very able head of the Statistical Department in India—really the Board of Trade in India—referred to this subject in his Report for last year on the Indian Frontier Trade, which, he says, the Ameer is ruining by the excessive duties levied on English merchandise, while very light duties are levied by him on competing goods from Russia. This is the action of our subsidised ally, whose foreign policy is supposed to be entirely under our control. He gives the preference in every way he can to Russian trade, and shuts out English goods as far as possible. How can you rely on a man who does that when the day of trial comes? I say that unless we can establish improved relations with the Ameer of Afghanistan we had better beware, for the time will come when he will turn out to be our enemy rather than our friend. To show that the views I hold are not merely those of a Member of the Conservative Party, perhaps I may be allowed to quote a passage I came across this morning in reading the very excellent book of Sir Charles Dilke—*Greater Britain*. Sir C. Dilke in his chapters on India deals with

this question of the relations between India and Afghanistan, and the House will remember that at that time he was the guest of Sir Frederick Roberts, and enjoyed his entire confidence. In the observations, therefore, which he makes on the subject his views are not at all antagonistic to the real wishes of those who are in authority in India. Sir C. Dilke says, speaking of the strong desire of Indian soldiers to occupy Candahar, that he deprecates an advance to this place before the Russians have taken Herat. But he adds that, of course, if the Ameer could be brought to see either for trade or other reasons that the railway to Candahar should be completed, then that line should be made at once. That is all I ask the House to say, and I am very much mistaken if the Ameer himself would not be inclined to listen favourably to any advance of that kind, because he is a man with keen trading instincts. The Afghan race are not mere brutal savages; they are men of a high type, and, if they are not actually the lost tribes of Israel, certainly possess the money-getting propensities of that people, with whom they are akin. The Ameer lately has taken some steps of his own accord to show that he is alive to any business relations with people who can show how to make his country more prosperous, and therefore more productive of revenue to himself. Sir C. Dilke mentions in his book that he welcomed the captain who was sent out by the Government of India to report on the mineral deposits of his country. Recently he has taken a still more decided step. An English resident in Bombay was sent by the Government of India to Cabul to initiate the Afghans into making cartridges and rifles, and after he had been there a short time the Ameer expressed a wish to enter into much wider business relations with him. Eventually the Ameer invited to his capital the representatives of the English firm—Messrs. Welsh and Martin—who were treated with the greatest kindness and distinction by the Ameer's officials *en route* to Cabul on their way to establish friendly relations there. I think that shows that there is an opening in Afghanistan for the development of peaceful commercial intercourse with that country. I hope that the Indian Government may be induced to open negotiations for the



purpose of improving such intercourse. I desire that this railway should be extended to Candahar, and that it should be placed if necessary under the Ameer's own control when it enters his territory, so that he need not be afraid in any way of English designs. I hope that this railway will be constructed not only in the interests of trade with Afghanistan, but that it may be the first step towards opening up inter-communication by land between Europe and India. This is a design which will have to be entered upon some day, if not under English auspices, then under the auspices of some foreign Power. While we have three or four different lines—trans-Continental lines—crossing the whole of the New World of America, from East to West, the Old World still remains undeveloped, although the route from Candahar to Herat and Bagdad and up to the confines of the Mediterranean is one of the most ancient and famous highways of commerce in the world. I hope that what I have said to-night may have some influence with the commercial people of this country, and that it may move them to take action in the matter, and that the Imperial Government of India may be induced to adopt a policy in regard to Afghanistan worthier of a nation which has always been regarded as the first commercial country in the world. I move the Resolution which stands in my name.

**Amendment proposed,**

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the present relations between India and Afghanistan are of an unsatisfactory character; and that, in the interest of the trade of both Countries, it is desirable to extend the Indian Railway system as far as Candahar."—(*Mr. Maclean.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

\* (5.30.) **SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE** (Kensington, N.): I rise to second the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Oldham, and I think both India and England are grateful to the hon. Gentleman for bringing this question before the House, and for pressing it very seriously upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government. I do not quite agree with some of the remarks in which my hon. Friend has indulged with regard

*Mr. Maclean*

to the increase in our military expenditure of late years. It must, of course, be admitted that since the close of the Afghan War the military expenditure of India has shown a certain tendency to increase. But I must remind my hon. Friend that the true date of that increase is not since the Afghan War, but from the period when Lord Dufferin's Government determined that there should no longer be a sense of unrest and disquiet with regard to our North-West Frontier, but that the North-West Frontier should be put at once and for ever in a secure position. I think the Indian Government was quite right in taking that most important decision. I think that the people of India, equally with the people of England, entirely approve of that decision. The expenditure is not in the nature of an aggressive expenditure, or of an ordinary military expenditure, but it is strictly in the nature of an insurance expenditure. It insures us not only from the possibilities, but I might even say the probabilities, of aggression and invasion. It insures us, and, further, insures the Government of India also, from those periodical scares which we all know have occurred from time to time, and have become more and more frequently recurrent within the memory of every one of us. Sir, I think the expenditure which is laid out on these frontier railways, and upon the securing of the frontier, is an expenditure that will in future lead to a reduction of expenditure. It is a wise expenditure which leads to economy in future. Having said that much with regard to the military expenditure on our North-West Frontier in India, I do wish to express my entire concurrence with my hon. Friend in what he said with regard to the extension of our great Indian railway system into Afghanistan as far as Candahar. There can be no doubt whatever that at the present moment we have brought up the terminus to what my hon. Friend calls a hole in the wall. We have constructed, at very great expense, this magnificent tunnel through the range of mountains that separate us from the province of Candahar, the capital of which is not far from the mouth of the tunnel on the other side. The end of the tunnel is within easy reach of some of the most fertile por-

tions of Afghanistan. Yet after constructing this tunnel, after making this hole in the wall, we have left our railway to end in nothing and nowhere. I think it is obvious that we should carry the railway on to Candahar. And I would ask the House to remember that Candahar is not merely a place of arms; but it is, and has been from time immemorial, a place of trade, and in earlier times it was a place where there was a very great trade to all parts of Central Asia. I say that if the railway is carried on to a place of this immense strategical importance, and also of immense commercial importance, the Government of India will have deserved well not only of its subjects in India—which is, of course, the first consideration, and rightly the first consideration, with them—but will also deserve well of the commercial community of this country. And I am glad, Mr. Speaker, that my hon. Friend the Member for Oldham has to-night impressed upon the commercial community of this country that it is of the very greatest importance to the trade of this country, always needing new outlets, that the trade of Central Asia should be secured, and it can be secured, by the comparatively small extension which has been advocated by my hon. Friend. I hope that the commercial community of this country will take notice especially of the figures which have been indicated by my hon. Friend with regard to the present earnings of Indian railways. My hon. Friend pointed out that their average earnings is something like  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the capital invested in them. If that is the amount of their present earnings we all know that the future earnings of these railways must surpass the dreams of avarice, for many of them pass through a country as thickly populated and as fertile in resources as any country in the world. Railway extensions, not only in the direction indicated by my right hon. Friend, but railway extension in general, is needed in India. The hon. Member for Hythe asked some very pregnant questions the other day on this point. And I was glad to observe that Her Majesty's Government, without pledging themselves as to any particular concession, did appear to lend a favourable ear to the representations of the hon. Member

for Hythe. The point to which the hon. Member for Hythe drew attention was this: that there are enormous tracts of territory in India, each separately served by railway systems on the narrow gauge, that are at present separated from each other by short lines on the broad gauge. The hon. Member for Hythe pointed out that by simply laying down a third rail these lines could be made available for an interchange of traffic between every part of India. Such a development of railway traffic would be an important means of preventing famine. The Report of the Famine Commission drew the special attention of the Government of India to this subject. The hon. Member for Hythe's is only one of a number of similar suggestions that have been made. I submit that this railway extension is entirely justified by the finances of India; and that if carried out while the finances of India will permit of it, it will produce the most valuable effects for the future in enriching the country. I should like to quote from a pamphlet lately issued by a very distinguished ex-member of the Public Works Department of India. Sir Arthur Cotton is known as the father of irrigation works in India. He is also known as a distinguished authority on Indian railways and their extension.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not the question of the public railways of India which is now before the House, but only the North-West extension.

\*SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE: I will leave that part of the question, and I will merely venture to indicate the connection that I was endeavouring to draw between the general extension of the railways of India and the Motion before the House. I will not pursue that branch of the subject further, except to say that Sir Arthur Cotton's opinion entirely justifies the views put forward by my hon. Friend as to the extraordinarily gratifying results that ensue from railway extension. As soon as a railway is constructed in India trade follows, the land is tilled, the population increases largely, and that would happen, I venture respectfully to suggest to the House, in this particular extension to Candahar, just as it happens in India itself. I rose to second the Motion, not so much from the military as from the commercial point of view. I

hope that Her Majesty's Government will receive the suggestion that has been thrown out by my hon. Friend, and will do their best to give it consideration, when they see that commercial results of the very highest importance both to India and to this country are likely to result from the construction of this extension.

\*(5.38.) **SIR R. TEMPLE** (Worcester, Evesham): The Motion is limited to the extension of the railway to Candahar—that means from the mouth of the tunnel, through the Khwaja Amran range at Chaman on the British border in Pushin, to Candahar. Between the mouth of the tunnel and Candahar there are about 70 miles of flat country. Though I do not rise to support the Motion, yet I wish to speak of it sympathetically. I know every inch of the ground over which it is proposed to extend the line. In 1879 I made a rough survey of that section of the railway to Candahar, or it was made by my officers under my supervision. The line is extremely easy to make, and it could have been made well in the year 1880-1. In fact, if my memory serves me rightly, I submitted proposals in 1879, under instructions from the Viceroy of India, whereby the first engine might enter Candahar by May, 1882. But a General Election came in 1880, and with that a change of Government, and a change of policy and opinion. The railway hung fire for a short time—that is, the entire railway project from the Indus Valley to Candahar. But soon afterwards it was resumed, and as far as the range of mountains near Chaman it was completed, and instead of making a circuit to skirt the mountains, my anticipations were exceeded by the making of the tunnel. Thus England has completed a great enterprise indeed; moreover, it will be a grand factor in the policy of the future. Now, my hon. Friend the Member for Oldham proposes the prolongation of the line from the end of the tunnel to Candahar, a distance of 70 to 80 miles, according to our original design, for military, financial, commercial, and industrial purposes. I quite admit this is a project of great consequence. But when I first proposed it we were in occupation of Candahar, whereas we have now retired. The case is in the

*Sir Roper Lethbridge*

hands of the Afghans, and if the hon. Member could succeed in inducing them to agree to the undertaking, he will have effected a great alteration in the manners and customs of that people. I hardly hope to live to see that accomplished, though discussion in this House and this country may indirectly tend to bring about the accomplishment of the desirable object. The trade, of course, is important in itself, though insignificant statistically compared with the external trade of the Indian Empire. But if the enterprise is to be undertaken, who is to find the money? Will the Indian Government? Will private enterprise? Certainly not. If the Government of India is not prepared to undertake the enterprise, still less will it offer a guarantee. And supposing the reluctance of the Ameer were overcome, would he be able to afford the money? I suppose there are very few Treasuries so poor as that of the Ameer of Afghanistan. Then, what would be the moral effect on the mind of the Afghans on seeing this railway entering their territory? Would not the Ameer be likely to regard the approach of the iron horse as the harbinger of our authority, the Pegasus that is winged with political power, and would not he say, "It is all very well, but what is to become of me and my authority?" But with regard to the strategic advantage of this extension, I am sure that its importance is not exaggerated. All that remains is to traverse a tract of country some 80 or 90 miles broad, which is comparatively level, and across which a railway could be laid for temporary military purposes. Undoubtedly, if war were to break out between England and Russia in a struggle for empire in Asia, the first step taken by British commanders would be to run a temporary line to Candahar as part of our military operations. If we were to extend the railway to Candahar, we must always remember that some further extensions would be proposed. Will the House kindly bear in mind that, as we have been extending towards Candahar, Russia has already been extending towards Herat, and any further movement of ours to Candahar would provoke Russia to move still nearer towards Herat. Whether she could penetrate to Herat

without affording a *casus belli* to us may be a question ; but, at all events, they could have some sort of approach to the Herat border from the Russian end if we approached to Candahar. These are difficult questions, and exactly the sort of sleeping dogs of politics one is anxious to let lie for a time. Heaven knows how long they will remain dormant ! they might at any day be excited into activity. I would only point out that when you propose an expansion of the British Empire you must expect a similar expansion on the part of our rivals. I admit fully that Candahar is one of the most important positions in India. It has enormous advantages. In the first place, it is surrounded by land in splendid cultivation, and with the most perfect irrigation in the world. Therefore, it is a place which can feed and support a large Army for an indefinite time. It has also the most beautiful water supply possible from the River Argandab. Above all, it is one of the most commanding positions in all Asia, because it lies on the very high road from North Asia to India ; and it has been the highway for ages of all the conquerors, politicians, and armies from century to century. Now, Candahar, being the key to this main line of communication—a communication that has lasted for thousands of years—must be deemed in itself as of great strategic value. On its left is a desert, by which it cannot be approached ; and on its right is the line of the mountains. On neither side can its flank be turned. On the left the attempt would be hopeless ; on the right it could not be made without giving the British commander a decisive advantage. An army marching from Central Asia to India must pass Candahar, and, therefore, the British point to keep in view is to have a powerful position in Candahar. We might, during the time of peace, endeavour to lay the foundation of the policy of making Candahar not only a stronghold, but an outpost of the British Empire against the coming day of Imperial danger.

(558.) MR. G. N. OURZON (Lancashire, Southport): Both the Ameer of Afghanistan and the Indian Government stand in a position of very great delicacy. The Ameer is, undoubtedly, a remarkable man—of haughty, imperious, and truculent character, and very jealous indeed of

outside interference. His rule over his people is a rule of fear, and not of love. The very fact that his life has been attempted more than once shows that he is not popular with a large number of his people. Still, it is by no means clear that this method of carrying trade to his country is not the best for him and his people. During the 11 years of his rule he has consolidated the Afghan dominions to an extent which was thought at one time incredible. During that time he has crushed and stamped out insurrection, and I am not aware that in the whole period he has shown any disloyalty to the British Crown. He is in a very difficult position. He has to fulfil all his engagements to the Indian Government, and at the same time to feel that he is treating on equal terms. But I believe the relations between the Ameer and the Viceroy are, on the whole, satisfactory. In the 11 years we have saved Afghanistan from intestine disorder and from insurrection. Now, I wish to say a few words with regard to extending the railway to Candahar. In the first place, as the hon. Member who has just spoken has justly pointed out, it would immediately excite the jealousy of the Ameer, and would be followed immediately by a corresponding movement by Russia on the other side. The Ameer has looked with the utmost jealousy upon the extension of our railway as far as Chaman, and the present does not seem to be the proper time for pressing upon him proposals for further extension. As regards the larger question of our trade relations with Afghanistan, I am not quite in agreement with what I believe to be the position of the hon. Member. Occupying the position we do in Central Asia we ought to have under our control at any rate a very large trade. We ought to be enabled to import the chief part of our products into Afghanistan and afterwards into the surrounding territory. It is no doubt true that we should meet the competition of Russia, backed up by prohibitive tariffs ; but, at the same time, it should be remembered we could bring in goods in which they could not compete with us. The figures, however, indicate a very unsatisfactory state of things. The Returns of the export

trade to Afghanistan and Central Asia show a decrease of about 3,000,000 rupees in three years. Although the figures of the past year show an increase in another direction, yet the trade in this case has not increased within the last four years, whilst the trade in India and China tea—almost the whole trade being in China tea—is smaller than it was in the past. To what is that due? It is due no doubt, to a certain extent, to Russian competition pushed from the direction of the Caspian. But more than anything else, it is due to the illiberal fiscal system adopted by the Ameer of Afghanistan. Would it be believed that the Ameer of Afghanistan charges £2 2s. upon every cwt. of tea carried from India? The Ameer also levies a tax of 80 rupees, or £5 13s. 4d., on every camel load going through. The whole of Central Asia is dependent on tea passing through from China or Assam. This cumulative system of tariffs is an intolerable barrier, checking progress between India and Central Asia, and its effect is to open up for Russia traffic which but for this illiberal policy we would be able to enjoy. If the Ameer were an independent Sovereign negotiating a Commercial Treaty with India on the same terms as he might do with Germany, or France, or Spain, I could understand he would have a perfect right to decide what he as Sovereign would desire. But as Ameer he is not in a position to take that line of action. Afghanistan is not an independent State. The Ameer of Afghanistan is a British vassal. He owes his Throne and position to us. We supply him with a yearly salary of 12 lakhs of rupees, and we have supplied him, further, with munitions of war which have enabled him to hold his position. We have given him that moral support without which his tenure of the Throne would not be worth six months' purchase. I say his is an illiberal and intolerable system, and, with due regard to certain susceptibilities, the very strongest pressure ought to be brought to bear upon him by the Indian Government to relax this fiscal system which I have been describing, and give fair play to Indian commerce. I would say, in conclusion, that the policy which I have been advocating is a policy of no oppression. It is

*Mr. G. N. Curzon*

only part and parcel of the policy which has been pursued all along the North West Frontier. Along that frontier there is a belt of mountains inhabited by wild, savage tribes, who are not Afghans. They have never expressed allegiance to the Ameer; they are independent tribes. We ought to have free play in our endeavours to establish commercial relations with these people.

(5.15.) *SIR G. CAMPBELL*: In the former part of the speech of the Member for Oldham I felt that I agreed with him, but when the hon. Member for Southport came to speak of the new Indian frontier, I felt I must differ from him. He tells us there are tribes there who are not Afghans at all. I venture to tell him that in every sense of the word they are the purest Afghans. In fact, the greater part of the real and true Afghans, in language and character, are those tribes that lie between our frontier and the frontier of the Ameer of Afghanistan.

*MR. CURZON*: The tribes of which I spoke are not, and have not for years been, subject to the Ameer of Afghanistan. The fact is, the majority of them are not Afghans in sympathy, and, at the present moment, the Ameer has no more power over these tribes than the hon. Member himself has.

*SIR G. CAMPBELL*: Well, we will not dispute about words. It is true they are not subject to the Ameer of Afghanistan, but the Ameer rules over the larger number of Afghans, and those tribes from the Black Mountain and far below are of the purest Afghan type. It is said that we are now attempting to establish relations with those tribes by voluntary and pacific means. A curious commentary is afforded on that statement by what is now taking place in that country. Does the hon. Member call the Black Mountain Expedition and other military expeditions voluntary and pacific agencies by means of which the tribes may be brought under our control? What I complain of is rather that we are advancing by military means, and endeavouring to bring these Afghan tribes under our control by force of arms. The Afghans are a very independent race. If you attempt to bring them under control by force you may make them rise, and will

probably in every way defeat the object which the hon. Gentleman sets forth. As regards the Ameer of Afghanistan and those frontier tribes, I very much agree with the hon. Member for Oldham. Our relations with Afghanistan are extremely unsatisfactory at the present moment. I am not disposed to complain that I have had no opportunity of moving the Motion which stands in my name, because the hon. Member for Oldham has not only given me an opportunity of speaking on the subject, but has proved my case. What is the remedy the hon. Member has spoken of? He would need to go further back, and learn by the lesson on which we spent so much money that we had better not try the same thing again. Our relations with Afghanistan are most unsatisfactory, and they are unsatisfactory because we cannot let the country alone. It is one of those countries like the hedgehog, the more you touch it the more it bristles, and the more trouble you will have. I believe if, instead of giving facilities to Russia to approach us, we have that natural barrier which God has given between ourselves and Russia, if the Russians attempt to advance to us they will have to advance through difficulties so great, and will find the Afghans so inhospitable, that if they reach our frontier they will do so in a diminished and very weak condition. No doubt we are a very commercial people, and have created a magnificent commerce, which it is desirable should be promoted; but I say all the commerce you can get into Central Asia is worthless and trumpery, and unworthy of the attention of this country. I believe that the idea of penetrating through those Afghan countries, between the Indus and the Oxus, is a delusion and a snare, which would lead to a great expenditure of money, and possible political complications. To wipe out and obliterate that barrier which God has placed in front of our Indian Empire might enable Russia to attack us, instead of enabling our troops to attack Russia. Therefore I, for one, desire to deprecate very much the measures which have been taken to advance the Indian frontier into the territory of those Afghan tribes. I am afraid that the Governor General of India has not succeeded in exercising that amount of control over his military advisers which

used to be exercised in former days. I should like to see some vigour and independence displayed on the part of the Government of India in controlling the military policy which appears to be so predominant. In my view, it is a mistake altogether, and it will be much better to keep our old frontier; to make the best of the rich and splendid country we now possess; to make the Indians an industrious and docile people; to restrain our troops, and not send them amongst those tribes; to restrain our commercial men, who wish to develop their commerce there, and who wish to appropriate to their petty trade all those countries.

(6.28.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): I should be sorry to attempt to act as arbitrator between two such authorities as the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy and the hon. Member for Southport on the question of the ethnology of the tribes on the North-West Frontier of India. The hon. Member or Kirkcaldy is wrong, however, when he speaks of the policy pursued by the Government of India towards the Afghan tribes. The policy of the Government of India is not to interfere with the independence of those tribes, not to attempt any territorial aggression, not to attempt an extension of the frontier of India further than it is at present, but to bring the independent tribes, with full respect for their independence, into friendly relations with the British Empire, so that they might become guards and protectors of our frontier. It is quite true that, in pursuance of a policy of this kind, occasional outbreaks on the frontier will take place. In the course of last year there were outbreaks of that kind in the Black Mountain, to which the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy has alluded. But these are the necessary and natural incidents which happen in the pursuit of our policy. [Sir G. CAMPBELL: Hear, hear!] Well, the hon. Member utters an ironical "Hear, hear!" but you cannot carry on a policy on a great frontier like that, with a number of independent, half-civilised tribes, without occasional outbreaks and occasional differences; but the policy which is pursued is a policy not of war but of peace. These frontier wars are the failures, the occasional failures, of

our policy; and the true representation of the character of the system pursued by the Government of India upon the North-Western Frontier is that it is one of pacification and friendship. But I suppose that episode was introduced by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy rather in pursuance of the Amendment of which he had given notice, and it is only partially germane to the question which has been raised and debated during the last hour. That question I understand to be, whether it is expedient that some attempt or other should now be made by the Government of India to extend the Scinde-Pishin Railway to Candahar. Now, I am not at all insensible of the strategical advantages of Candahar, and I do not want to raise the old controversy of many years ago as to whether it was wise or unwise to retire from Candahar when we occupied it. That is a matter on which a good deal was said at the time, and I do not know that I need express any repentance for the opinions which members of the Government, in common with many other Members on this side of the House, expressed upon that occasion. But it is one thing to remain at Candahar when you are there, and when you have a military right to its occupation; it is another thing to attempt to return there when you have surrendered the position, when you have retired to a frontier 60 or 70 miles away, and when it would be represented with great truth that anything like a forcible attempt to return to Candahar would be a great breach of faith. I should be very sorry were the House to assent to the Motion which my hon. Friend the Member for Oldham has made, if it was only for the statement that the "present relations between India and Afghanistan are of an unsatisfactory character." I understand that to mean, and I suppose people generally will understand that to mean, that the relations of the Government of India with the Ameer of Cabul were now of an unsatisfactory character. Nothing could be further from the real facts of the case. I do not think that the relations between the Government of India and the Ameer of Cabul has at any time during the last seven years been of an unsatisfactory character.

\*MR. MACLEAN: I beg my right hon. Friend's pardon. I did not mean to  
*Sir J. Gorst*

say that the personal relations with the Ameer of Cabul were unsatisfactory, but that the permanent conditions of our policy in relation to Afghanistan seem to me very unsatisfactory, and ought to be changed.

SIR J. GORST: I am glad that the hon. Member has made that disclaimer, because I am afraid that the language of the Resolution is equivocal; and I should be very sorry that it should be given out to the world at large that any Party or section in this House thought that these relations were of an unsatisfactory character. Now, whatever complaint other persons may have a right to make against the Ameer of Cabul, the British Government has none. He has kept faith with us, and as far as his stipulations in the relations which have existed between us go, he has been perfectly true to his engagements. I was rather sorry to hear in the admirable speech which was made by my hon. Friend the Member for Southport, with almost every word of which I agreed, that he should have thought it necessary to attack the Ameer's fiscal policy, for the House has nothing whatever to do with that policy. The Ameer is not a vassal of the Queen Empress. The Ameer has always been recognised by the Queen-Empress as an independent ally, whom we protect and whom we assist, but over whom, and over whose territory, we have no right to exercise any jurisdiction whatever. It is quite true that he is subsidised by the Government of India. Why is he so subsidised? In order that he may be militarily strong. The object of the money which is given to him is that his military strength should be kept up, and I believe that the funds which he receives from the Indian Exchequer are applied to the purpose for which they are given. Then we have no right whatever to interfere with his fiscal policy. The fiscal policy which he pursues may, from the enlightened Western ideas of political economy, be an extremely unwise one. We in the West know the folly of transit duties, and I do not expect that we will ever have these in our country; but the levying of transit duties has been the universal experience among Oriental races, and if we have succeeded in putting down transit duties in India it has only been by friendly agreement with the

independent Native States, almost all of which did at one time levy them. But so far as the fiscal action of the Ameer is concerned he is independent. He is only bound to consult us in reference to his foreign policy, and we have no right whatever to meddle with his fiscal policy, or with the internal policy by which he governs his dominions, however much we may disapprove, in our supposed greater enlightenment, of the policy he pursues. But the Ameer is directing his attention at the present moment to commercial enterprise. I am very happy to be able to confirm the hon. Member for Oldham in his statement that the Ameer is making great efforts to start manufactures at Cabul. It is very interesting to watch these attempts of the Ameer, who has greatly improved in health, as I daresay the whole House will be glad to hear. He has appointed as many as seven Europeans residing in his capital for the purpose of promoting manufactures. An enterprising commercial Potentate, such as the Ameer is, no doubt will find out the value of a railway from Chaman to Candahar as an addition to his resources; but I am not at all sure that an expression of opinion by this House that such a railway ought to be made, or that an expression of opinion from the Government of India that it is desirable that a railway should be made, would not in many ways prevent the accomplishment of that purpose. The character of the Ameer has been described, and it is quite true that he is extremely jealous; and that he has shown extreme jealousy of anything like an interference with his independence. There could be no better instance of that than that alluded to by the hon. Member for Southport, the negotiations that took place with respect to the extension of the railway. The Government of India never dreamed that they had any right to extend the railway into Afghan territory; on the other hand, the Ameer never pretended that the Government of India had not the right to extend the railway to the very verge of their territory, and the negotiations that went on and the correspondence that took place related to the particular point at which British Indian territory ended, and Afghan ter-

ritory began. The railway is now made to Chaman, for the Ameer was at last persuaded to recognise it; but the whole of the railway is in our own territory. But if we were to attempt to carry the railway a little out of our territory and into Afghan territory, there would no doubt be the very strongest remonstrance, if not more, on the part of the Ameer, and he would be able very justly to say that, though he had kept faith with us, we had not kept faith with him. If anyone wants to see a railway made to Candahar, as a matter of commerce or as a matter of defence, I am afraid the only way in which it can be made is by patiently waiting until the Ameer sees its advantages. I was rather surprised to hear the hon. Member for Oldham complain of the tunnel having been made. I should have thought that he would have considered that the Government of India deserved the very greatest credit for having made that tunnel. He says it leads nowhere. It leads to the fertile plains of Candahar, and there is at the present moment the door of India open to Afghanistan and the whole of Central Asia. They can readily come into that door for commercial purposes, and the construction and opening of the railway adds greatly to the facility of access which all the tribes of Central Asia have to the commerce of India. I hope I have made it sufficiently clear to the House that my objection and the objection of the Government to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Oldham is, first, that we do not like to express so equivocal a sentiment as that "the relations between India and Afghanistan are now of an unsatisfactory character;" and that we do not consider it would be good policy in the interests of the British Empire, which the hon. Member for Oldham himself confesses is his object, that this House should take upon itself to express an opinion that it is for the interests of both countries that the Indian railway system should be extended as far as Candahar. For these reasons, I must oppose the adoption of the Amendment.

(6.45.) Question put, and agreed to.

Main Question again proposed.

SIR H. HAVELOCK-ALLAN (Durham, S.E.): It is with the very



greatest reluctance, at this late period of the Session, and at this hour of the evening, that I desire, in accordance with the Notice I have placed on the Paper, to call attention to the case of Colonel George Jackson, commanding 5th Bengal Cavalry, with reference to certain very contradictory Reports made with regard to him by certain general officers, some of which have been suppressed; and to move—That inquiry should be made into his position as an officer of the "Indian Local Forces," protected by the "Henley Clause" which guarantees all then existing rights and privileges—and that this case be further considered next Session before he is compulsorily retired. I desire to lay stress on the concluding part of the Resolution for this reason, that if we had been able within the last few days, or even within the last few hours, to have some satisfactory assurance, as I had hoped we should have had from the Under Secretary of State for India, acting under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, that this case should not be finally closed at the present time, but should, as I think it undoubtedly ought to be, be held over during the period of the Recess during which the House will not be sitting, so that it should be again considered at the beginning of next year, then I should have been very glad indeed of the opportunity offered me of not taking up the time of the House at all with this Motion. But I regret very much, and I am sure the regret is shared by many Members on both sides of the House, that we have received no conciliatory or satisfactory assurance from the Under Secretary of State. I understand that in this matter he is acting not in accordance with his own wishes on the subject, but in accordance with the instructions which he has received from the head of his Department, the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India; and the difficulty really in this matter is that circumstances do not permit of making reference to the noble Lord to get the assurance which we seek, as at present situated; and if that be so, if I have correctly interpreted the wishes, intentions, and instructions of the Under Secretary of State for India, I trust that even now this Debate may be out short by an assurance being given to the

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desired effect. The case of Colonel George Jackson is one of such peculiarity, and, I may say, unprecedented hardship, that it has already been made the subject of debate in another place by Lord Northbrook, late Governor General of India, than whom no person whatever is better acquainted with the merits of this case, because it happened that at an earlier stage of Colonel George Jackson's career he served for a long time as *aide-de-camp* on the personal staff of Lord Northbrook himself, then Governor General of India. This officer has possessed an unblemished reputation for military services for more than 33 years. During that period he served on the personal staff of three Governors General—Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, and Lord Mayo. He has also during his tenure of office as *aide-de-camp* been employed in several quasi-diplomatic situations, which are in themselves sufficient guarantee of the tact, temper, and judgment with which he has been called upon to perform his duty. He has not only during that time been employed on the personal staff of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the Delhi Camp of 1865, when he received the assurance of His Royal Highness that he was satisfied with the manner in which the duty was performed, but he had also been appointed in personal attendance once upon the Prime Minister of Nepal, Sir Jung Bahador, and on another occasion on General Ulysses Grant, ex-President of the United States. The satisfactory performance of the duties which devolved upon him in these situations is in itself a sufficient guarantee that—at all events, till 1889—no charge whatsoever of want of tact, temper, or judgment could have been brought against an officer who was specially selected for the discharge of these important duties. In addition to these, Colonel George Jackson has served in the field, first with the 11th Bengal Cavalry under Sir Dighton Probyn, and afterwards with Lord Napier in the Magdala campaign, which ended in the disruption of the military power of Abyssinia, and on both these occasions he acquitted himself with credit and renown. Since then he had been with the 12th Irregular Cavalry, also acquitting himself most satisfactorily. In July, 1887, Sir Frederick Roberts, who was

always well affected to this officer from his personal knowledge, selected Colonel Jackson for the command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, for 18 months' service in the field had so deteriorated the quality of that regiment that General Roberts chose Colonel Jackson because of his character, knowledge, and efficiency, for the difficult task of bringing this regiment into better condition. There is no reason to suppose, if circumstances and opportunity had allowed, that this task would not have been fully and satisfactorily completed; but immediately on Colonel Jackson assuming the command of this regiment, and before any time had been given him to remedy the defects in its arms, equipments, horses, and the worn-out condition of the men because of the service in which they had been engaged—though scarcely credible it should be so—this regiment was ordered into a camp of exercise at a moment when their condition was described as being so deplorable that 200 men were sick out of 536, of whom 60 were deficient altogether. Indeed, their state was such that, instead of being sent into a camp of cavalry exercise, they ought to have been sent to some sanatorium or place of rest. It was under these circumstances that Colonel Jackson did not finish the task so well as he would have done had he been allowed to treat the regiment as it required; but, in spite of that, it came under the inspection of General Sir Hugh Gough; and I will ask the permission of the House to read an extract from his Report dated the 12th March, 1888, for it is an entire contravention of the charge that Colonel Jackson left his regiment in an inefficient state, and that he was himself inefficient to discharge his duty. General Gough said—

"The Major General is, on the whole, satisfied that progress is being made in the drill and efficiency of the 5th Bengal Cavalry. It will give the Major General much pleasure to make a satisfactory Report of the state of the regiment."

A year afterwards the regiment was inspected by another distinguished officer, Sir Charles Gough, and in his Inspection Report, dated 5th March, 1889, he says—

"At his recent inspection of the 5th Bengal Cavalry the Major General was satisfied generally with the interior economy and drill

of the regiment. The 5th Bengal Cavalry is generally in a good state of drill and efficiency. The duties of cavalry in the field are well understood, and the men ride, on the whole, well; in fact, the whole regiment rode over a series of jumps which few other regiments would face without much training."

Now, these are extracts from the successive Inspection Reports of two of the most distinguished officers that we have in the Army of India. One of them, Sir Charles Gough, had himself acted with this regiment at a former period of its history, and before it became inefficient in consequence of the campaign I have referred to, and I further, without the slightest fear of contradiction, assert that, so far from the regiment being deficient in any respect, so far as Colonel Jackson had time given him to bring back the regiment to a state of efficiency and completeness, no effort was wanting upon his part. Coming to the unfortunate occurrence which has led to the compulsory retirement of this officer, General Luck, the Inspector General of Cavalry in India—of whom I desire to speak in nothing but unqualified praise—came in 1888 for the first time in contact with the Bengal Cavalry, he having been recently appointed to the Inspectorship of the whole Cavalry—British and Native—of India. Unfortunately, he had no previous experience either of the drill system or of the interior economy of the Bengal Cavalry regiments. From this arose all the misfortunes of the distinguished officer, Colonel Jackson. Speaking from my own experience, having in 1848 done similar work under Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clive, namely, to renew and to put in a state of efficiency a regiment of Bengal Cavalry, I know the difficulty and the arduousness of the task, and I think it tends to explain entirely why an officer like General Luck, distinguished as he is by a spirit of duty, should have been led by want of knowledge of the particular circumstances of the Bengal Cavalry to make an unfavourable Report. The circumstances of the Bengal Cavalry are totally different from those of any British Cavalry regiment with which General Luck had been acquainted, for, whereas with regard to the British troops, the equipment, the arms, the horses, and the entire paraphernalia are provided by the Government, in the Bengal Cavalry all these

things have to be supplied by deductions made from the pay of the men. That was the difficulty which Colonel Jackson had to contend with, and for which sufficient allowance was not made. When Colonel Jackson was asked why these defects could not be remedied immediately, he explained that the cost, which would be something like 60,000 rupees or £6,000, would have to be obtained by deductions from the pay of the men, and he pointed out that under the orders of the Government there was a limit to the deductions to be made annually or monthly. It appears that General Luck, being then unacquainted with a system with which I admit he is now better acquainted, thought that these explanations on the part of Colonel George Jackson were in the nature of obstruction or unnecessary delay, and he, in consequence, formed an unfavourable opinion with regard to him. I believe that all that is necessary to put this painful matter right is that Colonel George Jackson should be allowed the opportunity which he so warmly seeks. I believe his petition is that instead of being compulsorily retired he should return again and take up the command which is his right and privilege, and from which nothing, so far as I know, has been proved to justify his removal. Misconduct is not even alleged or proved. Incapacity is alleged against him, but not proved. The proper remedy of allowing him to return would, I believe, give a satisfactory solution to this matter, because I have no doubt that in only a very few months he will show himself brilliantly to be that able and efficient officer which his previous record abundantly shows him to be considered by all those under whom he has served. Now, even at this late hour if we receive some assurance from the Under Secretary of State that this shall be done we shall be satisfied. Colonel Jackson would again rehabilitate himself by showing that he was the good officer that he was always supposed to be, and that he ought to be allowed to serve the remainder of his time and to retire on the large emoluments which his service in India had entitled. That is all the request this gentleman makes, and I believe a more reasonable and moderate one could not be preferred by any man injured—I will not say

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by false, but by mistaken Reports. He alleges nothing in respect of the officer who reported on him—General Luck—except that he did so through a misapprehension, not knowing the full circumstances and difficulties of the case. He asserts that on it being represented to him in July, 1889, that these unfavourable Reports were made, he personally waited on General Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and expressed his willingness and wish to be allowed to take his regiment in the spring of 1890, for the express purpose of vindicating his character from what he believed to be unjust impressions. General Roberts at that time told him that he did not consider it necessary. At that moment Colonel Jackson was undergoing a great domestic affliction, namely, the death of his father, which necessitated his return to this country, and General Roberts gave him to understand that he did not desire to put him to any further test, that he was completely satisfied with him, and that he might without detriment to his future prospects proceed to England to arrange his private affairs. Under these circumstances, in July, 1889, Colonel Jackson returned to this country with the full assurance that when his leave had expired and he came back he would be allowed to take up his command and finish his career. He had not, apparently, calculated on the malign influences at work in his absence, and I think what occurred affords sufficient grounds to justify us in asking that this case shall be referred back again to India, and shall not be decided until explanations have been received. I allude with great reluctance to the fact that a certain amount of personal feeling is said to have arisen between General Luck and Colonel George Jackson on account of some difference of opinion arising some two or three years before when they together filled positions in the Cavalry. Knowing the high reputation of both the officers concerned, I believe there can be no intention on the part of General Luck except to do justice to those under his command, and I am reluctant even to give credence to such report, but I think it deserves full investigation. When an officer of unblemished reputation, of high distinction, and of 33 years' service, like

Colonel Jackson, finds cold water thrown on the balance of his career, he is entitled to receive a full inquiry into the allegations made against him, and the sense of justice of this House will demand that these allegations should be fully investigated, and that any further action should be deferred till the matter is cleared up. This gentleman asks no favour. He says that, on account of the circumstances I have mentioned, mixed with a matter of personal difference of opinion, unfavourable Reports have been circulated against him in his absence which have not in themselves sufficient foundation, and which if put to the test of practical experience will be shown to have no foundation at all. That this is more or less considered to be the case by the highest military authorities in India is shown by the fact that twice over the Governor General has referred back to General Hugh Gough Reports made on account of contradictory expressions which, he said, deserved attention and ought to be cleared up. Surely the Governor General would not adopt such a course as that without sufficient foundation. I would beg to be allowed to point out that the Governor General of India upon the second occasion referred back General Sir Hugh Gough's Report to him. He stated that the discrepancies between one statement and another—one favourable to Colonel Jackson, and the other unfavourable—were in his opinion not sufficiently explained; that they were contradictory, and, in fact, one of his notes on the case goes so far as to say that this discrepancy in the Report was most unsatisfactory. In dealing with this case in the other House the other day the same unfortunate indistinctness of statement pervaded the speech of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India. He stated that the object this officer had in view was that he should be allowed to retire on his pension without serving the balance of his time. To that statement a full and complete categorical denial was made by Lord Northbrook, who first took up the case, and by Lord Chelmsford himself, an officer of high military distinction and of great experience in command. I think from that circumstance the case calls for delay. The concluding remarks of Lord Northbrook were to this effect:—

"The noble Lord (Viscount Cross) had stated that one of the reasons why the Commander-in-Chief in India thought that this officer should not be allowed to return to his regiment was that he himself (the Commander-in-Chief) had on two occasions seen his regiment, once at Delhi and once at Lucknow, and that he had formed an unfavourable opinion on it."

That was a total misapprehension on the part of General Sir Frederick Roberts. General Roberts, as we know, has, during the last five years in India, exercised a most arduous and difficult command had under his personal observation four times over, I should think, roughly speaking, 200 regiments at various times and dates. It turns out that this unfavourable opinion expressed by General Roberts is based upon a total misapprehension, and Colonel George Jackson will conclusively prove, beyond any power of denial, that the memory of Sir Frederick Roberts has failed him in this respect, and that he did not see the regiment at all on the second occasion on which he alleges he saw it. Lord Northbrook has stated that, categorically, in reply to Lord Cross, that statement has never been traversed, and no attempt has been made to meet that point, which seems to me to be the most essential point of the question as to whether this officer can or cannot be discharged for inefficiency. I have to thank the House very much for the patience with which they have listened to my tedious statements; and I say, without the slightest hesitation, that the request respectfully made by this officer is one which deserves investigation; and, if the Government inadvisedly bring this matter to a sudden conclusion by refusing this officer the request he makes, to allow him to return to the command he already holds, and to be allowed a fair and proper mode of showing there is no ground whatever for the charge of inefficiency made against him, then I say this House not only will have failed in its primary duty of enforcing justice in every alleged case of grievance, but that the Government will also have taken a step which, hereafter, on more mature consideration, they will thoroughly regret. I shall be followed, I believe, by several other gentlemen on both sides of the House, experienced in military and

Indian matters, and as well acquainted with the circumstances of the case as myself. I leave this respectful and firm request with the fullest confidence in the hands of this House and in the hands of the Under Secretary for India, from whom I hope it will receive sympathetic and generous treatment.

\*(7.15.) VISCOUNT BARING (Bedfordshire, Biggleswade): I rise to support the case presented by my hon. and gallant Friend, and I do so with some reluctance, because I regret the growing practice of making this House a Court of Appeal on military matters involving questions of discipline. But, Sir, Colonel Jackson has been treated so harshly in this case in India and so hardly in this country that I think my hon. and gallant Friend was perfectly justified in bringing the matter before the House. As my hon. and gallant Friend has said, Colonel Jackson is an officer who distinguished himself very much in two campaigns; he has been thanked in Despatches, he has served on the Staff of Governors General, he has been employed specially in matters requiring great tact and great temper, and his superior officers have always been satisfied with the way in which he carried out the duties entrusted to him. After that he commanded the body-guard, and then went back to his regiment to serve some two years as second in command of the 12th Bengal Cavalry, and during that time he performed his duties satisfactorily, and Sir Frederick Roberts formed such a high opinion of his capacity that he selected him as being the officer to take command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, which at that time was in a not very efficient state. Six months after Colonel Jackson had been in command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry that regiment was inspected by Sir Hugh Gough, who gave a very satisfactory Report upon the regiment. That was the result of six months' trial of Colonel Jackson in command of the regiment. Then there comes upon the scene General Luck, of whom I also wish to speak with every respect, because we know there is no smarter Cavalry officer in the Service. Well, unfortunately, General Luck's first Report is extremely adverse to Colonel Jackson, and on the 31st March, 1888, General Luck, in his Report, stated that

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"Colonel Jackson wants dash; that he is deficient in tact, manner, temper, and judgment."

It is difficult to understand how Colonel Jackson could have deteriorated in such a short time to this alarming extent, from being one of the best officers in the Service. Now, Sir, it has not only been proposed that Colonel Jackson should be removed from the command of his regiment, but it is also proposed that he should be compulsorily retired from the Service. Colonel Jackson is one of those officers known as local officers in India. He was originally in the East India Company's service, and he came into Her Majesty's Service under certain conditions laid down in the Act of Parliament. These conditions are that these officers are entitled to serve 38 years when they got their colonel's allowance, and it has always been understood that they should not be compulsorily retired from service except for three reasons, namely, misconduct, mental or physical incapacity, or proved inefficiency. Well, the question of misconduct does not come into this case at all. There is no misconduct alleged against Colonel Jackson. The question of mental or physical incapacity does not arise, and the only question we have is this: Has Colonel Jackson shown such proved inefficiency as to justify the Government of India in removing him not only from the command of his regiment, but from the Service, by which he forfeits his colonel's allowance, after serving 26 years? What is the proof of his inefficiency? My hon. and gallant Friend has alluded to the contradictory Reports passed on Colonel Jackson by different inspecting officers. General Luck's chief allegation against him is that Colonel Jackson is wanting in tact and temper. Well, "tact" is a very small word, but it is not a very easy matter to define what "tact" is. It may be, possibly, that General Luck is himself wanting in this very quality, and I think I may be justified in referring to that distinguished General, Sir George Greaves, who was appealed to on this question, and reported that, in December, 1888, General Luck found fault with Colonel Jackson, and his voice and manner were more harsh than was usual in the Service, especially as junior officers were present; but Colonel

Jackson's demeanour was calm and respectful. There was, he added, personal feeling between the two officers, and, thinking the matter over since, he had come to the conclusion that Colonel Jackson had more reason to complain of the ground which had been assigned to him for his camp than General Luck to find fault with him for the use of it. I think that testimony coming from General Greaves is very strong; and the question is, whether it was the officer inspecting or the officer of the regiment who showed want of tact on that occasion? Well, as to the question of efficiency, my hon. and gallant Friend has pointed out that General Sir Hugh Gough's Report of March 12 was distinctly in Colonel Jackson's favour; and it was only when General Luck inspected the regiment 11 days after that General Gough gave a contradictory Report, for which he was censured by the Governor General in Council, in January, 1890. We have the Report of General Sir Charles Gough, which was also in Colonel Jackson's favour. My hon. and gallant Friend has referred to the Report of the Commander-in-Chief, and I noticed that Lord Cross gave particular prominence to that Report of the Commander-in-Chief in India, in which he said that he could speak of this matter from his own personal experience, as he had seen the regiment himself on the two occasions. It is now made perfectly clear that the Commander-in-Chief of India was mistaken, and that, as a matter of fact, the Commander-in-Chief never was present at the time the 5th Bengal Cavalry was at Lucknow. I do not think that inefficiency is to be proved by such conflicting statements as these. Let me take, for example, the very last Report made upon Colonel Jackson before he left India. That was the Report of General Sir Charles Gough, in March, 1889, and Sir Charles Gough on that occasion says, "Colonel Jackson does not possess any real ability as commanding officer, but is about a fair average officer." I should like to know whether "a fair average officer" is one of proved inefficiency, or whether an average officer of a Local Army is at the mercy of the Secretary of State, and may be retired from the Army without being allowed to continue to serve his time and earn his colonel's allowance? I venture

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to say no local officer was ever retired in a similar manner, and I should like to challenge the Under Secretary to produce any similar case in which a local officer in India has been compulsorily retired from service. Lord Cross said there were several instances, but he did not give details of them. He gave one, in which he said there was a case of an officer who had command of a regiment which, when taken over by him, was in good order, but which got in bad order under his command, and he was removed and retired on pension. I am quite sure the logical mind of the Under Secretary will see there is no similarity whatever in the case of an officer obtaining the command of a regiment which was then in good order and which he got into bad order, and the case of Colonel Jackson who took over a regiment which was in bad order; and it is admitted that though he did not make as great progress as the authorities would have liked, he at any rate succeeded, to some extent, in getting the regiment into a much more efficient state than it was when he took it over. I think Colonel Jackson has been treated in a manner no local officer has been treated before, and I am quite sure treated in a manner in which no officer has been treated in the British Service. If I may refer to a rather painful case—that of the 2nd Battalion, Grenadier Guards—we find a commanding officer removed from the battalion. That officer was not sent out of Her Majesty's Service; he was continued; and not only that, but he has been since employed, and at the present moment is commanding a district in Ireland. I do not wish to go much further into this matter, but I should like to mention that Colonel Jackson's inefficiency was not considered by the Commander-in-Chief in August, 1889, to have been proved, because at that time, and when Colonel Jackson left India, the Commander-in-Chief was perfectly prepared to give him another trial, although that fact was not made known to Colonel Jackson at the time. Colonel Jackson had no idea it was contemplated to retire him until he received the semi-official letter, in which he was called upon to send in his papers at the expiration of his leave, and I think there can be no doubt he was hardly treated in this sense, that he left India altogether under a misappre-

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hension. I think the Under Secretary objects to that statement, and I would ask him this: The other evening, in the Debate in the House of Lords, Lord Cross referred, in his argument against Colonel Jackson, to a certain correspondence that had recently taken place between him and Lord Lansdowne on the subject. I believe it is customary, if a Minister of the Crown refers to correspondence and uses it for argument in a case, for him to lay the correspondence on the Table of the House, and I should like to ask the Under Secretary whether he is prepared to give us that correspondence? May I ask him one further question, and that is, whether he will deny that the telegram from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India conveyed the impression that Colonel Jackson came home from India under a misapprehension? I do not know whether the Under Secretary will furnish us with any information, and I think we have really to complain of the Secretary of State for India making use of a correspondence, and using it as an argument against Colonel Jackson's case, when we are not allowed to see what this telegram contained. I venture to say if that telegram had been produced it would have told strongly in Colonel Jackson's favour, and that the impression on the Secretary of State's mind at that time was that there was a certain grievance on Colonel Jackson's part, and that he had come home from India under a misapprehension. I will not occupy the time of the House longer; but I will say that in face of these many inconsistencies, many inaccuracies, and very contradictory Reports which we find in the case, that surely it would be more satisfactory to the Secretary for India that he should avoid any appearance of harshness in this matter; but that he should agree to the suggestion of my hon. and gallant Friend and postpone the further discussion of this case to next Session, when we believe that Colonel Jackson will have more evidence to support his claims.

\*(7.30.) GENERAL FITZWYGRAM (Hants, S.): I have only a few words to offer in reference to this subject, the facts with regard to which are exceedingly simple. Colonel Jackson was in his younger days a man of some distinction, but, at the

*Viscount Baring*

same time, it does not always follow that a man of education and other high qualities is always the most fitted for the command of a regiment. I regard command of regiments as the most important post in the Army; such as are your regiments, such will be your Army; if your regiments are bad, they will fail in war; if your regiments are good, you will have success in war. Colonel Jackson's regiment was inefficient, and since his removal it has improved in a marked manner. What I now have to ask is that the regiment shall not be sacrificed for the benefit and advantage of an individual

\*SIR J. GORST: I think it is a matter of regret that the time of the House should be taken up by the discussion of the grievances of an individual officer. We have been asked what were the qualifications of Colonel Jackson, and the hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just sat down is well qualified to express an opinion on that point; but inasmuch as this matter has been brought forward, it is necessary that I should offer a few words in reply. No one pretends to say that the old East India Company retained an officer in its service if his military superior pronounced him to be unfit. I venture to say that Sir Frederick Roberts is a far better judge as to the fitness or unfitness of a man to retain the command of his regiment than any of us can be, and Sir Frederick Roberts arrived at the conclusion that Colonel Jackson was not fit for the command of his regiment. I do not say whether this conclusion was right or wrong. It was a matter which came entirely within the province of General Sir Frederick Roberts as Commander-in-Chief, and the decision which he gave is one that cannot be impugned, unless we impute something in the nature of corrupt motives. The hon. Member shakes his head, but I submit again that General Roberts is a far better judge than this House. The House of Commons is not a competent tribunal to overrule the Commander-in-Chief in such a matter. General Luck reported that—

"Colonel Jackson has had an opportunity, which few men get, of bringing an inefficient regiment into a state of efficiency. This, after six months, he has failed to do. I recommend his removal from the command at the end of

the year, unless a very marked improvement takes place in the meantime."

Upon this General Sir Charles Gough reports—

"This is a very unsatisfactory Report, and I regret to observe the small progress that has been made."

In 1888 there was another unfavourable Report from General Luck. He stated that Colonel Jackson, although well meaning, did not go the right way to work; that his officers were not happy, and that many of them would be glad to be out of the regiment. He added, "I fear that the regiment cannot improve while under his control." In 1889, after having inspected the regiment, General Gough reported that "Colonel Jackson did not possess any real ability as a commanding officer."

I think it would be most inconvenient and highly subversive of Army discipline if this House were to take upon itself to reverse a decision upon a military question of this kind, especially when that decision has been arrived at after careful inquiry by the Commander-in-Chief, by the Government of India, and by the Secretary of State, acting in accordance with the advice of his military advisers. I think the time of the House would be much better occupied in discussing matters of more importance to the interests of our Indian Empire.

GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammer-smith): I think it necessary to point out that the punishment meted out to Colonel Jackson is of a character which might justify a little further inquiry into this matter. Colonel Jackson has not only been removed from the command of this particular cavalry regiment, but from the Indian Military Service. I think that some consideration should be given to his case in order that we may ascertain whether, in view of the former good service of that officer, and the high character he has always maintained, some means may not be found for retaining his services. I appeal, therefore, to the Under Secretary to withhold the final decision in regard to Colonel Jackson's case until some further consideration can be given to it.

SIR R. TEMPLE: I have known Colonel Jackson in former days, when he was in command of a force marching through a mountainous and difficult country, and I am quite satisfied that at

that time, at all events, that gallant officer was possessed of tact, temper, and judgment. I hope that Her Majesty's Government may be able to see their way to extend some consideration to Colonel Jackson in view of the character, reputation, and popularity which he possessed in former days. It is perfectly true that it is inconvenient for the House of Commons to take upon itself the office of a Court of Appeal in these matters, but at the same time it must be remembered that this House is the Grand Inquest of the Nation; and if there be any doubt as to the advisability of the decision that has been arrived at, I hope Her Majesty's Government will, at all events, suspend their final judgment with regard to it until next Session.

SIR W. PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.): I hope Her Majesty's Government will not hastily endorse a decision that must necessarily entail upon Colonel Jackson a heavy pecuniary loss. I may venture to suggest whether the Government may not very well be appealed to to reconsider their decision in this matter, and to consider whether, in removing this officer from a position which he may not be competent to fill, they ought to inflict further punishment upon him by removing him from the Service.

\*(8.1.) GENERAL SIR L. PELLY (Hackney, N.): I wholly deprecate the intervention of this House as between a Commander-in-Chief and the administration of the Army under his command; and I agree with the hon. Baronet who spoke just now, that everything depends upon having efficient officers commanding regiments. The regiment is the unit of the Service, and I would be the last to say one word as intervening between General Sir Frederick Roberts and any officer commanding a regiment. But there are two points to be considered. One is that Sir Frederick Roberts is alleged to have erred in supposing that he twice inspected this regiment, and I think he would desire to correct that error if he has made it; secondly, is it right that an officer with such a record as Colonel Jackson should be removed not only from the command of a Cavalry regiment, but from the Service altogether, under such circumstances? I have known this officer many years.



Colonel Jackson has served with me on the Staffs of three Viceroys, and his services should not be forgotten. But it is for the Secretary of State to determine the question, and to resolve whether or not it may be possible to find him employment elsewhere.

(8.4.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.): It ought to be borne in mind what is involved in the suggestions which have been made. No one likes to be hard on an officer who has done good service, and has won the respect and friendship of those with whom he has served. But those who are responsible have to consider the efficiency of the Army, and justice to other officers and to the public. Colonel Jackson has been removed from an appointment for which he was deemed unfit, and it is suggested that he should be retained in the Service for six years, until he is entitled to a retiring allowance of £1,100 a year. Now, that provision is intended for officers who have discharged their duties satisfactorily, and to say that a man shall be entitled to earn that allowance by nominal duty seems to be trifling with the interests of the Army, and with the public interests, as well as doing an injustice to officers who have performed their duties satisfactorily.

\*(8.5.) COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): I think there must be something in this case that has not been communicated to the House. Colonel Jackson appears to have been selected for the purpose of restoring efficiency to an inefficient regiment, and in that task he seems to have failed. I contend that, while it is perfectly right to remove him from the regiment on such a ground, it does not appear to be a sufficient cause for turning out of the Army an officer who was actually chosen for this very difficult duty on account of his supposed efficiency. While I deprecate making the House a Court of Appeal in such matters, I would still urge upon the Secretary of State that the case appears to require further investigation before a final determination is come to.

\*(8.7.) VISCOUNT BARING: I wish to ask the Under Secretary whether he will produce the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, General Sir L. Pelly

which has been quoted by Lord Cross in the other House? I also wish to know if he is aware of the existence of a telegram sent by the Secretary of State to the Viceroy, in March of this year, in which he said he was not altogether satisfied with the propriety of retiring General Jackson.

\*SIR J. GORST: I cannot answer that question without notice.

(8.9.) MR. KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): I have on the Paper a Notice of Motion in favour of giving the people of India a voice in the raising and administering of their own revenues; but, in view of the enormous importance of the questions which are raised by it, I think it is impossible that the subject can be adequately discussed at this time, and in order to suit the convenience of the House I shall defer my remarks to a future occasion.

Question put, and agreed to. (8.10.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

\*(8.35.) SIR J. GORST, rising at a quarter to Nine o'clock, at which time there were only three Members in the House, said: As I have had the advantage of issuing a Memorandum which those hon. Members interested in the subject have, no doubt, seen, the remarks I shall make will be as brief as possible. As the Committee is aware, there are three years which come under review—the year ending on the 31st March, 1890, the year ending on the 31st March, 1891, and the year ending on the 31st March, 1892. In regard to the first of these years, I have nothing whatever to add to the observations I have made in my Memorandum; it is the year which is alone technically before the Committee. All I have to say as to the year ending on the 31st March, 1890, I said in August last year. The surplus which was then predicted has been practically realised, and the variations in the revenue and expenditure as then estimated have been so infinitesimal that they are not worth troubling the Committee about. The most remarkable feature in connection with the year ending on the 31st March, 1891, is the great and extraordinary growth of the surplus every time it comes under review. At the time the Budget Estimate was made—in March

last year—the surplus was estimated at Rx.270,000. When I made the statement in this House in August, 1890, it had grown to Rx.1,870,000. When the revised Estimates were stated in Calcutta by Sir David Barbour in March of the present year it was Rx.2,787,000; and to-night I am able to announce that the final surplus will be no less than Rx.3,665,000. The greater part of that increase is due to the alteration in exchange. When the Estimate was made in March of last year the sudden inflation of the rupee by the legislation in America was not anticipated. The Committee will remember that about a year ago the price of silver was extremely good owing to American legislation, and the effect of that was greatly to raise the exchange value of the rupee, and to save the Government of India from a very large expenditure, amounting to more than Rx.2,000,000. That really practically accounts for the surplus as predicted in March last by Sir David Barbour. The rise of nearly a million that has taken place since that date is attributable to a general increase of revenue in almost every item except opium, and a reduction of expenditure, which is not altogether a matter of congratulation, because it is merely a postponement of certain large items of expenditure which were expected to fall within the year ending March 31, 1891, but which have practically been carried over to the following year, and the year ending 31st March, 1891, is therefore enriched at the expense of its successor. With regard to the year ending March 31, 1892, the year now current, and which, although it forms no part of the official Resolution before the Committee, is one upon which the interest of the Committee is mainly concentrated, the surplus which was estimated by Sir David Barbour was only Rx.115,600, and I am able to announce that the surplus is now estimated at Rx.396,000. Even if the more favourable estimate I announce is realised, it is a very considerable reduction from the surplus of Rx.3,665,000. I account for much of the falling off in the Indian Revenue—for Rx.1,156,000 of it—by the fall in the rupee. The rupee in 1890-91 realised ls. 6½d., and in the present year it is estimated at ls. 5½d. Besides the fall in the rupee, there is a fall

in the net opium revenue of no less than Rx.361,500, and, although in the very latest accounts from India that falling off in the opium revenue will be compensated for in a great measure by the reduction of Rx.300,000 in the opium expenditure, that is not from a revenue point of view a subject of congratulation, though it may be from the point of view of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith). It means a much smaller crop grown in Bengal; therefore, the opium revenue will be still further depreciated. Another great item of reduction is the cessation of the grant from provincial revenues. In the previous year a sum of money was taken from the provinces for the needs of the Imperial Government, and that sum is paid no longer. What is meant by that is that a larger portion of the revenues of India is spent locally on local improvements and for local interests, and a smaller part is spent on Imperial objects—on the maintenance of the Army and other less advantageous expenditure in the immediate interests of the locality. It is very satisfactory to find, notwithstanding the general deterioration of the financial position which I have called attention to, that the land revenue continues steadily to increase, and in the current year the estimate of the increase of the land revenue—whose results are seldom less than the estimate, and very often more—is Rx.307,000. The expenditure has increased. The general items of expenditure, as will appear from the figures I have laid before the Committee in the printed Memorandum, have increased all round. I have always told the Committee, in all the statements I have ever made since I have been Under Secretary for India, that a general increase of expenditure all round is to be looked for every year. As the civilisation of India increases, so your expenditure upon useful works continues. The Government does more, and therefore there is greater expenditure. The only thing to take care of in Indian finance is that your expenditure—though it may be expected to increase all round—shall not increase faster than your revenue. If you keep the increase of expenditure within the increase of revenue, you may regard the financial condition of the country as satisfactory. And there is one more great increase in

expenditure which I wish the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh was present to congratulate me on, that is, the restoration in full of what he used to be pleased to call the famine fund, and what I have always called in this Committee famine surplus. The history of this famine surplus I have very often stated to the Committee, but the name "famine fund" has always been too much for me, and I believe that an erroneous idea prevails, and always will prevail, in the world as to the exact nature of that famine surplus. What it really is is a surplus of revenue over expenditure, kept up by the Government of India from year to year for the purpose of lessening the strain which is caused in any particular year by the expenditure consequent on famine. That surplus was fixed in former years of financial prosperity at Rx.1,500,000. It has of late years fallen below that amount, because the Government of India did not feel justified in putting on additional taxation for the purpose of realising surplus, but in the year I am now speaking of the surplus of Rx.1,500,000 for famine insurance was restored in its fulness. Now, I should like to call the attention of the Committee to some figures which are to be found in pages from 9 to 12 of the printed Memorandum which has been circulated. These figures are a contrast between the revenue and expenditure for the year ending 31st March, 1889, and the estimated revenue and expenditure of the current year. Although the actual sterling payments of the present year are greater than in the year 1888-89, yet, inasmuch as the exchange value of the rupee is estimated higher than in 1889, it so happens that the actual number of rupees the Government of India have to pay by reason of silver instead of gold payments, is almost the same, and therefore the gambling element of Indian finance, by variations of exchange, is eliminated for these two years. Now, if the Committee will compare the figures of 1888-89 with the figures for the current year, they will see that the revenue has increased by Rx.2,408,000, and that the expenditure has increased in the same period Rx.2,329,000, thus showing an improvement in the financial position by Rx.79,000. If the Committee will

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examine the items which make up the increase of revenue, the result will be found to be unusually satisfactory. There has been an increase in every single item of revenue, with one exception—opium. Though the gross increase is Rx.2,408,000, there is a decrease on the opium revenue of Rx.646,000. Of all the increase in the various items, that of the land revenue is most satisfactory; it has grown by Rx.1,010,000, and it is to this sustained and continuous growth of land revenue we must look for signs of the general soundness of Indian finance. Now, turning from the increase of revenue to the increase of expenditure, amounting to Rx.2,329,000, the Committee will observe that the expenditure steadily increases, as I always said it would, in nearly every Department. The only Departments in which there is no increase, but a decrease, are also eminently satisfactory. There has been a great reduction in the payment of interest on debt, owing to the conversion of the debt some years ago by which the ordinary debt is subject to a much lower rate of interest. Under the head of interest on debt there is a reduction of Rx.810,000. There is another decrease equally satisfactory on the railway revenue account, of Rx.732,000. Earlier in the evening some hon. Member, referring to the extension of railways, said the railways are profitable to the country, and said truly that Indian railways return 4½ per cent. on the capital invested. That is perfectly true upon the capital invested in India, but, inasmuch as most of the money with which these railways have been constructed has been borrowed in England, the interest has to be paid in gold; and, owing to the fall in the rate of exchange, the profit of 4½ per cent., which would be otherwise realised by Indian railways, is turned into a loss, and every year the revenues of India are charged with a certain sum in respect of the excess of railway expenditure over railway receipts. I do not know that this is altogether to be considered a loss to the country, because the gain from railroads, not merely in a military point of view and not merely as a protection against famine, but the stimulus to the commercial prosperity, is quite worth some charge on the Indian Exchequer; but it is satisfactory that this charge has

been reduced by no less than Rx.732,000. All other items of expenditure have slightly increased, and I do not know that there is much to be said upon them except with regard to the military expenditure. This has been very large, owing to the necessity of a great outlay upon special defence works, and to the re-arming of the Indian Army, due to the discovery of improvements in the efficiency of weapons. One other thing I must call attention to, and that is to some rather curious figures on page 21 of the Statement I have circulated, which gives the figures of Indian trade for 1890-91. This year, 1890-91, was remarkable for the extraordinary fluctuations in the silver market, owing to the fact of a Bill being introduced in April into the Congress in the United States making it compulsory upon the United States Government to coin a certain amount of silver. Subsequent to the introduction of that Bill—I do not say in consequence of it—the price of bar silver in London rose from 43½d. per ounce in the beginning of April to 54½d. on September 3rd. This was the culminating point; then there was a breakdown, and the price fell to 45d. in the beginning of November, and has remained at something like that price since. Now, again, I will not say that this was in consequence of what had happened in America, because I do not want to involve myself in the controversy which arises from this silver question; but it is worthy of remark that, contemporaneously with the rise in the value of silver, there was an extraordinary check in the exports from India. In April and May these exports had been higher than in any previous year, and the imports of merchandise into India at the same time were stimulated, the imports of treasure into India being enormously increased. Taking a survey of trade during the months June to January in the last five years, the following are the results. The figures are interesting. The surplus of exports over imports, which had been Rx.18,173,000 in 1889-90, and which had averaged Rx.13,726,000 in the four years ending with 1889-90, fell to Rx.9,939,000 in 1890-91, and the net imports of treasure which had been Rx.8,763,000 in 1889-90, and which

in the four years previous averaged Rx.6,791,000, rose to Rx.13,635,000 in 1890-91; and, in consequence of this, instead of a surplus of total exports in these months, which had been Rx.9,410,000 in 1889-90, and which in the four years averaged Rx.6,935,000, there was a surplus of imports in 1890-91 amounting to Rx.3,696,000. Now, the exchange on India, which had risen from ls. 4-31-32d. per rupee at the beginning of April, was ls. 8-29-32d. at the beginning of September, and fell again to ls. 5-9-32d. on November 19th. If hon. Members will look at the table on page 21 they will find some explanation of what might excite surprise, that even at so low an exchange trade should justify any demand for bills on India. The explanation is, in some measure, to be found in the fact that, whereas in 1889-90 rupee paper was sent back from England to the amount of Rx.67,000; in 1890-91 it was exported from India to England to the amount of Rx.5,138,000, owing to the higher value, measured in gold, which securities payable in silver were bearing in London at the time. At the same time, and during the winter, the rate of discount was very low, the bank rate never rising above 4 in Calcutta and 5 in Bombay, as compared to 12 in the two preceding years. Another phenomenon was the increase in the circulation of currency notes, which rose from 1,577 lakhs at the end of March, 1890, to 2,766 lakhs at the end of January, 1891. Apparently these notes are not used for ordinary circulation, but only retained by the banks as a convenient mode of holding a reserve. I do not want to enter into the question further, but these facts are worthy of note in connection with fluctuations in the silver market, consequent upon or following the American legislation. Now, the Committee will see, from the figures I have given, that the position of Indian finance is hopeful and prosperous. No doubt, the finances of India are exposed to perils from which even the finance of this country is not altogether exempt. There is, first, the danger of war; but I am happy to say that at the present moment there is in India no prospect of any great war, and I hope no probability of any of those small frontier expedi-

tions which excite the condemnation of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, and which are undoubtedly regrettable, and to a Finance Minister most disconcerting. But in Indian finance there is always that uncertain, that gambling element, the possible fall in exchange, the fluctuations in the price of silver. No precautions can possibly provide against this danger. I do not know that the fall in the value of the rupee is a disadvantage to India itself; it is rather to the finances and the Government of India that the danger arises. I know that some hon. Members suppose that a Finance Minister habitually under-estimates his receipts and over-estimates his expenditure. No prudent Minister can do otherwise than leave a large margin, for, with the possibility of a fall in exchange, which no prudence can foresee, it would be most disastrous if a very close estimate of receipts and expenditure were made, so that a fall in the value of the rupee brought about a financial crisis. The Estimates are cautiously framed, because of this uncontrollable element which the Government cannot eliminate from Indian finance. Then, from the financial point of view, there is the disadvantage of a probable loss of opium revenue. I do not expect that the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) will sympathise with me in that, but, as I have pointed out, it is an element which has to be met and provided for in Indian finance, and, with this revenue steadily declining, as it has for many years, it is impossible to feel any confidence that the moderate estimate of the present year can be relied upon. Then there is the danger of an increase in military expenditure. I hope the excessive military expenditure in India has now entirely come to an end. The special defence works are almost completed, but besides these special defence works there is always the danger of having to spend large sums in India on additional and fresh ordnance stores. It seems that no sooner is one weapon settled and adopted for the Army than, within a few years, this weapon is superseded by another, entailing the necessity of constantly re-arming the troops in India, and the probability of being called upon unexpectedly to incur large expenditure on this account is one of the

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great trials of a Finance Minister. Last, and not least, the Indian revenue is always liable to be disturbed by famine. If I had had to address the Committee a fortnight ago, I should probably have had to draw a somewhat gloomy picture of the risks which the revenue of India would have to meet in the current year for this awful scourge. But in the last ten days the danger of anything like a general famine or of scarcity which would affect the finances of India and cause a large increase of expenditure has, thank God, disappeared. At the moment I am now speaking, there is no probability of any such famine or scarcity in India as will, to any appreciable extent, influence revenue or expenditure. There is some scarcity likely to occur in Chingleput and other districts of Madras, and in some districts of the North-West Provinces, where, no doubt, relief expenditure will be required in the course of the year, and some loss of revenue from scarcity; but, though I deplore the sufferings of the people, this scarcity will not be likely seriously to affect the revenue of India. I think the Committee will probably like, in connection with this statement, to have the latest intelligence which could be procured about the present prospects. It is contained in a telegram received from the Viceroy to-day, which is dated Simla, and was sent with a view to being read in the House on this occasion. It runs as follows:—

"Agricultural prospects. Present position as follows:—

Madras.—No change of any importance since my telegram of July 28 last. Prospects critical in parts of five districts; prices rising slowly; present monsoon is turning to continuous light rain. Relief measures sufficient. No grounds for apprehension of widespread distress.

Bombay.—Good general rainfall, except in parts of Deccan, where sowing operations suspended. Prices stationary.

Bengal.—Good rain has fallen throughout the province. Prospects of autumn crops good; winter rice crops backward. Prospects improving in Orissa, where there has been deficient rainfall.

North-West Provinces and Oudh.—Good rain has fallen throughout the province. Prospects greatly improved. Agricultural operations generally progressing satisfactorily. Prices fluctuating.

Punjab.—Good rain has fallen throughout the province. Dry land in need of more rain for sowing operations. Prices fluctuating.

Central Provinces—Assam, Coorg, Lower Burma.—Prospects continue favourable.

Berar, Hyderabad.—Cotton in good condition. Agricultural operations generally progressing satisfactorily. Parts in need of more rain.

Mysore.—General prospects continue good. Parts in need of more rain.

Central India, Rajpootana.—Prospects greatly improved, except Bikanir. Agricultural operations generally progressing favourably. Improvement in fodder.

Upper Burma.—Prospects continue favourable. Young crops suffering for want of rain. Prices not higher."

I think the Committee will agree with me that, upon the whole, this is a favourable and reassuring Report, and the Committee may feel some confidence that, whatever partial distress there may be in certain less favoured districts, the revenue prospects of India are, on the whole, not unsatisfactory.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it appears by the Accounts laid before this House that the total revenue of India for the year ending March 31, 1890, was Rs. 85,085,203; that the total expenditure in India and in England charged against the revenue was Rs. 82,473,170; that there was a surplus of revenue over expenditure of Rs. 2,612,033; and that the capital outlay on railways and irrigation works was Rs. 3,173,390."—(Sir J. Gorst.)

\*(9.23.) MR. S. SMITH: I think the Committee must have listened with much interest to the statement just made, and more especially to the last part containing very important intelligence with respect to the agricultural prospects in India. It will certainly be a great relief to the House and the country to know that the great disaster which threatened India a short time ago has, by the providence of God, passed away for the present. Of the statement just made I may say it was of a somewhat optimistic character, and I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman and the Committee on the fact that for the last two years there has been a considerable surplus in India. But I must express my great dissatisfaction with the

exhausted and empty state of the House in which that statement was made. It is a most extraordinary thing that at the extreme end of the Session, and at a late hour at night, a handful of Members should be called upon to deal with matters affecting the welfare of 220,000,000 of British subjects. I regret that at this late hour we should begin a discussion of such profound importance to our vast Indian Empire. Our previous discussions this evening were of little value, so far as the people of India are concerned; they dealt with mere fragments of the question, or with personal matters, or with subjects of no importance to the vast masses of the population, and only now at 9 o'clock do we take up the question of taxation, which concerns this enormous population. By a mere accident on a point of Order I was debarred from bringing before the House a Motion of very great importance, in regard to which I believe I represent the feelings of the mass of the Indian people, and I know there will be great disappointment in India that the Motion has not been discussed. I ask the indulgence of the Committee while I deal with two or three points which fall within the consideration of the finances of India, which raise questions of very great importance to the people of India, and which they look to the House to give attention to. I do not at all share the optimistic views put forward by the Under Secretary. Looked at merely from the point of view of an English Finance Minister, I can understand that the finances of India seem in a tolerably sound state; but looked at from the point of view of the oppressive taxation the Indian people have to endure, looked at from the point of view of Indian public opinion concerning the injustice of the taxation and the expenses of our system of Government, I do not think there is any room at all for the self-congratulation we have heard. Throughout India there is great discontent with the amount of taxation, its nature, the manner in which it is levied, and with the enormous expenditure of the Government of India. There is one tax which stands out above all others as exciting the largest amount of odium, and which is most oppressive, as it affects the physical

welfare of the people. I mean the Salt Tax. Since the beginning of the century this tax has increased by leaps and bounds, and it now stands all over India at five times the amount it stood at in Bombay at the beginning of the century. At the beginning of the century the tax in Bombay was half a rupee a maund; it is now  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rupees; in Madras it was 9 annas, or just over half a rupee; it is now  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rupees, almost five times as much. When you consider that salt is one of the most absolutely necessary articles of diet, that it is the only article with which to season the otherwise tasteless rice, that it is absolutely necessary to keep human beings in health, it is a most serious matter that we should raise its price from time to time. But Mr. Pringle Kennedy stated at the last Indian Congress that—

“There are millions of men and women and children who have their lives shortened, their physique stunted, their moral and intellectual faculties blunted by lack of cheap salt.”

I am told the present tax on salt amounts to 16 times the prime cost of production. [An hon. MEMBER: Twenty-six times.] My Friend says 26 times. I have come across a statement that it amounted to 25 times the prime cost of production; but from what I have been able to gather I imagine it is a fair average to take it at 16 times the prime cost of production. I would ask the Committee what the people of England would think if salt, or sugar, or coffee, or milk, or any article of necessity were taxed here in the same manner, and I wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) to this point, as I know he is a great financial authority. The fact is that these poor people in India have to reduce their consumption of salt to the uttermost possible point. The result is that the consumption of salt in India is 10 lbs. per head, whereas in this country it is 80 lbs. per head, and 50 lbs. per head in France, showing how severely this article of necessity is reduced in consumption by the monstrous tax that is placed upon it. I hold that upon the very first opportunity we ought to take off the last addition of eight annas which was made to the Salt Tax some three or four years ago, and

*Mr. S. Smith*

which brings in a little over £1,000,000 to the Revenue. I will pass from the Salt Tax to what is the most important source of revenue—to what may be called the sheet-anchor of Indian finance—I refer to the Land Tax, which brings in a little over £20,000,000 net annually, and I wish very specially to lay before the House the strong and unanimous opinion of the Indian National Congress that our mode of assessing it is fatal to the prosperity of agriculture. Representations were made to me when in India as to the ruinous effect upon cultivation of assessing and raising the Land Tax every 30 years. In only one portion of India (in Bengal) is the tax permanently settled. No doubt hon. Members are aware that Lord Cornwallis made it permanent in Bengal so far as the Zemindars are concerned, but unfortunately when that was done the large mass of the cultivators were shut out, but the fact that Bengal has a permanent settlement has, naturally, conduced to the creation of wealth in that part of India; it is the only part of rural India in which you find a wealthy middle class. But in all the rest of India it is liable to be re-assessed and enhanced every 30 years, and the knowledge of this is fatal to any real improvement. The cultivating class live in terror of their rents being raised on their own improvements, just as we used to see in Ireland; you have very poor cultivation, as the natives are afraid to make those permanent improvements that alone can render the country tolerably productive. In fact, there is a great analogy in the conditions under which the Indian peasantry live and the Irish peasantry before the land legislation of the last 10 years. My belief is that we shall never see India protected from the danger of famine until we encourage permanent irrigation all over India. What is the best means of irrigation in India? The best method is the ancient native one of wells and tanks, the work of the ryots. Wherever you have a well or a tank in India you see a belt of prosperity around it, and the object of our Government ought to be to give every encouragement to these simple methods of irrigation, and the indispensable condition of securing them is to give a

permanent settlement all over India. To a great extent, instead of doing this we are standing in the way of those improvements. I believe such a policy would do more to attach India to this country than all other measures put together; it would do more to draw out its agricultural wealth and to limit in the future the destructiveness of those awful periodical famines. Let me tell the Committee that Lord Canning recommended this policy 30 years ago. He was one of our greatest Viceroys, and he came to the conclusion that there ought to be a permanent settlement of the Land Tax. He accordingly wrote home to Lord Halifax, who was then Secretary for India, and he elicited from Lord Halifax the celebrated Despatch of 1862. In that Despatch he said—

“After the most careful review of all these considerations, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue, not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity, in which the conditions required are, or may hereafter be, fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country.”

This wise policy has not been adopted. A short-sighted desire for more revenue has blinded our Indian officials to the true needs of the country, and I do earnestly hope that the anxious time we are passing through may force the Government of India to face this most urgently-needed reform. And I wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman and of this House and the Indian Government to this vital question. If we really wish to make something like a provision against famine; if we wish to make the people of India thoroughly loyal and permanently interested in the soil; if we wish to provide for the enormous growth of population—and it is an alarming fact that we have added 29,000,000 to the population of India in the last 10 years—then we must give them every inducement to improve their impoverished soil, which

is clearly over-cropped, under-manured, and very badly irrigated. Over the most of India a terrible struggle for existence is going on, and the land which is not tilled is mostly but poor, miserable jungle. That is the condition of India at the present time. [“No, no!”] My hon. Friend opposite does not believe it, but I make this statement on the authority of the best judges in India that it is correct, and that this is the view held by the intelligent natives of the country, namely, that if we are to make provision for this enormous increase of population and prevent them being liable to recurring famines we must give them a permanent interest in the soil, and give them every possible encouragement for making wells and tanks and all other improvements. When the land is irrigated it yields 10 times as much as in a state of nature, but those costly improvements will not be made by the cultivators on any great scale for fear of the enhancement of the Land Tax. In British India there are about 190,000,000 of cultivated acres at the present time, and I question if it produces, on the average, crops of the value of £1 an acre. Therefore, I say the question of questions, the question between a country with a poor starving peasantry and a country of prosperous and well-to-do peasants, is the difference between India abounding in irrigation works and India as it is to-day. I have one more remark to make about the agriculture of India. The people now are almost wholly thrown upon the land. There was a time in former days when many industries prevailed in the villages. Even some 30 years ago, when I was first in India, there were prosperous village industries, but what has happened since then? We have flooded India with cheap goods and nearly killed the village industries. The terrible problem of India is how to feed 285,000,000 of people, of whom 220,000,000 are in British territory. As I have said, nearly all the good land is used up, the old village industries have decayed under cheap imports of European goods, throwing nearly all the population on the land, and the question of questions is how to make that land produce enough food for the people, and yield a surplus to pay for their manufactures imported from



Europe. The only sure way to deal with the question is to grant a permanent settlement of the land, subject to a small perpetual Land Tax. Then the cultivator would feel the land was his own, and he would become extremely industrious and bring out of the soil all it would yield. Our permanent hold upon India depends upon the well-being and happiness of the people, and whilst their condition is bad we have no right to expect them to show us any real loyalty. Let us administer affairs so that they would have much to lose and little to gain by any change of rulers. I will now pass to another large source of revenue, but one which causes much dissatisfaction. The House I dare say will at once surmise I am going to refer to the Abkari or Excise Revenue which yields nearly £5,000,000 a year. The House has so decisively condemned the system, both as regards drink and opium, that I will not do more than say that I acknowledge with thankfulness that in some parts of India, notably in Madras, there has been an honest attempt to reduce the consumption of strong drink. Great praise is due to the Government of Madras for having in one year reduced liquor licences by 7,000, and this year another 3,000 will be taken away, the result being that about 25 per cent. of the total number will be suppressed. I think the Committee ought to express its satisfaction that in this part of India, at least, the decision of this House has been given effect to. In Bengal, also, I understand, there has been a *bond fide* attempt made to do away with the outstills. Some parts of India have set the House at defiance, and amongst these is the Presidency of Bombay, where the consumption of liquor is rapidly increasing under the stimulus of the Government. And I wish to bring before the Committee a very serious and bitter cause of complaint amongst the population of the Bombay Presidency. I have done so on former occasions, and will repeat again what I have said regarding the levying of taxes on the toddy palm. The natives are prevented drawing off the harmless juice of the toddy palm in order to force them into the Government liquor shops, where only the strongest distilled spirits are sold, corresponding with our London gin. I have presented many Petitions on this

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subject, and I wish to say it is a piece of gross tyranny in my opinion to make it impossible for a poor native to tap the tree that grows in his own garden and draw a wholesome liquor therefrom, and which, before it ferments, is absolutely unintoxicating. The tax placed on these toddy palms is perfectly enormous, and the result is that these poor people are driven to the liquor shops, where they get highly distilled spirits that are immensely more harmful and more likely to cause intoxication. With regard to opium, I only wish to make one observation, and it is this. The discussion on opium is so recent that I will only say this: The Government have not denied that the licence to sell opium contains a stipulation that a fixed maximum quantity must be sold, and a heavy penalty is inflicted if the licensee fails to drench the natives with this deadly drug to the uttermost extent. I can only call this provision diabolical, and I hope the exposure in this House will put an end to it for ever, as well as to the power of selling those poisonous drugs bhang and ganja. These two drugs are so bad that no Government, even in the most degraded country, can be found to make profit out of their sale. I will not deal further with any of the other sources of taxation in India, but I will now ask the Committee why it is we require to have such an oppressive system of taxation? And the answer I give to that is that the Government of India is far too costly. This country judges everything by an English standard, by the standard of the richest country in the world. We cannot comprehend the excessively small taxpaying power of the natives, therefore let me give the House an illustration by the measure of the Income Tax. In this country, now, 1d. in the £1 raises over £2,000,000 sterling, and 6d. produces about £13,000,000 sterling. In India a 6d. Income Tax raises about Rs. 1,500,000, so that each million of people in England yields 60 times as much Income Tax as the same number in India. I wish now to say a word upon the military question, which is at the root of this excessive expenditure. On our military in India we spent last year, in a time of profound peace, £21,000,000, the largest sum ever known to be paid for this purpose in India in a time of

peace. And this does not include what we spent on special defences and strategic railways. I have examined carefully the Accounts of India, and I have not been able to find any entry of the expense of these strategic railways, and I wish to ask what right hon. Gentlemen think of this system of strategic railways, which have not, and never will, pay the working expenses. So far as I can make out, the cost is carried to the Capital Account of the railways of India, and not treated as military expenditure at all, though they are as much military expenditure as are the fortifications. So far as I can make out, the Accounts are mixed up with other railways, and put to the Capital Account, and then we are told that the Indian railways still leave a loss. These strategic railways are of no mercantile value. There is no traffic on them, and they will never be of any use at all except in time of war. I say that if we kept honest accounts we should show a total military expenditure in India of £24,000,000, and I am sorry to see that Sir David Barbour states that he quite expects a further increase in this military expenditure. He says—

“The best conclusion I can form is that the permanent cost of the Army is likely to increase, but though it is impossible to fix any limit, we may hope the increase will not be very great at least for a time.”

I am sure it is time that this House should express an opinion with regard to such a dreadful state of things as this which now prevails in India. We have a military expenditure steadily increasing in time of peace, we have a starving population whose tax-paying powers have been so strained that at last the burden has become intolerable, and it is impossible to squeeze any more out of them. Yet the Military Authorities go on spending money in a most lavish manner. Let me draw the attention of the Committee to one item of expenditure which, I think, will rather startle it. According to page 14, the Indian Pension List has swelled to £6,000,000, of which no less than £4,250,000 is for Army pensions and furlough allowances. No Army in the world sustains such an

enormous dead weight, and I believe that in no country is it possible to find a state of things anything approaching this. So far as I can make out, the pensions of military officers in India come to more than double the whole pay of the Native Army of 145,000 men. The Pension List swallows up nearly the whole of the Salt Tax, and I allege that no Army in the world has such an enormous staff of expensive and unemployed officers. The colonels of the Indian Army retire on a salary of £1,100 or £1,200 a year. The time of the House has to-day been taken up for several hours with the discussion of the case of one of these officers, whereas there are 220,000,000 of people, on whom we are imposing an intolerable burden, for whom not a word has been spoken. It is on behalf of these millions that I am now speaking; they have to bear an intolerable load, and on their behalf I claim an entire change of policy. I have closely studied this question for many years, and I say that if we do not put a check to this wasteful expenditure in India we shall some day find ourselves in an abyss. We need for India a far more economical Government. The people of India are about the poorest people in the world—I do not think that that statement will be disputed—a well-known authority, Sir Evelyn Baring, puts the average income of the natives at 27 rupees per head per annum. That figure is considered by native authorities to be too high; they say the average is only 20 rupees. Mr. Giffen puts the average income for this country at £34 per head a year, or 17 times the average income of the Indian native. The average income of the Russians is calculated at £10 per head, or five times that of the natives of India, and yet Russia is looked upon as one of the poorest countries in the world. The natives of India, as a matter of fact, are only just able to keep body and soul together. I am convinced of the truth of this. When this state of things is borne in mind it need not be wondered at that great discontent exists. India is, in many respects, like what Ireland used to be; we long shut our ears to the cry of that island as we do to-day to that of India. She is suffering from an excessive expenditure squeezed out of a semi-starving

population. Look at the enormous salaries we pay to Civil servants. In 1878, according to a Return ordered by John Bright, the Civil Service salaries in India amounted to £11,000,000; I believe they now amount to £13,000,000, and of this enormous sum 80 per cent. goes to Europeans. It is not a matter for surprise, then, that the people of India think they could devise a cheaper method of Government, and that they could administer the country at much less expense. They believe that a great portion of the duties discharged by Europeans might be equally well performed by natives. I agree with them. I think that natives should be more largely and more freely introduced into the Public Service. I am glad to think that some slight improvement has already been effected in that direction, but much remains still to be done. I feel I ought to apologise for the length at which I have spoken. But these matters are of immense importance to the people of India, in fairness to whom they ought to be discussed at a more convenient period than the close of the Session. There is, I believe, but one remedy—one effective remedy—for these manifold grievances, but it is a remedy which, by the Rules of the House, I am not permitted now to ventilate. Had I been able to speak earlier in the evening I should have brought forward the unanimous claim of the Indian people to a moderate share in the government of their own country. When this is conceded to them, I believe a great step will have been taken towards relieving India from the danger of ruin in which it now stands.

\*(10.14.) **SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE** (Kensington, N.): I desire to congratulate my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India on the very lucid and interesting explanation he has given to the Committee of the Memorandum which has been circulated to all the Members of this House. That Memorandum, Sir, is a very great convenience, and I hope that in future years it may be widely distributed through the medium of the Press. I would suggest that it might be circu-

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lated to the Press throughout India, and England also, in its present form, as it leaves very little to be desired in the way of explanation of that very difficult, complicated, and complex subject—the yearly Financial Statement. In looking through this Memorandum, there are many points that have struck me as worthy of attention. Some of them have already been dealt with by my right hon. Friend, and by the hon. Member who has just sat down. Perhaps one of the most interesting features which has not yet attracted the attention of any speaker to-night is the remarkable improvement which has become manifest in the financial arrangements of Burma—our latest acquisition. We have had a good many gloomy predictions in the past as to the future of that province. It will be within the recollection of many Members of this House that at the time of the annexation of Burma it was predicted that the country would prove a serious drag on the Indian Empire for many years. The Memorandum of the right hon. Gentleman, however, shows us that this year there has been a steady improvement in the revenue of that province, and a distinct diminution in the expenditure. The improvement in the financial arrangements of Burma is, as I have said, a general one. There appears, indeed, to be a reduction in the receipts in one branch of the revenue, but that is a matter which will be eminently satisfactory to my hon. Friend the Member for Flintshire. I refer to receipts from Excise, for there seems to have been a diminished consumption of alcoholic drinks in this newly-annexed Province. Then there is another point to be noted in regard to the increased revenue. There has been a large export of rice, which shows that not only have there been good crops in the country, but that the country is becoming rich enough to send large supplies of the food grain of the people to other parts of the world. There is also a largely increased revenue from the Salt Tax. That is a tax which my hon. Friend the Member for Flintshire deplores on every occasion on which he speaks on Indian finance. I have no doubt that he does so with the best possible intentions, but I may point

out to him that, notwithstanding the increase of that tax, which occurred some two or three years ago, the figures presented to us to-night show that the revenue is increasing, and not only the revenue, but the actual consumption also of this most necessary article of food. And I would ask him, in reply to his censures upon the Salt Tax, what tax he would propose to substitute for it? I believe there is no other tax which would answer the purpose, and reach the masses of the people; and if the Salt Duty were abolished enormous numbers would practically escape taxation. Further than that, I believe there is no source of revenue which would be less open to extortion. Turning to the expenditure of the Province of Burma, there is a considerable diminution, I may point out, in the charge for police. There is, no doubt, an increased expenditure in some provinces in regard to the Excise Duty; but that increase, which is especially marked in Bengal, is simply a temporary increase, and one that this House will most certainly approve of. For during the past year or two there has been a large transfer of the manufacture of spirits from those outstills which were so indignantly denounced, and so rightly denounced, by the hon. Member for Flintshire some years ago. There has been a large transfer of the manufacture of spirits from those outstills to large central distilleries, which has cost a considerable amount of money in the first place, but which will not continue to be a charge on the revenues of the country. There is another increase of revenue upon which the right hon. Gentleman has been congratulated, but about which I am not quite so certain, I confess, that it is an unmitigated gain—I mean the general increase in the land revenue. I have indicated that I do not sympathise with the hon. Member for Flintshire when he decries the Salt Tax, and I do not sympathise with many of the other ideas he has put forward. I do not think that India is so heavily taxed as he makes out. I am quite sure that the condition of the poor in India is not as he described it—worse than that of the poor in this country. In my opinion, it is not nearly so bad. But I am quite sure of this: that the remarks of the hon. Member for Flintshire on the danger

likely to arise from periodical changes in the incidence of land revenue are well deserving the serious attention of the Committee and of the Government. It is quite true that these periodical settlements must militate against the increase of tanks and against irrigation generally. There is little doubt that these periodical increases of land settlement give rise frequently to extortion, which is much to be regretted. I confess I should like to see the adoption throughout India of the system introduced in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis of a permanent settlement. I venture, however, entirely to traverse the statement of the hon. Member for Flintshire, that that permanent settlement had transferred the land to the tax collectors. The Zemindars were never tax collectors in the accepted sense of the term; they were only tax collectors so far as they were owners of the soil, and were responsible to the Government for the revenue derivable from it. I do not see how Lord Cornwallis could have done anything else than give a permanent settlement to those who were the actual owners of the land. It was impossible to give it to the cultivators, because that would have been confiscation, and would have split the land up into too minute portions. The next point on which I would touch is with regard to the extension of the railways. We have had this evening some slight discussion with regard to the extension of the railway to the North-West Frontier—lines which were described as to some extent military railways. But I should like to point out that there has been a considerable extension of railways in India itself, and I would venture to impress upon the Government that of all forms of famine protection this form of railway extension was the one most strongly insisted upon by the Famine Commission, which declared it was the only way in which the Famine Insurance Fund could properly be applied. I venture to urge the Government of India to take the opportunity of these years of prosperity to protect the country from famine in the future by making these lines. I see in the Budget Estimate for 1891-92 there is a considerable allotment for the construction of the East Coast Railway. That is described

as one of the protection railways against famine, and the sum of Rx.975,000 is set apart for it. Now, of course, the Government of India and those on the spot are the best judges of what are the most suitable lines to be chosen as famine protection railways. It is quite true that the East Coast Railway will be of much advantage in many ways. It will give connection for the first time between the great centres of Calcutta and Madras. But I venture respectfully to doubt whether it can really be called a famine protection line. It must travel very near the coast; it must cross the great water systems which flow out to the east coast of India, and it must compete to a large extent with the sea-borne coasting traffic. It is hardly a line, therefore, that I should consider suitable for famine protection. What is the main use of railways for famine protection? It is that corn may be poured into a country affected by famine which otherwise could not be sent into it. In the 1866 famine the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting food into the isolated Province of Orissa, because there were no railways for conveying it. In the Bengal famine there were facilities for bringing down grain from the upper provinces by rail, and from Burma by sea, so that the famine could, therefore, be satisfactorily dealt with. It does seem to me, therefore, that in choosing a line for famine protection purposes, the great consideration should be to place it where there are no other competing means of access. I should like, with reference to the few remarks I have ventured to offer to the Committee on the subject of railway extension, to read a short extract from a pamphlet by Sir Arthur Cotton, as follows:—

"In judging of the weight of taxation in India we must also take into account the vast benefits of our great public works. The railways' gross receipts are Rx.17,000,000, and the old modes of carriage would cost, at least, three times that, and the irrigation increases the produce by Rs.20 an acre, giving Rx.16,000,000 on 8,000,000 acres, together Rx.50,000,000, or, by these two things alone, a saving of more than the whole taxation, and this, beside all the multiplied benefits from other works, and by the Post Office, &c., delivering a letter at 2,000 miles distance for a penny, for instance. So that certainly, if we had abolished all taxation, and not spent Rx.800,000,000 on public works, India would

*Sir Roper Lethbridge*

have been immensely poorer than she is now."

And, again—

"All that is now wanted is that the Indian Government should have an annual loan of Rx.5,000,000 or Rx.6,000,000, at least, to cover all public works expenditure, and supply the place of the opium revenue, which it is clear now that England has determined to abolish."

It is clear from these extracts that these public works are calculated in a special degree to enrich the country and protect it from famine. I think the provision made during the last year is such as we should congratulate the Government upon, but I do urge them to consider the immense importance of still further extending the railways in those districts of India which are most likely to be threatened with famine.

(10.33.) Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I propose only to touch upon one point, and that is the increase of military expenditure in India. That was alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman himself in his Explanatory Statement, in which he pointed out that the Expenditure for 1891-92 is exceedingly high. Sir David Barbour has pointed out that the increase of Expenditure in India of late years has entailed, from broad results, an increase of the Salt Duty, the imposition of a duty on petroleum, the absorption of the Famine Fund, and the appropriation of certain revenue at the disposal of the local Governments. The Under Secretary of State has pointed out that the increase of military expenditure is due principally to the special defence works and cost of ordnance stores. These two increases of expenditure are, I take it, directly due to the connection of the Government of India with the Home Government; they are owing to the association of the Indian military administration with the Home Army. That subject was brought forward in the early part of the Session with regard to one particular point connected with the administration of the Army of India, and we then got an assurance

from the Secretary for War that the matter should not be lost sight of, and that the Home Government would endeavour, as far as possible, to secure further economy in connection with the amalgamation of the Home and Indian Forces. The distribution of the charges for military expenditure between India and the Home Government has been frequently discussed, and was the subject of an inquiry by a Committee presided over by Lord Northbrook. I cannot gather, however, that any definite settlement has been arrived at; and I should have been glad if the Secretary for War had been present and able to inform us if there were any prospect of such a settlement, and one more favourable to the finances of India. As my hon. Friend the Member for Flintshire has pointed out, of the charge put on the Government of India in connection with Army expenditure more than one-fifth is paid for pensions and retiring allowances. Now, if the Indian Government had had absolute power of managing its own Army according to its own ideas of economy and efficiency, it never would have kept up such a system of enormous pension allowances as now prevails. As to the increase of expenditure on ordnance stores, that is, I believe, the fault of the Home Government rather than of the Indian Government. I should like to know as near as possible, with regard to the magazine rifle, what has actually occurred between the Home and the Indian Governments? I believe the Indian Government did not want this new rifle at all, and considered it was not an efficient weapon. Further than that, the Home Government demanded what, in their opinion, was an excessive price for it. I should like to know how the dispute was settled. I regret, again, the Secretary for War is not in his place to give this information, but I hope we shall have some explanation of the non-supply of the rifles to the Indian Government and the non-completion of the armament of the Indian Army. Finally, I should like to congratulate the Under Secretary of State for India and the Indian authorities on the prospects which have arisen during the last 10 days of averting the famine which threatened the people of India.

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\*(10.44.) MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I regret that the hon. Member for Flintshire did not have the opportunity of bringing forward his Motion to-day, dealing as it does with matters which were before the Indian Congress last year. We are now fortunately better able to understand Indian affairs than we were, because for six years the Indian people have held Congresses. It may be claimed that we on this side the House represent the Indian people here, while hon. Members opposite represent the official classes, to whom are paid the millions of which we have heard so much. I gather from the excellent Report of the last Congress—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That is beyond the scope of the discussion allowable in this Committee.

\*MR. MORTON: Of course, Sir, I bow to your ruling. I suppose I shall be in order in referring to matters of finance. One is as to the request which has been made for the reduction of the Salt Duty. So far as I can understand that tax, it appears to me to be very similar to what the Corn Duty was in this country, and it is being treated as that duty was treated 50 or 60 years ago. The general opinion of those who understand Indian affairs is, that this Salt Duty should be greatly reduced. I think that would be only wise and fair to the Indian people, and I hope the Government will soon adopt that policy. I am in favour of the Income Tax minimum being raised from Rs.500 to Rs.1,000. It is, in my opinion, most unjust that £20,000,000 a year should be spent in India for military purposes, while only £1,000,000 is spent for educational purposes. I hope that soon the Government will see its way to give the people of India more extended powers of Local Government, and I trust, too, that next year the Indian Budget will be discussed at an earlier period of the Session. I am very sorry the people of India have lost a good friend in the person of the late Charles Bradlaugh,

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who took a deep and active interest in their welfare, and I trust that there may arise other Members of this House to fill his place, and to endeavour to promote the better government of India in the interests of our great Empire.

\*(10.55.) SIR R. TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham): In the first place, I should like to point out to the Committee that when the hon. Member for Flintshire produced the extraordinary document which appeared to compel a licensee to sell a certain quantity of opium, the manner in which he read it out conveyed a wholly erroneous impression. Of course, nothing could have been farther from the hon. Member's intention than to misrepresent the facts, but, nevertheless, he unconsciously did so. This form of licence is in use only in particular districts on the frontiers of certain Native States, over which considerable quantities of the drug are smuggled. The object of inserting in the licence provisions as to the licensee taking a certain quantity of duly taxed and licensed opium is to prevent his obtaining and selling smuggled opium, and to put a check on this unlawful traffic. It is not intended to force the consumption of the drug; but if the licensee is compelled to buy a given quantity of lawful, he will be the best agent for the prevention of smuggling. The fact is, that the consumption of opium in British India has always been extremely limited. I entirely concur in what has fallen from the hon. Member for Flintshire as to irrigation. "Irrigate, irrigate, irrigate," should be the policy of Indian administration, and I contend that hitherto we have done our duty in that respect. Our irrigation works in India are the grandest to be found in any country or in any age in the world. We are now spending about £3,000,000 annually on public works—that is, on railways and canals—the money for which is mostly raised in India itself in order to avoid the difficulty of the exchange. The only portion of it raised in England is for materials, which must necessarily be obtained in this country.

*Mr. Morton*

Having thus adverted to specific points, I must turn to the general tirade which the hon. Member has levelled against India and her government. The hon. Member has seen the country in the carpet bagger's style, no doubt; still he has been there. And it is a marvel that an hon. Member of such high culture and large experience should visit that magnificent Empire, with its vast sheets of cultivation, and see the expanding commerce, the harbours crowded with shipping, the rivers presenting a spectacle of busy navigation, such as would even astonish the dwellers on the Thames, the vast numbers of passengers crowding the railway stations, the religious ceremonies, the numerous hives of humming busy industry, the people working in the fields with happy and comparatively comfortable homes, free from the squalor which is to be seen in these northern latitudes—I say it is a marvel that the hon. Member could go and see all these things and then come back to this House and tell the story he has told this evening. And as to the temper of the people, there is no sign of disloyalty. The signs are all the other way. Witness the loyal efforts made by the Native States to provide against any possible invasion by Russia. Any agitation there is comes only from a certain class, and that class, no doubt, had primed the hon. Member with all his so-called facts and arguments. But who are these men? They are not really discontented. They are, for the most part, undergraduates of our own Universities, the *alumni* of our own schools. I desire to speak of them with the utmost courtesy and consideration. Whatever they are, we have made them. They were originally Oriental; but we have brought them up in the paths of European progress, and imbued them with Western civilisation and ideas. Naturally, they learned our language and acquired our modes of thought; they are nurtured with our intellectual food; and thus they have been able to indoctrinate some hon. Members of this House with such views as have been expressed to-night. But it is really nothing more than a sham public opinion. It is only a limited class that is concerned—most respectable, I admit, but very limited. To say that they represent the public opinion of

the masses of the people of India is the merest pretence. The hon. Member poses to-night as a kind of modern Cassandra. But the House will be able to see how this kind of process is conducted. We have had a specimen of it at home. Most of us have heard of a book entitled *Darkest England and the Way Out of It*. But to present that book to a foreigner and to say "That is a true picture of Merry England"—of our happy, beautiful England in which we have been born and bred—would be a farce. Well, I say that the absurdity would not be greater than to present the speech of my hon. Friend this evening as a picture of our Indian Empire. My hon. Friend asks what remedy there is for all the evils he has conjured up. He may well ask. The one remedy would be for us to quit the country, to scuttle out of it, and leave the railways to be sold for old iron. He speaks about the people of India as having nothing to be grateful for to us—they are so poor. But I may tell him that they have a greater margin of actual income over their necessary wants than a large part of the people of London. There is less absolute poverty in India than in many parts of the United Kingdom. What have the people not to be grateful for? They have this: That while before our time they were liable to be ravaged and devastated and to suffer by fire and sword, they now have Roman peace—I should say British peace. Every man is safe in his own home and free to secure the fruits of his own industry. I can remember the time, at all events, when they were grateful for these blessings—before the new generation had sprung up—because they could remember the evils of revolutions, and constant wars, and ravages to which they were formerly liable. They had something in their memories with which they could contrast the calm and prosperity of British rule. The new generation may have forgotten these things, still, they would dread the thought of any change! We who know India, at least, know, and this House should know, how great the benefits are to the people of India which our rule has conferred on that great and teeming population. The hon. Member says that even a British Bureaucracy

will never introduce improvements, and that more power should be given to Native Congresses—such seems to be his meaning. Apparently he wishes that all power should be taken from the hands of those who supply the nerve, the power, the energy, and the trustworthiness of the administration, and be conferred on those who could not bear the burden, the danger, the pain of defending—that is, transferring power from the responsible to the irresponsible. That is an absurdity in itself. The hon. Member says that all the industries, the elegant, beautiful arts of the people of India are now perishing in the cold shade of British rule. Now, would anybody be surprised to hear that instead of any falling off, the beautiful, the artistic manufactures of India are flourishing in the highest degree; that India produces works of art equal in merit to, and in quantity superior to, those of Japan, and more examples of dexterity and skill than, perhaps, all the countries of Europe. Moreover, new industries have sprung up in India. How about all the cotton industry of Bombay, the tea industry, the indigo industry, the jute industry, and many others which are even talked of as rivals, and growing rivals, to our home trade? The hon. Member speaks of the British public, and says that if they only knew all the circumstances of the people of India they would insist on the sources of revenue being revised. Well, I think if the British public really took the matter up, they would remember that India is not exactly to be played or trifled with, because they have vast interests there, and they would ask themselves who is to provide the interest on all the £400,000,000 or £500,000,000 of British capital invested there. The hon. Member lastly urged that the true remedy would be a better representation of the Indian people by some electoral system. It would be out of order were I to dwell on that point; but I, for one, as a concession to his views and to the views of the late Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), would be prepared to say this much, that the members of the Legislative Councils in India instead of being appointed might be elected. In the great municipalities of India this plan



has been already tried with success. And, lastly, referring to that which is at the bottom of all our financial prosperity, I would point to the results of the late Census. Why, Sir, in 10 years our Empire in India has increased in population by a good 30,000,000, by natural increment, irrespective of the increases derived from the acquisition of Upper Burma, and other annexations. Now, I would ask, has a greater result ever been known in the history of civilisation? It is vain to speak of the population being crowded on the land. On the contrary, in many parts the population is sparse rather than dense. Examine the Returns, district by district, and you will find that while there is a moderate increase in the old inhabited and cultivated tracts, there is a larger increase in the new tracts where cultivation is spreading. And all this time the people, whose poverty the hon. Member for Flintshire has proclaimed to-night, are increasing in numbers fast, while at the same time their means are growing, their cultivation expanding, their trade advancing. In the export of wheat they are proving a rival to America and are alarming the British farmer; they are exporting rice enough to supply all Northern Europe, and oil seed also in vast quantities. If they are capable of sparing all that for other countries, it can hardly be that the people themselves are so badly off as has been represented.

\*MR. SEYMOUR KEAY: I congratulate the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir R. Temple) on one distinct advance which he has made, inasmuch as he has just told us that he has joined the ranks of those who consider that the elective principle should be extended in some degree to India.

\*SIR R. TEMPLE: May I interrupt the hon. Member for one moment? I have always said so, both in this House and elsewhere.

\*MR. SEYMOUR KEAY: I am all the more glad, then, to hear that the hon. Baronet's conversion is not new. At the same time, I cannot help recognising in him the same official optimist whom we always expect to find representing the  
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Anglo-Indian Services. I have not a word to say against the hon. Baronet personally. I have the greatest admiration for his career, as an official career, in the various high positions he occupied in India. At the same time, I cannot help recognising in him merely a first-class official who ought not to be looked to as an authority in regard to the condition of the people of India. The hon. Baronet has alluded to hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, who, he says, have been primed with certain views belonging to the National Congress. Now, though it is true that the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India in the Debate last year did me the honour of insinuating that I was primed by some Association, I do not think that the hon. Baronet will join him in that view. He, at all events, well knows that in all the views that I may express to the Committee I have not been primed by any individuals whatever, except those whom I have met in long and personal intercourse and observation during the many years I have spent in the Empire of India. Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India told us in his Budget speech that he had little to tell, because there had been nothing but "a dull level of prosperity" shown in India during the year. The right hon. Gentleman has said much the same to-night. On that former occasion the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India was followed by the hon. Baronet, who made an optimist speech just like that which he has made to-night. Well, Mr. Courtney, I had the honour to follow the hon. Baronet last year, and I commented in a few words, as I have done now, on the optimist character of his speech, and ventured to suggest that hon. Gentlemen who had occupied, and in many cases worthily occupied, high positions in India, and had reaped advantage, honour, and prosperity from

the well paid offices they had themselves filled, did unconsciously reflect that personal prosperity on their view as to the condition of the people of India. It may perhaps amuse the Committee to hear that a comic paper in Calcutta took up the matter on that occasion. *Apropos* of the Debate in question, it narrated a story of an Oriental potentate who did not know or care much about the wants of his people, but who thought it his duty to have some kind of information; and so he was accustomed to ask his barber every morning when he came to shave him: "Well," he said, "barber, how are my people getting on?" The barber had a good appointment, and was saving money; and so he was accustomed to reply in these words—"Sire, it is my duty to inform you that your people are rich, and happy, and prosperous." Well, it occurred to this Oriental potentate one day quietly to abstract from the pocket of this barber the gold pieces which constituted his savings out of the salary he enjoyed. He did that, and awaited events. The barber came next morning, and the Oriental Prince asked him the usual question—"Well, barber, how are my people to-day?" "Sire," said the barber "it is my duty plainly to tell you that your subjects are steeped to the lips in beggary and starvation." A cartoon was added in which the barber was depicted as the hon. Baronet opposite, and the Oriental potentate was the Under Secretary of State for India. I think the Committee may apply that anecdote for themselves. Well, Mr. Courtney, there are a hundred ways in which, if it were admissible in this Debate, I could prove the growing and increasing poverty of the people of India, in spite, not only of the increase of population to which the hon. Baronet has called attention, but in spite of all the optimist views of the Under Secretary of State and the fact that the Public Treasury is full. I could prove this, for example, from evidence showing the exhaustion of the soil from the over cropping of the fields, the comparative absence of fallows, and the alarming reduction in the number of cattle, in which nine-sevenths of the little capital of the Indian ryot is invested. But I will restrict my remarks on this head to a

few words respecting the enormous foreign drain to this country that takes place; a foreign drain, I hold, which is such as of itself to suggest the certainty that the people of India must be extremely impoverished. I say that history presents no instance in which any country in the world has been subjected to such a gigantic foreign drain as we make, and which has yet remained in any degree prosperous. I have heard it stated in this House and elsewhere that this foreign drain is an old affair, that it has existed for long, and that the natural inference would be that it might safely exist for a considerable time to come. But I desire to impress on the Committee that this gigantic foreign drain is not an old matter, but that it is comparatively new. I have not got the figures with me, and I would not desire to trouble the Committee with them if I had, but from memory I think I am right in saying that this gigantic drain to England has practically, and in serious magnitude only, arisen since the year 1870. Now, 20 years is not much in the life of a nation consisting of nearly 300,000,000 souls, and I hold, therefore, that the argument is totally unsound which would assert that because the drain has been going on for 20 years it is compatible with the prosperity of the people. To make my meaning clear, I will ask the Committee to allow me to compare the imports and exports of India at this moment with those of any other European country. It is hardly necessary for me to remind the Committee that the imports of England are in excess of her exports to the amount of 33 per cent. That figure, therefore, roughly speaking, represents the profit England gains upon her foreign trade, a profit of about 33 per cent. Well, the profit in the same way—that is, the excess of imports over exports in France—is at this moment 22 per cent. I am aware this also comprises interest on foreign investments. But take a State which has none of these. The excess of imports over exports, even in such a State as Turkey, the most backward of all States in Europe, is at this moment 13 per cent. The excess of imports of all Europe as against the exports of all Europe amounts to 19 per cent.

What is the case with regard to India? Here we have the lamentable fact that instead of there being a corresponding excess of imports as compared with exports, the imports into India are actually less than the exports from India by nearly 25 per cent. Now, Mr. Courtney, I say fearlessly that history cannot be adduced to show a single instance in which any other country in the world has been able to sustain such a drain. Let us consider the matter in this way. Last year the exports from India amounted to—I shall speak of tens of rupees for the sake of convenience as pounds on both sides of the account—£108,000,000. Taking the average profit of all Europe at 19 per cent., what should be the corresponding imports to India according to the same low average? Taking the exports from India at £108,000,000, the imports to India ought to have amounted to no less a sum than £128,000,000. But what were the actual imports to India? Instead of being £128,000,000 last year the actual imports were only £86,000,000, leaving a loss as compared with the foreign trade of all Europe of no less than £42,000,000 on the operations of last year alone. But that even is not all; it is a well-known law, which will not be disputed on either side of the House, that in all cases where National Debt is being incurred you are bound, as a matter of ordinary economic truth, to deduct the amount of that increase of debt from the imports; in other words, to add the debt incurred to the loss I have stated, so that, as a matter of fact, if we view the trade of India in the same light as we do that of the whole Continent of Europe, we have a loss to India during the last year on her foreign trade of no less than £47,000,000. Now, Mr. Courtney, I hold that that of itself is sufficient to justify what I have said regarding the ever-increasing poverty of the people of India. But we are always met by a statement by the right hon. Gentleman and his predecessors in office, namely, that if it be the case that the people of India, the cultivators of India, are getting poorer and poorer every year, how is it that the Treasury is filled and the land revenue is still collected with punctuality? I quite

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admit that to an English audience this is a very plausible argument, but it does not hold water when the reason of it is considered. What is the reason why, in spite of what I hold to be the increasing poverty of the people, the land revenue, which is of course the main revenue, is so punctually collected that, as the right hon. Gentleman said last year, the arrears were only 3 per cent? I will tell the Committee the reason. It is that, unknown to this House, there is going on—I will not say from year to year—but from decade to decade, from period to period, a system whereby the laws which are made in India are altered from time to time, and made to operate with ever-increasing stringency for the purpose of making arrears impossible. Now, at this late hour I am anxious not to detain the Committee, but I think this is a matter both new to them and of enormous moment, and I propose, with the indulgence of hon. Members, to illustrate my meaning by a reference to the last enactment of the hon. Baronet who has just spoken (Sir R. Temple), when he was Governor of Bombay. I am sorry the hon. Baronet is not at the moment in his place. One of the last acts of the hon. Baronet as Governor of Bombay was to pass a Land Revenue Law, which at this moment obtains as the law not only of the whole of the Bombay Presidency, but elsewhere where it has been copied. I will mention one or two provisions of this law in regard to the collection of revenue, and the Committee can judge whether these provisions explain how the money is punctually collected from the starving ryots. The collection was made in Western India up to 1879, under a law introduced by Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1827. Now, let me compare one or two of the provisions under which the land revenue was collected up to 1879, with the new provisions inserted by the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham, which obtain to this day, and are the source of that plethora in the Treasury upon which the Under Secretary congratulates himself. In the first place, until 1879 there was an appeal allowed to every cultivator to a higher authority against the revenue collectors' claim, whatever it might be. The hon. Baronet withdrew that right of appeal, and under

his Draconian Code the ryot is cut off from all appeal. Up to 1879, the law provided that a penalty was to be inflicted on the occupier of the holding if he cut without permission any of the corn over which the Government had the first lien for the Land Tax, but that penalty was merely the forfeiture of half the corn actually cut. But the hon. Baronet provided that the penalty for unlawfully reaping a single sheaf should be double the amount of the whole of the Land Tax for the year. Now that, I think, I may call a Draconian provision, but there is more to come. It must be remembered that these provisions are actually in force at this day, and this is how the Land Tax is now collected over the greater part of India. A third provision enforced up to 1879 was as follows—and I think everybody will admit that it was an equitable provision—that the cultivator of the holding should be responsible for his own Land Tax, and for that alone. That was so up to 1879. But the hon. Baronet changed all that, and by the Land Revenue Act now in force he has actually ordained that the whole holdings, perhaps of a thousand cultivators in the village or district, are held responsible for the single arrear of one individual. Not only so, but the crops of the innocent villagers may be attached for these arrears, and even their persons imprisoned. Now, I boldly say that nothing more inhuman than this was ever enacted, and I think the Committee will admit that I have not exceeded my duty in taking this opportunity of bringing these matters before them. How, I asked, are arrears possible under such conditions, which demand that before the arrears can occur the life-blood shall first have been drawn, drop by drop, from the farmer of capital and solvency, as well as from the insolvent? And yet the Government and the hon. Baronet go about pointing to the smallness of outstanding arrears, and boasting of it as a proof of the mild incidence of their taxation, and of the ease with which it is met from the well filled purses of a happy and prosperous community. But I am sorry to say the climax is not yet reached; there is worse still to come. Up to 1879 the Act ordained that the cultivator could only

be proceeded against for the actual amount in arrear. This again was changed in 1879, and it is now ordained that if a ryot is in arrear to the extent of a single rupee, he can be proceeded against at once for the whole Land Tax of the holding for the whole year. He can be charged not only for the instalment due, but for the remainder which is not due, and not only for the principal, but for interest, at a rate unnamed, and a penalty to an amount absolutely unspecified, and which can be increased from time to time at the discretion of the Government. I will only mention two other points which are still worse than those I have given. I dare say all this is new to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir J. Gorst), or I am sure he would have taken steps to impress on the Government of Bombay the necessity of revising this hideous Code, as I must call it. Up to 1879 the cultivator could only be foreclosed upon after default had been committed, but now the collector is endowed with the power, if he has "reason to apprehend" that any single person in the village may be likely to make default, at that moment, without default at all, to foreclose, not only on the expected defaulter, but upon the whole district of solvent ryots. Up to 1879 the collector was empowered, in case of default, to seize for arrears only half the crops on a holding; and this, I need not say, was a humane provision. These village communities have existed for many generations. They are, as it were, peasant proprietors under Government. The idea of their being evicted from their holdings or left to starve never entered into the policy of former rulers, or even of the East India Company. Half the crop only was accordingly allowed to be seized for arrears. But from 1879 to this day, on account of any arrears, the whole of the crop of the miserable cultivator is liable to instant seizure, and his family are liable to be left to starve, without a grain of corn to feed them during the next winter season. There are many more points in the Code of the hon. Baronet which I could mention, but I think I have sufficiently shown the Committee how seriously this law affects scores of millions of our fellow subjects. I will only add, therefore

one crowning instance of the iniquitous character of this measure. Up to 1879, under the old Act, the occupier was, practically speaking, a peasant proprietor under Government, subject only to a revision of his assessment every 30 years. He had, at all events, a practically secure property in his holding, on which he dug wells and made plantations and improvements. So it was until 1879, when this new, and altogether merciless, Code enacted—and the provision is in force at this moment—that, if the tenant of a holding be in default to the extent of a single shilling for a single day, that man is liable to have his entire holding, with his 30 years' lease, together with all his crops, his plantations, his improvements, his houses, and even his very implements of agriculture forfeited to the Government, and himself and family evicted and thrown upon the world absolutely without grace or notice. I think that after hearing these things, my Irish friends may be inclined to say that the little finger of the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham has proved thicker than the loins even of an Irish landlord. I see the hon. Baronet has returned to his place. He got £10,000 a year from these half-starved peasants of Western India for filling the office which enabled him thus to reduce them to slavery, by hanging around their necks the millstone of the Land Revenue Code, some of the provisions of which I have mentioned. It is not for me to find the reasons which to his own mind justified him in doing so, but I do ask him this: How does he reconcile his roseate statement to-night with these acts of his own as Governor of Bombay? He has spoken of the increase of prosperity of the people, the multiplication of the population, and other things, but how does he reconcile his idea of increasing prosperity with the fact that he, when he filled the office of Governor of Bombay, found it necessary to pass this inhuman, this more than Draconian Code which I have described? The fact is, that the hon. Baronet takes nothing whatever but the mere official Anglo-Indian view. I am not blaming anyone, least of all the hon. Baronet, for whom I have always entertained the highest respect, but I say his position to-day proves that the official eyes in India see all

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these things through rose-hued glasses. They are in the habit of contemplating with deep emotion the wisdom and beauty of their own performances, and they are totally unfitted to pose as authorities on the condition of the people whose affairs they have administered. They are, after all, only very human. Absorbed in the good they have done, they never look on the other side of the question, never take off their coloured spectacles and see things as they are. Looking on one side of the account—the credit side—undoubtedly great benefits have been conferred upon the people of India. I do not deny it, but I say, Look also on the debit side of the account, and you will find, unfortunately, that it contains much larger figures than the credit side. The evils, some of which I have exposed, are nothing more nor less than exemplifications of the fact which we independent Anglo-Indians have long known, but which we have not yet been able to get the House to believe, namely, that there is no hope whatever of bureaucracy ever reforming itself from within, or avoiding the evils and abuses which its self-interest tends to establish under all such unchecked systems.

(11.50.) Question put, and agreed to.  
Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works Bill; Expiring Laws Continuance Bill; Public Works Loans Bill; Redemption of Rent (Ireland) Bill; London County Council (Money) Bill. Amendment to Judicature Acts Amendment Bill [Lords]. Amendments to Land Registry (Middlesex Deeds) Bill [Lords]; Lunacy Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

#### METROPOLITAN HOSPITALS, &c.

That they do communicate Copy of Report, &c., of the Select Committee appointed by their Lordships in the present Session of Parliament on Metropolitan Hospitals, &c., as desired by this House.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

That they do agree to the Amendment made by this House to the Amendments made by the Lords to the Elementary Education Bill without any Amendment; and do not insist on their Amendments to which this House has disagreed, but, in lieu of one of the said Amendments, have made an Amendment, to which they desire the concurrence of this House.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

(No. 432.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Lords Amendment be considered forthwith."

(11.54.) VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (Lancashire, N.E., Darwen): I should like to take this, the last opportunity that will be offered, to make an appeal to the Government in respect to this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman is aware that the Bill has undergone several changes—

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the noble Lord that the Question before the House is that the Lords Amendment be considered forthwith.

Question put, and agreed to.

Lords Amendment considered.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I do not object to this Amendment. The House will observe that the clause from which we dissented, and which the House of Lords do not insist upon, is replaced by an entirely new clause, and which, while it carries out the principle of grouping so much desired by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Cranborne), nevertheless completely prevents any result which would involve an increase of the Parliamentary grant to any school whatever. It is not for me to express an opinion as to whether the grouping, deprived of pecuniary temptations, will be extensively carried out; but, so far as this

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House is concerned, we have to recognise that the House of Lords have accepted the Amendment this House sent up, and have sent down to us a new clause containing words which distinctly reserve the sole right of the House of Commons to deal with the appropriation of public money. I frankly acknowledge the objection urged on this side of the House has been met, and I have no objection to offer to the Amendment.

(11.57.) VISCOUNT CRANBORNE:

No doubt the clause now before the House, though, perhaps, it does not grant everything we hoped for, is an important clause, and I am glad the right hon. Gentleman assents to it. May I now say that which I was about to say just now by way of appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and this is the last opportunity for doing so. Will the right hon. Gentleman use his influence with a view to having this Act—as it soon will be—placed before the country in a complete form without delay? As he is aware, the time is very short, and school managers will have to make their arrangements under the new scheme within a very brief period. The Bill has gone through many changes, of which this is the last—

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord is committing an irregularity in point of form. The only Question before the House is this particular Amendment.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: If you will allow me to explain, Sir. I was not going to make any comments upon the Bill; only I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman to use his influence to have the Act ready for issue as soon as the printer can print it. It is a complicated measure; it has undergone many changes which it has not always been possible for school managers to follow. As I am not in order, I will not do more than offer this for consideration.

(12.0.) THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): This is an important point. The Act will come into operation

at a very early period, and it is desirable that a copy of it should be placed in the hands of the public at the earliest moment possible.

Question put, and agreed to.

**MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES  
ACT AMENDMENT BILL [LORDS].**  
(No. 414.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, with an Amendment; as amended, considered; read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment.

**GREENWICH HOSPITAL.**

Resolved, That the Statement of the Estimated Income and Expenditure of Greenwich Hospital for the year 1891-2, presented to Parliament pursuant to Act 48 and 49 Vic. c. 42, be approved.—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett.*)

**SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.**

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): It may be for the convenience of the House that I should move that the House do meet at Ten o'clock to-morrow. By meeting at that hour it will be possible to have the Prorogation to-morrow afternoon.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do meet to-morrow at Ten o'clock."—(*The Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

(12.5.) **MR. H. H. FOWLER:** I suppose it is understood that no business will be taken to-morrow other than the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill?

**MR. GOSCHEN:** It is to be understood that no other business will be taken at the Morning Sitting except the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

Question put, and agreed to.

**BETTING AND LOANS (INFANTS) BILL.**  
[LORDS.]—(No. 367.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

**ACCUMULATIONS BILL.**—(No. 125.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

*Sir W. Hart Dyke*

**LABOURERS' ALLOTMENTS (IRELAND)  
BILL.**—(No. 357.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

**NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND) BILL.**—(No. 38.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

**TOWNS IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND)  
BILL.**—(No. 185.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

**KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS  
(HOUSE OF COMMONS) COMMITTEE.**

Leave given to the Select Committee on the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons) to report their Observations to the House.—(*Mr. Sidney Herbert.*)

Report with Observations, brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 408.]

**NATIONAL DEBT.**

Copy ordered—

"Of Treasury Minute, dated the 4th day of August, 1891, relating to the National Debt."  
—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 409.]

**FINANCIAL RELATIONS — ENGLAND  
IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND.**

On the Motion for Adjournment,

**MR. SEXTON** (Belfast, W.): We have not yet received copies of the Returns in reference to the financial relations between this country and Ireland which were promised some time ago. I presume they will be shortly in hand.

**THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY** (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): Yes; they have been laid on the Table.

House adjourned at ten minutes  
after Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Wednesday, 5th August, 1891.*

The Lord Foxford (*E. Limerick*)—  
Chosen Speaker.

MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES  
ACT AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]  
(No. 215.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to,  
with an Amendment.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.  
(No. 257.)

Returned from the Commons with the  
Amendment last made by the Lords  
agreed to.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.  
Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>a</sup>: Then  
(Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dis-  
penssed with) Bill read 2<sup>a</sup>; Committee nega-  
tived; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES  
ACT AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]  
(No. 215.)

Commons Amendment considered (on  
Motion), and agreed to.

House adjourned during pleasure;  
and resumed by the Lord Chancellor.

## COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the  
Royal Assent:—

1. Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).
2. Trusts Amendment (Scotland).
3. Forged Transfers (No. 2).
4. Returning Officers (Scotland).
5. Commissioners for Oaths Act (1889) Amendment.
6. Slander of Women.
7. Turbary (Ireland).
8. Metalliferous Mines (Isle of Man).
9. Post Office Acts Amendment.
10. Public Health (Scotland) Acts Amendment.
11. Ranges.

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12. Local Registration of Title (Ireland).
13. Judicature Acts Amendment.
14. Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works.
15. Expiring Laws Continuance.
16. Public Works Loans.
17. Redemption of Rent (Ireland).
18. London County Council (Money).
19. Highways and Bridges.
20. Land Registry (Middlesex Deeds).
21. Lunacy.
22. County Councils (Elections).
23. Penal Servitude.
24. Schools for Science and Art.
25. Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle).
26. Elementary Education.
27. Purchase of Land and Congested Districts (Ireland).
28. Factories and Workshops.
29. Public Health (London).
30. Coinage.
31. Foreign Marriages.
32. Statute Law Revision.
33. Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment.
34. Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act Amendment.

## PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

The Parliament was this day pro-  
rogued by Commission.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR delivered  
HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH  
to both Houses of Parliament, as fol-  
lows:—

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I am glad to be able to release you  
from the labours of a protracted Session.

My relations with all other Powers  
continue to be those of peace and amity.

A Convention has been concluded with  
the King of Portugal, and has been  
ratified, defining the boundaries which  
separate the dominions and the spheres  
of influence of the two Crowns in Eastern  
Africa. I have also entered into an  
Agreement with the King of Italy, by



which the line has been fixed which separates the Protectorate of Italy in the North East of Africa from the British sphere of influence, and from the territory of Egypt.

I have made proposals to the President of the United States for submission to arbitration of the difference between us as to the seal fishery in Behring's Sea. The negotiations are far advanced, but they are not yet concluded. A suspension of the seal fishery in those waters for the present year has immediately been agreed to between the two Governments, in order to prevent an excessive destruction of the species, which there is reason to apprehend.

The French Chambers have not yet approved of an Agreement between Myself and the French Republic for reference to arbitration of certain differences with respect to Newfoundland, which was signed during the present year.

The ratification of the Final Act of the Brussels Conference for the repression of the Slave Trade has also been postponed, and also the ratification of the North Sea Convention for the prevention of the sale of spirits at sea.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

I thank you for the provision you have made for the charge of the public service. I am glad that you have been able to devote a considerable sum to the mitigation of the burden which the Law of Compulsory Education has imposed upon the poorer portion of My people.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

The various measures which you have adopted in recent years for securing the observance of the Law in Ireland, and improving the general condition of that Country, have resulted in a marked abatement of agrarian offences, and a

considerable advance in prosperity. The steps which have been taken to cope with the distress threatened by the serious failure of the potato crop in the poorest districts of the West of Ireland have proved effectual in averting the great calamity of famine. You have also passed a beneficial measure for dealing permanently with the congested districts of Ireland, which, it may be hoped, will, by fostering agriculture and stimulating the fishing industry, contribute largely to the prevention of similar dangers in the future.

The provisions for enabling occupying tenants to purchase their holdings, and the measure for facilitating the transfer of real property, in Ireland, will furnish the best guarantee for public security and order by increasing the class of small proprietors of land.

The Act which you have passed for imposing on the owners of land a direct liability for the payment of tithe rent-charge will remove a frequent cause of conflict between the occupiers and the tithe-owners, and will also afford relief to the tithe-payers in those cases in which it is most urgently required.

In response to the growing demands of commerce and agriculture, you have completed an important part of the work of simplifying and adjusting Railway Rates, the results of which will doubtless justify the heavy labour which it has involved.

The measures which you have passed for improving the Law with respect to factories and workshops, savings banks, and public health will, I am confident, conduce to the comfort and well-being of My people.

I trust that in a future Session you may be able to examine several questions of interest to which I have drawn your attention, but which the time at your disposal has not permitted you to approach.

I pray that, in the discharge of your various duties throughout My Kingdom, you may be attended by the guidance and protection of Almighty God.

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

The LORD CHANCELLOR said—

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Tuesday the Twentieth day of October next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the Twentieth day of October next.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 5th August, 1891.*

The House met at Ten of the clock.

### LAKE COPAIS COMPANY.

Address for—

"Copy of all Correspondence in possession of the Foreign Office relative to the affairs of the Lake Copais Company."—(*Mr. Provand.*)

### PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table,—  
List of the Bills, Reports, Estimates, and Accounts and Papers printed by order of the House, and of Papers presented by Command, Session 1890-91, 24th Parliament, 6th Session, 54 and 55 Vic., 25th November 1890 to 5th August 1891; also a general Alphabetical Index to Bills, Reports, Estimates, and Accounts and Papers printed by order of the House, and of Papers presented by Command, 1890 and 1890-91, to be printed. [No. 450.]

### POSTMEN'S PAY, &c.

Return ordered, "relating to Postmen's Pay, &c., in the year 1885, and as fixed in August, 1891."

### LONDON.

Number of Postmen.		Scales of Pay.		Number of Postmen.	Other Emoluments.		Allowances during Sickness.		Uniform.		Holidays.		Medical attendance.		Pensions.		Miscellaneous.
1886.	August 1891.	1886.	August 1891.		1886.	August 1891.	1886.	August 1891.	1886.	August 1891.	1886.	August 1891.	1886.	August 1891.	1886.	August 1891.	

PROVINCES.

RURAL POSTMEN.

Rates of pay in 1885.	Rising scales of pay awarded in 1891.	Number of Postmen.		Other Emolu- ments.		Allow- ances during Sickness.		Uniform clothing.		Holidays.		Medical attend- ance.		Pensions.	
		Number of Postmen.		1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.
															Miscellaneous.

PROVINCES.

TOWN POSTMEN.

Number of Postmen.		Classification of offices.	Scales of Pay.		Number of Postmen.	Other Emolu- ments.		Allow- ances during Sickness.		Uniform clothing.		Holidays.		Medical attend- ance.		Pensions.	
1885.	August 1891.		1885.	August 1891.		1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.	1885.	August 1891.
																	Miscellaneous.

—(Mr. Provand.)

MR. ATKINSON AND THE SPEAKER.

MR. ATKINSON (Boston): I avail myself, Mr. Speaker, of your permission and the kindness of the House to make a personal statement. I know that the House always wishes to be just and generous, and therefore I wish to say that to-day, when I looked at the report of the proceedings in my bedroom at 8 o'clock, I found that a Motion that I moved last night was not on the Paper as not having been dealt with, or on the Paper as having been dealt with. I came here immediately in order to make an inquiry, and I found that to some extent technically I was wrong. I have been told by Mr. Palgrave, who has been kind enough to talk the matter over with me, that when I went and sat

on the end of this Bench I ought to have taken off my hat instead of getting up and bowing twice to you, Mr. Speaker. As I had not had my hat on for five hours, having been entertaining 20 friends at dinner, I could not possibly take my hat off and thereby signify that I was moving the Resolution. Immediately I read the Debate this morning I sent this letter to the Clerks at the Table. It is as follows:—

“1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.,  
Aug. 5, 1891, 8 a.m.

To the Clerks at the Table, House of Commons.

Gentlemen,—Last night when my ‘Notice of Motion’ was called by the Right Hon. the Speaker, saying, ‘Mr. Atkinson,’ I stood up in my place at the end of second Bench (just behind the Front Bench), and I bowed to the Chair and towards Mr. Palgrave, who was reading. I

always understood this was the way to move when hon. Members did not wish to trouble or detain the House with any remarks."

I did this on this occasion because the right hon. the Leader of the House said he hoped that anything I did in future would be without acrimony, and I thought if I did not utter a word there could be no acrimony expressed—

"No one objected to my action, but I do not see any record of it. May I ask why? I write this because I do not wish to lose any result of my action. I therefore beg you to bring this letter before the right hon. Gentleman the Speaker. You must have seen me rise and bow. I do not wish unnecessarily to trouble the House this morning, so I ask you (by the hands of my son, who acts as my private secretary and waits for your reply) what is my position? I wish to lose no chance of carrying the Resolution in question, which is at page 7 and runs thus:—'Mr. Atkinson.—Entries in Votes and Proceedings, 24th and 27th July, 1891. That the notice as to the suspension of Henry John Atkinson, M.P. for Boston, and the notice as to frivolous divisions upon which the suspension is based be immediately expunged from all the records of the House of Commons.' After this morning I may be too late for months.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

HENRY JOHN ATKINSON.

P.S.—I will come to you at once if wished. I had already stated to the House I would take every opportunity in every Bill or Resolution to get the records against me expunged (see reports of my remarks on Monday). . . I see there is no such notice in to-day's paper. This, therefore, proves what I say—my notice quoted above was dealt with, but is not recorded."

I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, and to my Colleagues, that inasmuch as I did what I could, and it was impossible for me to take off my hat, which I had not had on for hours, I am entitled to ask the House to pass this Resolution, and relieve me from the disability of going about for five months with the knowledge that there is a Resolution on the Records of the House which I shall have to speak against every day of my life until I am proved guilty or that Resolution is taken off the books. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, and the right hon. Gentleman my present leader, who moved my expulsion without giving me notice, why it cannot be agreed that this should be done, and the record expunged? If that is agreed to, I shall sit down, and never mention the grievance again. But at

present I am under a disability which I intend to resist to the utmost of my power until it is removed. I say this not by way of threat, as I wish to have the approval of every one in this House, from the Speaker downwards, and from one end of the House to the other. I have done my best to discharge my duties. I have been denounced as a long speaker, although I have never spoken for 11 minutes at a time. I only desire to establish my position; and if you accord me this request I shall be very pleased, because the bad feeling which I have at present—not bad feeling, but natural resentment—that the gentleman who is my present leader should move a Resolution against me without giving me any notice is really too much for me to bear.

MR. SPEAKER: I am sorry the hon. Gentleman is under a misconception. I can assure him that last night I called upon him and he made no response. I sat down. I then rose again, and again looked at the hon. Gentleman, thinking that he was going to move the Resolution which stood on the Paper in his name.

MR. ATKINSON: I did bow twice.

MR. SPEAKER: I am sorry if I have been under a complete misconception as to the intention of the hon. Gentleman. If he says he intended to move it I must accept his statement. But I then went on to the next Motion, the hon. Gentleman never having moved.

MR. ATKINSON: I thought I moved by bowing twice.

MR. SPEAKER: I can assure the hon. Gentleman that I, and the Clerks at the Table, like myself, were under the impression that he had waived his right.

MR. ATKINSON: No.

MR. SPEAKER: I am sorry, then, if there has been any misconception on my part. But when the hon. Gentleman asks the House to be good enough to expunge the record of the proceedings the other night, let me remind him that when I proceeded to ask the hon. Gentleman to stand up in his place I was acting under the Standing Order which is intended to save the House the trouble of dividing when there is a very small minority. The Order under

which I acted contains the words to which the hon. Gentleman objects. I could only act under the Standing Order, and the Clerks are bound to record what took place in the terms of the Standing Order. I confess the word "frivolous" appears to me to be a harsh word. And the House may remember that in addressing the hon. Member I never used that word. I think I said "unnecessary Division," and that is no reflection on the honour or character of the hon. Gentleman. I never supposed that there was any reflection on the hon. Gentleman. I have never said so, either in public or in private; I have simply acted under the Standing Order, which has been put in force both by me and by the right hon. Gentleman in Committee on several occasions, and I have never supposed—no one in the House, so far as I am aware, has ever supposed—that those hon. Members who stood up in their places were acting in any way derogatory to their personal character. I hope the hon. Gentleman will take my assurance that there is no reflection upon him in the least degree. I regret that he did not more clearly inform me last night of his intention, or I should certainly have put the Question to the House.

MR. ATKINSON: Can I give notice that on the first day of next Session I will move my Resolution? I have not done so to-day, because I hoped my present leader would have been generous enough to have dealt with the matter now.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): May I be permitted to say that it would be impossible, even with every desire to meet the views of the hon. Gentleman, to proceed without notice to expunge these Resolutions? Even if it should be the wish of the House to expunge them, it would be impossible to take that course now. No reflection was intended by me, or, I am sure, by any single Member of the House in the action taken under the Rules of the House, and I hope that the hon. Member will accept that assurance.

MR. ATKINSON: Mr. Speaker, I have given notice every day since I came back to the House, and, therefore, the contention of the right hon. Gentleman,  
*Mr. Speaker*

my present leader, cannot be correct that I have not given notice. I give notice that I will bring on my Resolution the first day of next Session unless I find that the Resolution has been expunged.

MR. GOSCHEN: We cannot do that.

MR. ATKINSON: Then I will bring it forward on the first day of the Session.

MR. SPEAKER: On the first day of next Session the hon. Member may give notice that he will bring it forward.

MR. ATKINSON: Very well, Sir.

### QUESTIONS.

#### INDIAN ARMY—CASE OF COLONEL JACKSON.

VISCOUNT BARING (Bedfordshire, Biggleswade): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether in a telegram sent by the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy in March or April, 1891 (which telegram was recently referred to by Lord Cross), the following words, or words to that effect, were used, namely:—

"Am not satisfied with propriety of retiring Jackson. Strong feeling here that he has been hardly dealt with. Would your Government consent to give him another trial as originally intended by the Commander-in-Chief, for there can be no doubt that he came home under a misapprehension"?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): As I told the noble Lord last night, it is impossible to answer this question without communicating with my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India. If the noble Lord will repeat the question next Session I have no doubt that I shall be able to answer it.

#### CASE OF CAPTAIN CHATTERTON.

MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether, if the Military Authority in Captain Chatterton's case was properly exercised on the 11th of March, 1869, to take effect on and after arrival in India, on the faith of the Report upon which he had been suspended from duty, such Military Authority was legally exercised on or about the 28th of April, 1869, namely, after his

innocence of the charge had been established, and this officer had been replaced on duty, under Her Majesty's authority, and been rendered amenable to military control; and whether the injuries and maiming for life have been legally inflicted or not?

SIR J. GORST: At this period of the Session it is impossible to give an answer to a hypothetical question of this nature, but I may inform the hon. Gentleman that the case of Captain Chatterton extends as far back as the year 1869, and has been repeatedly considered by successive Governments. No injustice has been done to that officer.

MR. MORTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the case in any way?

SIR J. GORST: No case could have been considered more fully. It is quite impossible to consider it again.

#### PRISON OFFICERS' UNIFORM.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will inquire if it was in 1888 that the order made in 1879 requiring that prison officers should wear uniform off duty was enforced; and, if so, what special circumstances called for its enforcement at that particular time; what steps have the Prisons Board taken to inform themselves of the feeling of the officers; will he advise the Prisons Board to take the opinion of the officers of all ranks as to whether they consider the wearing of uniform off duty as a grievance which exposes them to assault and insult, and cause the Board at the same time to inform the officers that they will be free to express their opinion on the question without fear of being fined or otherwise punished by the Board; and whether, if it is found that a majority of the officers desire to be free, as English prison officers are, to wear civilian's dress off duty, they will be free to do so?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): The General Prisons Board report that the date of the circular calling attention to the order referred to of 1879 was the 8th of April, 1889. This second circular was issued because cases were brought under the notice of

the Board, from which it appeared that the previous order was not being generally observed as directed in 1879. The Board have not taken steps to ascertain the feeling of the officers in the matter; but, as stated by them in reply to a question in June, 1890, there is no doubt that many of the warders dislike the rule; but in cases in which reasonable grounds are given, the Board frequently permit an officer to wear plain clothes when off duty, and all officers are, of course, exempt from the obligation to wear uniform when on general leave of absence. The Board attach importance to the order from an administrative point of view, and cannot recommend its rescission.

#### ALLEGED ASSAULT UPON CHILDREN.

MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to an assault alleged to have been committed on the occasion of a recent Poor Law election by Mr. James William Montgomery, of Borim, near Swanlibar, County Cavan, upon two children named McGoldrick, aged ten and eight respectively; and whether Mr. Montgomery will be prosecuted?

MR. MADDEN: I have called for a Report upon the case, but the time which has elapsed since notice was given has not permitted me to receive it.

#### MR. DE COBAIN.

MR. ATKINSON (Boston): May I ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the certificate in reference to the matter of Mr. De Cobain was signed by a gentleman who was not qualified by law as a medical practitioner?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I think the hon. Gentleman is in error. The gentleman referred to was qualified to act as a medical practitioner both in England and in France. Special inquiries have been made in regard to the matter, and it was found that the gentleman referred to is a member of the College of Surgeons and also a licentiate of the College of Physicians.

MR. ATKINSON: May I move a Resolution that Mr. De Cobain should now be expelled?

[No answer was given to the question.]

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

## THIRD READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

\*(10.25.) MR. MORTON (Peterborough): Before I finally part with this £32,000,000, I desire to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer for an explanation upon what I think is a distinct grievance. We have been told that money voted in this House for a certain purpose cannot be spent for any other purpose. That assurance was distinctly given to us by the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means; but I now understand from what occurred on Saturday in answer to a question to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs that the Government do propose to take savings under the Diplomatic Vote and expend them for other purposes without the previous consent of Parliament. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be able to assure me that the law will be respected, and that no money voted for one purpose will be applied to another without the consent of Parliament. I am aware that sometimes this objectionable course has been taken in regard to the Naval and Military Votes, and that the Treasury have been allowed to appropriate unexpended money voted for one purpose and apply it to another, but it has never been the case in connection with the Civil Service Estimates, and I know of no power in regard to those Votes which allows the Treasury or anybody else to spend money for purposes not mentioned in the Vote. I want to have a distinct assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that this practice will not be followed in the future.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I think the hon. Member may rest assured that no money will be spent except with proper legal authority. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer will keep a very sharp eye upon the expenditure of public money, and I think that Parliament may rely upon the watch-

fulness of my right hon. Friend. The hon. Member need be under no fear that the money will be spent improperly. The hon. Member has fallen into an error in stating that money saved under a Vote may not be applied to another purpose connected with that Vote.

\*MR. MORTON: I understood the Chairman of Ways and Means to say so.

MR. JACKSON: I think the hon. Member wrongly understood what the right hon. Gentleman said. It is true that in the Civil Service Estimates money voted in one Vote cannot be applied to purposes connected with another Vote, but it is also true that within the Vote itself money voted under one sub-head or the savings under one sub-head may be applied with the sanction of the Treasury to purposes connected with another sub-head.

\*MR. MORTON: Then does the right hon. Gentleman say that the Chairman of Ways and Means was wrong?

MR. JACKSON: No, Sir; I do not say anything of the kind. What I said was that I thought the hon. Gentleman was wrong. I hope I have made it clear to the hon. Member that money voted for one Vote cannot be applied to any other Vote, but money voted under one sub-head of a particular Vote can be properly expended under another sub-head of the same Vote. Money voted under one Vote cannot be transferred to another Vote. That is not possible, and in this case the hon. Member may rest satisfied that the money voted will be properly applied. There are many precedents where, on the taking of a Vote, the Minister in charge, as in this case, has made a statement to the House stating the intention to apply an unexpended balance to some other purpose connected with the same Vote. The House was fully apprised of the intention of the Government to appropriate the surplus.

\*MR. MORTON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman why he did not make this explanation in reply to the statement of the Chairman of Ways and Means in Committee of Supply?

\*(10.33.) MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): Before the Bill passes its final stage, I wish to enter a protest against the way in which enormous

sums of money have been voted by the House, every farthing of which has to come out of the pockets of the taxpayers, and I cannot help regarding the proceedings as little short of a public scandal, most of the Votes having been rushed through Committee after 12 o'clock at night. I hope that next Session the Estimates will be proceeded with earlier, and will not be brought on between 1 and 4 o'clock in the morning, as has been the case during the present Session, when it has been practically impossible for hon. Members to devote serious attention to the Estimates. I consider that such a way of doing business a most improper one, although I do not blame the present Government in that respect more than the Governments that have preceded it, for no Government appears anxious to have the Estimates thoroughly discussed, Ministers, whoever they may be, being apparently glad of the opportunity of bringing forward the Estimates at such a period of the Session, and at such an hour of the night, or, rather, of the morning, when hon. Members are exhausted and anxious to get home to bed. I do not think that such a course of proceeding is creditable to the British House of Commons. The other night when one hon. Member endeavoured to throw some light on the Estimates, he vainly essayed for 20 minutes to obtain the ear of the Committee. I admired the pertinacity with which the hon. Member kept on repeating himself—a fact which was probably due to the howls of execration with which he was received—until he forced the Committee to listen to him. The Committee had to hear him at last; and if there had not been an attempt to howl him down, the unfortunate delay which was occasioned would not have taken place. Next Session I hope to find a resolute and determined handful of men who will resist this growing practice of taking the Votes after midnight. I would rather that somebody else would undertake the duty; but if no other hon. Member is prepared to do so I will undertake it myself, and will divide against every Vote that is brought on after 12 o'clock. The Votes ought to be brought on earlier in the Session, and I would suggest that next Session they should be taken on some fixed night in each week through-

out the Session, and by that means the rushing of the Estimates through Committee in the scandalous manner to which I have referred would be prevented. If Her Majesty's Government have no regard for their own health or that of hon. Members, they ought to have some regard for that of the officers of the House. Hon. Members can leave the House and get refreshment, or take some exercise on the terrace, whenever they require it, but the Speaker and the Chairman of Committees are glued to their posts hour after hour without any such advantages. I also wish to draw attention to the action of the Government with regard to the London water question. Before we meet again next year the ratepayers of London will have to pay very heavily in consequence of that action. In the early part of the Session the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Causton) endeavoured to induce the Government to bring in a Bill to prevent the Water Companies in London from rating the householders under the new assessment. For some reason or another the Government positively refused to do anything of the kind. A few days ago the President of the Local Government Board expressed his strong disapproval of the action the Water Companies are pursuing in compelling the ratepayers to pay upon the new assessment. By this means tens of thousands of pounds are being extracted from the householders of the Metropolis, to which the Water Companies have no legitimate right. The Government, however, have not only taken no steps themselves to restrain the Water Companies in the matter, but they opposed a measure that was introduced to prevent the unjust action of the Water Companies. [*Cries of "Order!"*] Perhaps I am wandering a little, but the matter is a very important one.

MR. SPEAKER: It is certainly not regular to discuss the question now, although it might have been if there had been a Bill before the House.

\*(10.43.) THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The hon. Member is quite mistaken upon one point, inasmuch as the Bill to which he refers was read a second time and referred to a Select Committee.



\*MR. CREMER: I know that the London Liberal Members complained of the course the Government pursued, but if I am mistaken I shall be glad to withdraw.

\*MR. RITCHIE: I can only repeat that the hon. Member is quite mistaken, and that the Bill was read a second time and referred to the Committee on the other Bills referring to the London water supply. The Government consented to the Second Reading of the Bill.

\*MR. CREMER: The fact that the Bill was read a second time and referred to the Water Committee escaped my memory, but practically I am right, for by referring the Bill to the Water Committee the Government shelved it for this Session, and the result will be that the householders of London will have to pay a heavy penalty in increased charges for water.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I wish to endorse the suggestion that next Session the Government should take a day a week for Supply at the beginning of the Session [Mr. JACKSON: We did it this Session.] Yes, but there were Motions on going into Committee, and the Government allowed the House to be counted out. From a business point of view nothing can be more disgraceful than the way the Government got the money on Friday night—the reckless way in which the work of the Committee was done. Up to 1 o'clock over £5,000,000 were voted, and then, when all were tired out, and there could be no real discussion, the Committee voted between £15,000,000 and £20,000,000 more. That is the way in which about one-half of the Estimates have been voted this year. ["Agreed, agreed!"] It is all very well for hon. Members opposite to cry out "agreed." I confess that I do not like this innovation of 10 o'clock Sittings. I am afraid that it may form a rather dangerous precedent. The Government can easily arrange with their supporters to come down, but it cannot be expected that the Opposition should attend. Before the Session breaks up, I should like to remind the Government that they have in hand £200,000 which should properly be devoted to Irish labourers and teachers; and during the Recess no doubt all sorts of doctrinaire schemes will be submitted for disposing

of it. I hope the Government will not allow the money to be melted away during the Recess because circumstances have prevented the Irish Members from bringing forward their plans for spending it during the Session. It would be a flagrant injustice to take away from the school teachers and labourers the money that is intended for them. I hope the Government will promise not to part with the money till the House meets again.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

#### EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS).

Resolution reported.

"That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the total Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March, 1890, was Rx.85,085,203; that the total Expenditure in India and in England charged against the Revenue was Rx.82,473,170; that there was a surplus of Revenue over Expenditure of Rx.2,612,033; and that the capital Outlay on Railways and Irrigation Works was Rx.3,173,390."

\*(10.50.) MR. W. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): I will not detain the House for more than one or two minutes; but I wish to know from the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India whether he can give the House some definite assurance with regard to the Indian Councils Bill next year? It has been a matter of great regret to many Members of the House, and, I believe, to a large number of persons in India, that that Bill has not been proceeded with this Session. This is the third Session in which a Bill substantially of the same character has been before the House. It is perfectly true that the measure did not meet with the approval of some hon. Members. Among others, the late Mr. Bradlaugh, who took a great interest in Indian questions, and whose death we all lament, was strongly opposed to the Bill, and I myself took the liberty of putting down a Motion on the Second Reading with regard to the adoption of the elective principle in the measure. It was desired to extend the scope of the Bill; but although the opposition which was offered may have postponed the progress of the measure, nothing can mitigate our regret that the Bill has not been discussed during the

present Session. I am quite sure the right hon. Gentleman will not find fault with me when I say that the constant dropping of the Bill cannot fail to create a very bad impression. It must show the people of India, who take a great interest in the matter, and especially what are called the Congress Party there, that there has been no sincere intention on the part of the Government to pass the Bill. I believe it is the fact that Sir William Wedderburn has recently received a letter from the Secretary of State for India, dated the 28th of July, in which he states that the withdrawal of the Bill was not due to any fault of the Government, but to circumstances beyond their control. With all due respect, that statement is not altogether accurate. It is absolutely the fault of Her Majesty's Government that the Bill was not advanced and passed into law. It would not have occupied more than two days of the time of the House—one day for the Second Reading and another to get it through Committee. Therefore, to say that it was not the fault of the Government that the Bill was not pressed forward is trifling with the House. I am ready to admit that it has not been the fault of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary, but of those who have had the arrangement of the business of the House. There was a chance offered in the early part of the Session, when the Bill nearly came on by accident; but the discussion upon the previous subject was prolonged, and we never heard any more of the Councils Bill. I think the fact is deeply to be regretted, and I should like to say that when the Government re-introduce the Bill, as I hope they will, next Session, they will re-introduce it in a somewhat wider form and show a more favourable leaning to the adoption of the elective principle in the Provincial Councils. It is well known that that was the view of Lord Dufferin; and we have never been told why Her Majesty's Government have gone back from the opinion of Lord Dufferin, who, in his Despatch, distinctly expressed himself in favour of the elective principle. I trust that the House will receive a definite promise from the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary that he will have this Indian Councils Bill brought on fairly and properly for discussion at an early period next Session, and it would

also give great satisfaction to many hon. Members if the right hon. Gentleman could promise that the Bill will contain in some moderate degree a recognition of the elective principle.

\*MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I would also press upon the Government the necessity of allowing the House to discuss, at any rate, the provisions of the Bill which has been mentioned by my hon. Friend. I would further express a hope that the Government will, during the Recess, consider the wishes of the people of India in reference to the introduction of the elective principle into the Indian Councils. In my opinion, that is the only proper way of governing the people of India, and the only way in which any legislative measure connected with that country can be properly considered, having regard to the interests of the people of India. What I wish is that Her Majesty's Government, instead of making another Ireland of India, should consider this question in good time; and now that the people of India have to a large extent been educated, that they will take them into their confidence as far as possible. I would also ask the Government to endeavour to bring forward the Indian Budget at an earlier period next Session. Everyone knows that to bring it forward in the dog days, as was the case last night, is practically a farce. There were only a handful of Members here to consider it, although it affects the prosperity and well-being of some 200,000,000 or 300,000,000 of people. Every year attempts are made to dispose of Indian questions without adequate consideration and without proper debate. I have no desire to blame the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India, because I do not know that he has had anything to do with the matter, and we all know that he has a very poor opinion of the Government of India, and the way in which the people of India are treated.

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): I never stated anything of the kind.

\*MR. MORTON: I should be sorry to misrepresent the right hon. Gentleman, but I gathered that to be his opinion from a speech which he delivered not long ago, and it is certainly the

view which the newspapers have taken. This question of bringing in the Indian Budget at an earlier period of the Session has been spoken of hundreds of times before, and what I wish to impress on the Government, in the interests of Great Britain as well as of India, is the desirability (now that the franchise is being extended, and the people of this country are taking a deeper interest in the affairs of the Empire than they did formerly) of giving us an opportunity of considering these matters at an earlier period of the Session.

\*(11.2.) **SIR J. GORST:** I feel grateful to the hon. Member for giving me an opportunity of saying a word about the Indian Councils Bill. This Bill was brought in, as he has said, three Sessions ago. It was brought in in order to make good the pledge given by the Viceroy of India, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, that two small but not unimportant reforms should be made in the proceedings of the Council—that, in the first place, the right of interpolation in certain conditions should be given to members of the Council; and that, in the second place, they should have an opportunity of discussing the Indian Budget, although no change should take place in the taxation of the country. It was found, soon after this pledge was given, that it would be impossible to carry out what the Viceroy proposed without legislation, because the old Indian Councils Act, which was drawn apparently for the purpose of repressing discussion, was so stringent in its terms that these two reforms could not be carried out without an alteration in the law. Therefore, the Indian Councils Bill was brought in. At the same time a further reform was introduced in the Bill, which had not been made the subject of any definite pledge on the part of the Viceroy, and that was to increase somewhat the numbers both of the Viceroy's Council and the Councils in the various provinces. This Bill as it stood was a very small measure. It was a Bill which was to carry out a reform which everybody desired, to which the Government had given their assent, and which gentlemen who may be called "the Indian Congress Party" had repeatedly solicited, and there was nothing to prevent the people of India enjoying

*Mr. Morton*

the benefit of these improvements in the Constitution during the last three years, except that the hon. Member for Crewe (Mr. McLaren) and his friends—those gentlemen who profess to represent in this House the opinion of India—chose to use this extremely simple and small measure as a peg on which to hang a discussion of the whole Constitution of India and a proposal to introduce into the Constitution of India what they vaguely call "representative institutions," as to the nature of which they are not themselves agreed, and of the consequences of which they have themselves no conception whatever. Well, although the Bill is a small one, the question which is hung on it is a question of extreme importance, and one which certainly ought not to be lightly passed by the House without ample and complete discussion. In consequence of the appendage which hon. Gentlemen opposite themselves placed on this very modest measure of reform, it has been found impossible for the Government in either of the past Sessions of Parliament to devote that time which is necessary to the consideration of a matter so important to the future interests of India. I cannot promise that the House of Commons in the coming Session will have leisure to discuss and decide this great constitutional question, and I am afraid that if the hon. Member for Crewe and his friends persist in the course they have adopted for the past three years, the people of India will have to wait a little longer before they can enjoy those modest but excellent reforms promised so long ago by the Viceroy. With regard to the present Session, the Government is at least perfectly innocent in connection with the withdrawal of the Bill, because I understand, on what I believe is excellent authority, that the Bill was abandoned at the special wish of the leaders of the Party opposite; and that when certain negotiations took place as to bringing this Session to an early close, the Indian Councils Bill was one of those innocents which hon. Gentlemen opposite insisted on having sacrificed.

\*(11.7.) **MR. M'CLAREN:** Perhaps, with the permission of the House, I may say this—the right hon. Gentleman would not wish that anything he said should be open to misunderstanding.

Therefore, I would like to ask whether he wishes by his speech to indicate that those who are in favour to some extent of the Indian Congress programme should have let this Bill go through without discussion? Does he complain that we attempted to discuss the Bill and widen its scope?

\*SIR J. GORST: No; I tried to explain that I did not complain of their discussing the Bill, but I did complain that they should take advantage of the Bill to introduce a much larger and more comprehensive measure. It was perfectly in order to do so in this House; but it had the effect of rendering the small reform projected by the Viceroy of India and Her Majesty's Government perfectly impossible.

MR. ATKINSON: I will not detain the House two minutes, for I am not an authority on Indian affairs, and I think that some of those who stand up opposite to speak on them have as little authority as myself. But I do sometimes read matter which is sent to me for perusal. I have read matter sent to me by Committees in which hon. Gentlemen opposite are interested, and my study of it has led me to the conclusion that if those hon. Gentlemen, or those they represent, would refrain from stumping India, and from telling the Radical people there that they are badly treated, we should have a better opportunity—as the Under Secretary for India has said—of doing good for the people of India. The fact is, that all those who wish to do a good stroke, as they think, for Radicalism, think that not only ought they to do it in every part of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, but that, when they have done it there, they should detach some of their regular forces, and do it in India, too. We know that India is not fit for this sort of thing. We know that in the Empire of Russia they tried to adopt English institutions—they tried to establish Justices of the Peace—but the whole thing was a total failure. So it is in India. Therefore, I support what Her Majesty's Government have said, and I hope we shall have less of this stumping India by discontented ex-Viceroy or anybody else.

Resolution agreed to.

# MARRIAGES OF NONCONFORMISTS (ATTENDANCE OF REGISTRARS) BILL.

(No. 144.)

COMMITTEE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

(11.11.) MR. M'LAREN: I beg to move to report Progress, on the ground that it is absolutely impossible for the measure to become law this Session. There are eight pages of Amendments to it in the names of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton and the Attorney General. It is so full of contentious matter that it cannot be passed this day, and even if it passed this House it could not pass the other House also. We should, therefore, only waste time by going into Committee on the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. M'Laren.)

MR. ATKINSON: The last time I saw the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton he informed me that he intended to wash his hands of the measure altogether. I do not see why the Committee should expect me to wait until the right hon. Gentleman has washed his hands so long as to be able to go on with the Bill. The Bill has been accepted by both sides of the House, and its Second Reading has been carried without a dissentient vote. It is a Bill that tends to religious equality by dispensing with the attendance of a lawyer's clerk at Nonconformist marriages. It is brought in in the interests of my co-religionists—the Wesleyan Methodists—and is supported by hon. Members opposite, who have been stumping Cornwall and other parts of the country with me. I have brought this measure forward every Session for the last six years, and I hold in my hand letters from Lord Salisbury expressing his high approval of the measure, and requesting me to press it forward. We have a special claim on our leaders, if they can lead at all, to lead us in the direction of giving us this boon.

(11.15.) MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) : I have no doubt that this is a very good Bill; but, at the same time, we must look at this matter from a practical point of view. It is evident that the measure cannot be passed this Session. It has to go through this House and then through the House of Lords. Whatever time, therefore, we devote to the consideration of the Bill to-day will practically be lost.

MR. ATKINSON : No, no !

MR. CALDWELL : I would suggest to the hon. Member that he should take advantage of the discussion which has taken place to produce next Session a Bill that will meet with general acceptance. The feeling of the House is in favour of the measure, but the real question is the question of how to work it out. In the meantime, I think we must feel that we shall lose our time by going into Committee.

MR. ATKINSON : I beg to suggest that, in considering the Bill, we should be much better employed than in walking about losing time between now and the Prorogation. I have made every alteration that is necessary in the Bill to meet the views of the Attorney General. I have provided for the protection of the interests of Registrars; I have altered the fees in a manner that is satisfactory. I have conceded every necessary alteration to the critics of the Bill, and I would urge its supporters not to be flouted when there is ample time to pass it.

(11.20.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) : I do not see why the House of Commons should not pass the Bill through all its stages, and send it to the House of Lords, who can take a course similar to that which they are about to take with the Appropriation Bill, and pass the measure through all its stages.

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's) : It is impossible to ask the House of Lords to consider the Bill now, as they have adjourned, and will not meet again, except for the reading of the Speech from the Throne. It is true, as the hon. Member for Boston has said, the noble Lord at the head of the Government has expressed approval of the principle of

the Bill; but the difficulties in the way of passing it now are of a practical character, and cannot be overcome. I therefore hope my hon. Friend will not persevere with the Bill this Session.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) : I would appeal to my hon. Friend the Member for Boston to withdraw the Bill. The Government have promised that no contentious business shall be taken; and if the hon. Gentleman persists in the course he is now pursuing, he will be prejudicing one of the best measures which has ever been before the House. I am strongly in favour of the measure; but, as many hon. Members have left the House in the belief that no contentious business would be taken, I would strongly urge the hon. Member, in his own interest and that of the Bill, not to persevere with the measure.

COLONEL NOLAN : The President of the Local Government Board has absolutely proved my case. I thought that, as the Appropriation Bill had only just passed this House, the clerks would be preparing it for the House of Lords; but what is my astonishment to find that it has already passed through all its stages in the House of Lords, and that their Lordships adjourned some minutes ago! It would be possible for the House of Lords to do the same thing before the Prorogation with this Bill. They could pass it in a couple of minutes.

\*MR. JACKSON : They would not be able to consider the Amendments at all.

\*(11.25.) MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid.) : I would wish to add my appeal to the hon. Member not to press the Bill. I not only opposed the Second Reading, but it will be my duty to oppose the measure in all its stages. Under these circumstances, my hon. Friend must see that it is impossible to proceed with a Bill which will require very careful handling in Committee to make it acceptable even to those who voted for the Second Reading.

MR. ATKINSON : In reply to the last speaker, I may mention that I received a letter from a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, to which the hon. Gentleman belongs, declaring that the hon. Gentleman does not re-

present that Church at all in what he said about this Bill. The priest begged me to take no notice of the hon. Gentleman, as the Church wants the Bill carried. Under these circumstances, I hope the hon. Gentleman will take advice before he obstructs his spiritual superior. If he does not, I shall be compelled to write to the priest and point out the course he has pursued. Not only has Lord Salisbury expressed approval of the Bill, but he has written to me saying I should push it on, and he trusted I would get it through. I think I know more of Lord Salisbury's intentions as to this Bill than the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board. I see no reason why the Bill should not be proceeded with to-day.

(11.28.) MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): As a Roman Catholic, not repudiated yet, at all events, by his ecclesiastical superiors, I must say I think that my co-religionists in Ireland would be insulted if an attorney's clerk were brought in to act as Registrar of Marriages. In Ireland the priests do that. I intend, however, to support the Motion for Progress, and I do not want to be misunderstood in doing so. The hon. Member for Boston says he wishes to avail himself of this opportunity to press his measure, but I understand from the Government that there is no such opportunity. The "opportunity" does not exist, and in forcing the Bill through on such a day as this we shall be killing time in a contentious sort of way, but we shall not be advancing the measure the right hon. Gentleman has at heart. I would appeal to the hon. Member again to take the sensible advice of the hon. Member for the St. Rollox Division, and withdraw the Bill now and bring it forward next Session.

SIR A. ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I am in favour of the principle of the Bill, but I feel that, under existing circumstances, there is no alternative but to vote for reporting Progress.

(11.30.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 40; Noes 2.—(Div. List, No. 416.)

Committee report Progress.

#### QUALIFICATION OF VOTERS (GUARDIANS) BILL.—(No. 217.)

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [24th February] read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### RATING (METROPOLIS).

Return ordered—

"With respect to each parish in the Metropolis, of the Population, and the number of Inhabited Houses according to the last published Census Returns; the Rateable value according to the Valuation Lists in force on the 6th day of April, 1890; and the several Rates made by the Rating Authority during the year ended the 25th day of March, 1891 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No 126, of Session 1889)."—(Mr. Pickersgill.)

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they had agreed to,—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill, Foreign Marriage Bill; Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill; Coinage Bill.

Amendment to — Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act Amendment Bill.

Amendments to—Statute Law Revision Bill; Schools for Science and Art Bill [Lords].

Amendments to Amendments made by the Lords, and Consequential Amendment to—Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle) Bill.

Amendments to Amendments last made by the Lords to—Purchase of Land and Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill.

Amendments to Amendments made by the Lords, and Consequential Amendments to—Public Health (London) Bill, without Amendment.

#### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.

That they do agree to the Amendment made by this House to the Amendments made by the Lords to the Factories and Workshops Bill, without any Amendment; and do not insist on their Amendments to which this House has disagreed.

## ROYAL ASSENT.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners—

The House went;—and the Royal Assent was given to a number of Bills (see pages 1365-6.)

And afterwards Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord High Chancellor (in pursuance of Her Majesty's Command).

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which—

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said :

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Tuesday the Twentieth day of October next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the Twentieth day of October next.

[A TABLE OF ALL THE STATUTES.]

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*The following Tables are Re-produced by Special Permission of The Comptroller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office from the Volume of Public General Acts Passed in the 54th and 55th Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Published by Authority.*

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A TABLE OF THE TITLES

OF

# THE PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS

PASSED IN THE SIXTH SESSION OF

THE TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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54 & 55 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1891.

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| <p>1. <b>A</b> N Act to provide for the Supply of Seed Potatoes to Occupiers and Cultivators of Land in Ireland. (Seed Potatoes Supply (Ireland).)</p> <p>2. An Act to authorise the Transfer of the Powers of Promoters of Railway and Tramway Undertakings, under the Tramways (Ireland) Acts, to certain existing Railway Companies, and for other purposes. (Transfer of Railways (Ireland).)</p> <p>3. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Custody of Children. (Custody of Children.)</p> <p>4. An Act to amend the Law relating to Technical Instruction. (Technical Instruction.)</p> <p>5. An Act to provide, during twelve months, for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army. (Army (Annual).)</p> <p>6. An Act to apply certain sums out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the years ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one, and one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two. (Consolidated Fund (No. 1).)</p> <p>7. An Act to amend the Seed Potatoes Supply (Ireland) Act, 1890. (Seed Potatoes Supply (Ireland).)</p> | <p>8. An Act to make better provision for the Recovery of Tithe Rentcharge in England and Wales. (Tithe.)</p> <p>9. An Act to make provisions in regard to the Registration of certain Writs in the Divisions of the General Register of Sasines for Scotland. (Registration of Certain Writs (Scotland).)</p> <p>10. An Act to make temporary Provision for the business of the Middlesex Registry of Deeds. (Middlesex Registry.)</p> <p>11. An Act to remove certain Disabilities of Persons by reason of absence to be registered as Voters at Parliamentary and Local Elections. (Electoral Disabilities Removal.)</p> <p>12. An Act to remove doubts as to the Powers of Public Bodies in reference to Provisional Order Bills under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888. (Railway and Canal Traffic (Provisional Orders) Amendment.)</p> <p>13. An Act to regulate the Remuneration payable to Clerks to Commissioners of Income Tax and Inhabited House Duties and to Assessors and Collectors thereof. (Taxes (Regulation of Remuneration).)</p> <p>14. An Act to provide for the Trial of Civil Causes in the City of London. (Supreme Court of Judicature (London Causes).)</p> |
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VOL. CCCLVI [THIRD SERIES.]

B

[To follow Text.]



15. An Act to amend the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887. (Merchandise Marks.)
16. An Act to extend to Army Schools the benefit of certain Educational Endowments. (Army Schools.)
17. An Act to facilitate the Recovery of Rent-charges and other Payments owing to Charities. (Charitable Trusts (Recovery).)
18. An Act for the Removal of Doubts arising under the Registration of Electors Acts. (Registration of Electors.)
19. An Act to enable Her Majesty, by Order in Council, to make Special Provision for prohibiting the Catching of Seals in Behring's Sea by Her Majesty's Subjects during the period named in the Order. (Seal Fishery (Behring's Sea).)
20. An Act for the better Preservation of the Pollen Fisheries in Ireland. (Pollen Fisheries (Ireland).)
21. An Act to amend the Law relating to Savings Banks. (Savings Banks.)
22. An Act to enable Urban Authorities to provide and maintain Museums and Gymnasiums. (Museums and Gymnasiums.)
23. An Act to assist the Managers of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in advantageously launching into useful Careers the Children under their charge. (Reformatory and Industrial Schools.)
24. An Act to amend certain provisions of the Law with respect to Money charged on or payable out of the Consolidated Fund, and with respect to Public Accounts. (Public Accounts and Charges.)
25. An Act to grant certain Duties of Customs and Inland Revenue, and to amend the Law relating to Customs and Inland Revenue. (Customs and Inland Revenue.)
26. An Act to make provision for paying off the British portion of the Russian Dutch Loan. (Russian Dutch Loan.)
27. An Act to apply the sum of fifteen million nine hundred and thirty thousand and two pounds out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two. (Consolidated Fund (No. 2).)
28. An Act to amend the Law respecting the Branding of Herrings on the Coast of Northumberland. (Branding of Herrings (Northumberland).)
29. An Act to amend the Law of Scotland as regards Presumption of Life. (Presumption of Life Limitation (Scotland).)
30. An Act to amend the Law relating to Law Agents and Notaries Public practising in Scotland. (Law Agents and Notaries Public (Scotland).)
31. An Act to enable Her Majesty in Council to carry into effect Conventions which may be made with Foreign Countries respecting Ships engaged in Postal Service. (Mail Ships.)
32. An Act to amend the Law relating to Roads and Streets in Police Burghs in Scotland. (Roads and Streets in Police Burghs (Scotland).)
33. An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Rating of Allotments for Sanitary purposes. (Allotments Rating Exemption.)
34. An Act to provide increased Facilities for the raising of money by Local Authorities in Scotland by the issue of Debentures, Stock, or otherwise. (Local Authorities Loans (Scotland).)
35. An Act to amend the Bills of Sale Act, 1890. (Bills of Sale.)
36. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Salaries and Fees of Consular Officers. (Consular Salaries and Fees.)
37. An Act to carry into effect an International Declaration respecting the North Sea Fisheries, and to amend the Law relating to Sea Fisheries and Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries. (Fisheries.)
38. An Act to consolidate the Law relating to the Management of Stamp Duties. (Stamp Duties Management.)
39. An Act to consolidate the Enactments granting and relating to the Stamp Duties upon Instruments and certain other enactments relating to Stamp Duties. (Stamp.)
40. An Act to provide Compensation for Owners of Property suffering through the Subsidence of the Ground caused by the Pumping of Brine. (Brine Pumping (Compensation for Subsidence).)
41. An Act to regulate Crofters Common Grazings in Scotland. (Crofters Common Grazings Regulation.)
42. An Act further to amend the Tramways (Ireland) Act, 1860. (Tramways (Ireland) Amendment.)
43. An Act for preserving Purchasers of Stock from Losses by Forged Transfers. (Forged Transfers.)
44. An Act to amend the Law of Trusts in Scotland. (Trusts (Scotland) Amendment.)
45. An Act to provide for and regulate the user by purchasing tenants of Rights of Turbary. (Turbary (Ireland).)
46. An Act to amend the Post Office Acts and to make provision for the Service of the Post Office. (Post Office.)
47. An Act to amend the Metalliferous Mines Regulation Act, 1872, in its application to the Isle of Man. (Metalliferous Mines (Isle of Man).)
48. An Act to provide further Funds for the Purchase of Land in Ireland, and to make permanent the Land Commission; and to provide for the Improvement of the Congested Districts in Ireland. (Purchase of Land (Ireland).)
49. An Act to regulate the Charges of Returning Officers at Parliamentary Elections in Scotland. (Returning Officers (Scotland).)
50. An Act to amend the Commissioners for Oaths Act, 1889. (Commissioners for Oaths.)
51. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Slander of Women. (Slander of Women.)
52. An Act to amend the Public Health (Scotland) Acts. (Public Health (Scotland) Amendment.)
53. An Act to amend the Supreme Court of Judicature Acts. (Supreme Court of Judicature.)

[54 & 55 Vict.]

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS.

[A.D. 1891.]

54. An Act to facilitate the Acquisition of Ranges by Volunteer Corps and others. (Ranges.)
55. An Act to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament. (Appropriation.)
56. An Act to make further provision for assisting Education in Public Elementary Schools in England and Wales. (Elementary Education.)
57. An Act to provide for the Redemption of Rent by long Leaseholders and others. (Redemption of Rent (Ireland).)
58. An Act to make provisions in regard to the Construction and Maintenance of certain Works of public and local utility in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland. (Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works.)
59. An Act to grant Money for the purpose of certain Local Loans, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans. (Public Works Loans.)
60. An Act to continue various Expiring Laws. (Expiring Laws Continuance.)
61. An Act to facilitate the transfer of Schools for Science and Art to Local Authorities. (Schools for Science and Art.)
62. An Act to further amend the Acts relating to the raising of Money by the London County Council, and for other purposes. (London County Council (Money).)
63. An Act to confer further powers on County Councils and other Authorities with respect to Main Roads and other Highways and Bridges. (Highways and Bridges.)
64. An Act to transfer the Middlesex Registry of Deeds to the Land Registry, and provide for the conduct of the business thereof. (Land Registry (Middlesex Deeds).)
65. An Act to amend the Lunacy Act, 1890. (Lunacy.)
66. An Act to establish Local Registries of Titles to Land in Ireland. (Local Registration of Title (Ireland).)
67. An Act for further promoting the Revision of the Statute Law by repealing enactments which have ceased to be in force or have become unnecessary. (Statute Law Revision.)
68. An Act to alter the date of holding County Council Elections, and to remove Doubts respecting the Holding of such Elections. (County Councils (Elections).)
69. An Act to amend the Law relating to Penal Servitude and the Prevention of Crime. (Penal Servitude.)
70. An Act to amend the Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle) Act, 1887. (Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle).)
71. An Act to amend the Labourers, Ireland, Acts. (Labourers (Ireland).)
72. An Act to amend the Coinage Act, 1870. (Coinage.)
73. An Act to amend the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act, 1888, and the Law relating to Mortmain and Charitable Uses. (Mortmain and Charitable Uses.)
74. An Act to amend and explain the Foreign Marriage Acts. (Foreign Marriage.)
75. An Act to amend the Law relating to Factories and Workshops. (Factory and Workshop.)
76. An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Public Health in London. (Public Health (London).)

# A TABLE OF THE TITLES

## OF THE

### PUBLIC ACTS OF A LOCAL CHARACTER

PASSED DURING THE SESSION WHICH ARE PLACED AMONGST THE  
LOCAL ACTS.

54 & 55 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1891.

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| <p>i. An Act to confirm an Order in Council of the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council in Ireland relating to the Athenry and Tuam (Extension to Claremorris) Railway. (Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (Athenry and Tuam Extension to Claremorris Railway) Confirmation.)</p> <p>ii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1867, relating to the Parish of Birmingham. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Poor Law).)</p> <p>xxiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Land Drainage Act, 1861, relating to Bluntisham Improvements, situate in the Parish of Bluntisham-cum-Earith, in the County of Huntingdon. (Land Drainage Supplemental.)</p> <p>xxiv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1866, relating to lands in the Parishes of St. Pancras, St. John at Hackney, St. James's, Westminster, and St. Mary Cray. (Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Confirmation.)</p> <p>xxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Harrow, Ramsgate, Stafford, and Teignmouth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)</p> <p>xxvi. An Act to confirm a Scheme under the Metropolitan Commons Act, 1866, and the Metropolitan Commons Amendment Act, 1869, relating to Mitcham Common, Upper Green, Lower Green, Figgs Marsh, and Beddington Corner. (Metropolitan Commons (Mitcham) Supplemental.)</p> | <p>xxvii. An Act to confirm an Order made by the Secretary for Scotland under the Sea Fisheries Act, 1868, relating to the Oyster and Mussel Fishery (Loch Sween). (Oyster and Mussel Fishery (Loch Sween) Order Confirmation.)</p> <p>xxliii. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the parishes of Galashiels and Melrose, in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk. (Galashiels and Melrose Order Confirmation.)</p> <p>xliv. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the parishes of Ashkirk and Selkirk, in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk. (Ashkirk and Selkirk Order Confirmation.)</p> <p>xlv. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Stirling and St. Ninians, in the Counties of Clackmannan and Stirling. (Stirling and St. Ninians Order Confirmation.)</p> <p>xlvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Local Government Board of Ireland under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, relating to the purchase of Land for a new Burial Ground within the district of Newbridge. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Newbridge).)</p> <p>xlvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Act, 1889, relating to Humber and Swansea. (Pilotage Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)</p> <p>xlviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861,</p> |
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- relating to Boscombe, Fraserburgh, Herne Bay, Mullion, Pennan, Scarborough, Uig, and Yarmouth (Great). Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1.)
- xlix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bolton, Canterbury, Dewsbury, Hanley, Harrogate, and Sunderland. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- i. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Ealing, Norwich, Southport, Stockport, Surbiton, and Tynemouth. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- li. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bishop's Stortford, Croydon, Heckmondwike, Londonderry, Southend, and Weston-Super-Mare. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- lii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Acton, Chiswick, Coventry, Kidderminster, Llanelly, and South Shields. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)
- liii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State for modifying the Metropolis (Shelton Street, St. Giles) Improvement Scheme, 1886. (Metropolis (Shelton Street, St. Giles) Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- liv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order for the Inclosure of Mungrisdale Low Common, situate in the Parish of Greystoke, in the County of Cumberland, in pursuance of a report from the Board of Agriculture. (Inclosure (Mungrisdale) Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- lv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Boards for West Ham, Tottenham, Portsmouth, Chiswick, and Hackford and Whitwell United District to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Orders Confirmation (West Ham, &c.).)
- lvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, relating to the purchase of Gasworks in the Township of Kilrush. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Kilrush Gas).)
- lvii. An Act to confirm two Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, relating to the improvement of Streets in the Boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- lviii. An Act to confirm two Provisional Orders made by the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, relating to the purchase of Land for Waterworks in the Township of Clonmel and within the District of Mitchelstown. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)
- lix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State in pursuance of section twenty-two of the Police Act, 1890, relating to the Superannuation of the Members of the Fire Brigade of the City of Manchester. (Fire Brigade Superannuation (Manchester) Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- lx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State for the improvement of an unhealthy area situated in the Parishes of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green, and St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the County of London. (London (Boundary Street, Bethnal Green) Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- lxi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Thames Valley Drainage Act, 1871, to enable the Thames Valley Drainage Commissioners to put in force the compulsory clauses of the Lands Clauses Acts relating to certain lands in the Parish of Northmoor, in the County of Oxford, and in the Parish of Appleton with the Township of Eaton, in the County of Berks. (Thames Valley Drainage Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- lxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bromley, Preston, Scarborough, Torquay, Tunbridge Wells, and Withington District. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)
- lxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1890, relating to Edinburgh and Paisley. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 6).)
- lxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Hertford, Killarney, Kingston-upon-Thames, Liverpool, Toxteth Park, and Whitehaven. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)
- lxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Camberwell, Islington, Southwark, Wandsworth District, and Westminster. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)
- lxvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Baildon, Derby, Idle, and Middleton, and to the Rural Sanitary District of the Watford Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

- lxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Coventry, Dudley, Filey, Knaresborough and Tentergate, Oxford, and Rawtenstall, and to the Rural Sanitary District of the Chester-le-Street Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)
- lxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Bath, Clifton Dartmouth Hardness, Devonport, Plymouth, and Stapleton, and to the Rural Sanitary District of the Hendon Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)
- lxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Chorley, Daventry, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Rochester and Saint Helens. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 6).)
- lxx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Brighton, Cheltenham, Linthwaite, Southport, and Waltham-Holy-Cross. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)
- lxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for constituting joint committees to enforce the provisions of the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, 1876, in relation to parts of the Rivers Irwell, Mersey, and Ribble. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)
- civ. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birmingham, Cardiff, Exeter, Ipswich (Ipswich Electricity Supply Company), Ipswich (Laurence, Scott, and Co.), and Whitby. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)
- cv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Newport (Mon.), Poole, and Weybridge. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)
- cvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Leeds and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)
- cvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Hastings, Oldham, Rowley Regis, Southampton (two), Standish-with-Langtree, and West Ham, and to the Rural Sanitary District of the Stourbridge Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)
- cvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, and the Public Health Act, 1875, relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Richmond (Yorks) and Selby. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (Gas).)
- cix. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parish of Dunlop, in the Counties of Ayr and Renfrew. (Dunlop Order Confirmation.)
- cx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the County Council of Norfolk under the Allotments Acts, 1887 and 1890, relating to the Parish of Saint Faith's, in the Rural Sanitary District of the Saint Faith's Union. (Allotments Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- cx. An Act to facilitate the rebuilding of the Court Houses for the County of Cork and the City of Cork, and for other purposes. (Cork (County and City) Court Houses.)
- cxliv. An Act to accelerate the proceedings for the Registration of Burgesses in the Boroughs of Dublin and Belfast, and to alter certain dates and periods connected therewith. (Municipal Registration (Dublin and Belfast).)
- cxlv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Cirencester Gas, Godstone District Gas, Matlock and District Gas, and Staines and Egham Gas. (Gas Orders Confirmation.)
- cxlvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, relating to Forfar Water. (Forfar Water Order Confirmation.)
- cxlvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Corsham Water, North Sussex Water, Rochford Rayleigh and Leigh Water, and Swaffham Water. (Water Orders Confirmation.)
- cxlviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bradford and Wyke Tramway, Church and Oswaldtwistle Tramways, and Matlock Tramway. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- cxlix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Bangor, Blackpool (South), Blackpool (South Shore), Sligo, and Stonehaven. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- cl. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the Town of Dundalk. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 5).)
- cli. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (London).)

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- clii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Southborough Gas, Woking District Gas, Cirencester Water, Matlock Water, and Seaton and Beer Water. (Gas and Water Orders Confirmation.)
- cliii. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Alloa, Alva, and Logie, in the Counties of Clackmannan, Perth, and Stirling. (Alloa, Alva, and Logie Order Confirmation.)
- cliv. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Cawdor, Oroy and Dalcross, Daviot and Dunlichity, Inverness, and Nairn, in the Counties of Inverness and Nairn. (Cawdor, &c. Order Confirmation.)
- clv. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Kinnell, Lunan, and Maryton, in the County of Forfar. (Kinnell, Lunan, and Maryton Order Confirmation.)
- clvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Ashton-under-Lyne (two), Blackpool, and York (two). (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)
- clvii. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parish of New or East Kilpatrick in the Counties of Dumbarton and Stirling. (New or East Kilpatrick Order Confirmation.)
- clviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Barrow - in - Furness, Grimsby, Newton-in-Mackerfield, Reading, and Swindon New Town, to the Rural Sanitary District of the Burnley Union, and to the Wirral Joint Hospital District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)
- clix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Poole. (Pier and Harbour Order Confirmation (No. 3).)
- clx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping Act Amendment Act, 1862, relating to the Pilotage district of Bristol. (Pilotage Order Confirmation (No. 1).)
- clxi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Birmingham. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 13).)
- clxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bristol Tramways (Extension), and Liverpool Corporation Tramways (Extensions). (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- clxiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, relating to the County of Berks. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Highways).)
- ccx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Basingstoke and Newport. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)
- ccxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Blackpool, Leicester (two), Salford, Stafford, West Ham, and Worthing, and to the Conway and Colwyn Bay Joint Water Supply District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 14).)
- ccxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to the City of London, Clerkenwell, St. Luke, Chelsea, St. Luke, Middlesex, and Woolwich. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)
- ccxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Brighton and Salford. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (Housing of Working Classes).)
- ccxiv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the Great Eastern Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (Great Eastern Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)
- ccxv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the Great Northern Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (Great Northern Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)
- ccxvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the London and South Western Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (London and South Western Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)
- ccxvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Rail-

way Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

ccxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

ccxix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the Midland Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (Midland Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

ccxx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the

South-Eastern Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (South-Eastern Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

ccxxi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the London and North Western Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (London and North Western Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

ccxxii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the Great Western Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (Great Western Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

ccxxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Burslem, Middleton, and Morley. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 15).)

A TABLE OF THE TITLES  
OF  
THE LOCAL AND PRIVATE ACTS  
PASSED DURING THE SESSION  
54 & 55 VICTORIA. — A.D. 1891.

LOCAL ACTS

*The Titles to which the Letter P. is prefixed are Public Acts  
of a Local Character.*

ROYAL ASSENT, 10th February 1891.

- P. i. **A**N Act to confirm an Order in Council of the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council in Ireland relating to the Athenry and Tuam (Extension to Claremorris) Railway. (Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (Athenry and Tuam Extension to Claremorris Railway) Confirmation).

ROYAL ASSENT, 26th March 1891.

- P. ii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1867, relating to the Parish of Birmingham. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Poor Law).)
- iii. An Act to incorporate the Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birthplace, and to vest in them certain lands and other property in Stratford-upon-Avon, including the property known as Shakespeare's Birthplace; and to provide for the maintenance in connection therewith of a Library and Museum; and for other purposes. (Shakespeare Birthplace, &c. Trust.)

ROYAL ASSENT, 11th May 1891.

- iv. An Act for the Abandonment of the Tramway authorised by the Chew Valley Tramway Act, 1887. (Chew Valley Tramway (Abandonment).)
- v. An Act to authorise the Local Board of Health for the District of the Borough of Llanelly to make Additional Waterworks and for other purposes. (Llanelly (Local Board) Waterworks.)

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- vi. An Act to amend the provisions of the Acts regulating the Standard Life Assurance Company which relate to investment of the funds of the Company and for other purposes. (Standard Life Assurance Company's.)
- vii. An Act to confer further powers on the Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society and on the Ordinary Court of Directors thereof and for other purposes. (Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society's.)
- viii. An Act to authorise the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board to alter extend and improve their Docks Basins and Works at the northern end of their Liverpool Dock Estate and for other purposes. (Mersey Dock.)
- ix. An Act to revive the Powers for the compulsory purchase of Lands for and to extend the time limited for the completion of the Railway authorised by the Newark and Ollerton Railway Act 1887 and for other purposes. (Newark and Ollerton Railway.)
- x. An Act for the abandonment of the Pewsey and Salisbury Railway. (Pewsey and Salisbury Railway (Abandonment).)
- xi. An Act to enable the Bristol General Cemetery Company to enlarge their Cemetery and for other purposes. (Bristol Cemetery.)
- xii. An Act to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the City of Bristol to construct a fixed bridge across the Floating Harbour or River Frome in lieu of the existing bridge called the Drawbridge and for other purposes. (Bristol Saint Augustine Bridge.)



- xiii. An Act to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Bolton to construct Additional Tramways in and adjacent to the Borough and for other purposes. (Bolton Corporation Tramways.)
- xiv. An Act to unite the districts into which the County Borough of Salford is now divided and to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the said County Borough to make Street Improvements and further provision for the good government of the Borough and for other purposes. (Salford Corporation.)
- xv. An Act to provide for the conversion by Agreement of the Ordinary Shares of the Nitrate Railways Company Limited into Preferred and Deferred Ordinary Shares and for other purposes. (Nitrate Railways Company Limited (Conversion of Shares).)
- xvi. An Act for incorporating the Market Drayton Water Company and empowering them to construct Works and supply Water and for other purposes. (Market Drayton Water.)
- xvii. An Act for the abandonment of the Undertaking of the Ogmere Dock and Railway Company and for other purposes. (Ogmere Dock and Railway (Abandonment).)
- xviii. An Act to enable the Southampton Dock Company to raise Additional Capital. (Southampton Docks.)
- xix. An Act to confer Further Powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company with respect to their own undertaking and undertakings in which they are jointly interested and for other purposes. (Great Northern Railway.)
- xx. An Act to constitute a Lunatic Asylums Board for the County Palatine of Lancaster and to transfer the existing County Pauper Lunatic Asylums to such Board to repeal the Lancaster Annual General Sessions Act and for other purposes. (Lancashire County (Lunatic Asylums and other Powers).)
- xxi. An Act to incorporate and confer powers on the Leighton Bussard Gas and Coke Company. (Leighton Bussard Gas.)
- xxii. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the Waterworks authorised by the Mountain Ash Local Board Act 1886 to authorise the Mountain Ash Local Board to borrow further moneys and for other purposes. (Mountain Ash Local Board.)
- P. xxiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Land Drainage Act, 1861, relating to Bluntisham Improvements, situate in the Parish of Bluntisham-cum-Earith, in the County of Huntingdon. (Land Drainage Supplemental.)
- P. xxiv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, relating to lands in the Parishes of St. Pancras, St. John at Hackney, St. James's, Westminster, and St. Mary Cray. (Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- P. xxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Harrow, Ramsgate, Stafford, and Teignmouth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- P. xxvi. An Act to confirm a Scheme under the Metropolitan Commons Act, 1866, and the Metropolitan Commons Amendment Act, 1869, relating to Mitcham Common, Upper Green, Lower Green, Figgs Marsh, and Beddington Corner. (Metropolitan Commons (Mitcham) Supplemental.)
- P. xxvii. An Act to confirm an Order made by the Secretary for Scotland under the Sea Fisheries Act, 1868, relating to the Oyster and Mussel Fishery (Loch Sween). (Oyster and Mussel Fishery (Loch Sween) Order Confirmation.)
- ROYAL ASSENT, 11th June 1891.
- xxviii. An Act to confer further powers upon the Filey Water and Gas Company in relation to the supply of Water and Gas to extend their limits for the supply of Water to empower them to raise additional capital and for other purposes. (Filey Water and Gas.)
- xxix. An Act to extend the time respectively for completing and opening certain Tramways authorised to be constructed by the Folkestone Sandgate and Hythe Tramways Company and for other purposes. (Folkestone Sandgate and Hythe Tramways.)
- xxx. An Act to amend certain Acts relating to the Taff Vale Railway Company and for other purposes. (Taff Vale Railway.)
- xxxi. An Act to authorise the abandonment of a portion of the Undertaking of the Scarborough Bridlington and West Riding Junction Railways Company and for other purposes. (Scarborough Bridlington and West Riding Junction Railways.)
- xxxii. An Act to enable the Corporation of Perth to create and issue redeemable Debenture Stock for the conversion and redemption of their debt and for other purposes. (Perth Corporation.)
- xxxiii. An Act for the granting of further powers to the Sunderland and South Shields Water Company and for other purposes. (Sunderland and South Shields Water.)
- xxxiv. An Act to authorise the North Staffordshire Railway Company to construct new locks and approaches thereto on the Trent and Mersey Navigation to divert certain roads to acquire additional lands and to confer other powers on such Company. (North Staffordshire Railway.)
- xxxv. An Act for amalgamating the undertakings of the Wirral Railway Company and Seacombe Hoylake and Deeside Railway Company and for other purposes. (Wirral Railway (Amalgamation).)
- xxxvi. An Act to empower the Norwich Union Life Insurance Society to make new provisions for the government of the Society and the management of its affairs and for other purposes. (Norwich Union Life Insurance Society.)

xxvii. An Act to authorise the Magistrates and Council of the City and Royal Burgh of Glasgow as the Police Commissioners thereof to acquire lands for Sewage purposes and to raise further moneys and for other purposes. (Glasgow Police (Sewage, &c.).)

xxviii. An Act to authorise the Trustees of the Clyde Navigation to construct a new Road with Tramways thereon in substitution for portions of certain authorised Roads and Tramways other Roads a Railway Dock Tramway and a Quay or Wharf at Clydebank to abandon the Railway and some of the works authorised by the Acts of 1883 and 1890 and for other purposes. (Clyde Navigation.)

xxix. An Act to empower the North British Railway Company to improve their Harbour at Methil in the County of Fife and to construct a new Dock there and other works in connexion therewith and for other purposes. (North British Railway (Methil Harbour).)

xl. An Act to confer additional powers upon the Midland Railway Company for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands for empowering that Company to increase their subscription to the Undertaking of the Tottenham and Forest Gate Railway Company and to contribute funds towards the Undertaking of the Guiseley Yeaton and Rawdon Railway Company to confirm an Agreement between the Midland Railway Company and the Swansea Harbour Trustees and for other purposes. (Midland Railway.)

xli. An Act to enable the Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland Company to carry into effect Agreements with the Treasury for the making maintaining and working certain Railways and for other purposes. (Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland.)

xlii. An Act to authorise the Didcot Newbury and Southampton Railway Company to abandon their Aldermaston Branch Railway and for other purposes. (Didcot Newbury and Southampton Railway.)

P. xliii. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Galashiels and Melrose, in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk. (Galashiels and Melrose Order Confirmation.)

P. xliv. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Ashkirk and Selkirk, in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk. (Ashkirk and Selkirk Order Confirmation.)

P. xlv. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Stirling and St. Ninians, in the Counties of Clackmannan and Stirling. (Stirling and St. Ninians Order Confirmation.)

P. xlv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, relating to the purchase of Land

for a new Burial Ground within the District of Newbridge. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Newbridge).)

P. xlvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Act, 1889, relating to Humber and Swansea. (Pilotage Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

P. xlviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Boscombe, Fraserburgh, Herne Bay, Mullion, Pennan, Scarborough, Uig, and Yarmouth (Great). Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1.).

P. xlix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bolton, Canterbury, Dewsbury, Hanley, Harrogate, and Sunderland. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)

P. l. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Ealing, Norwich, Southport, Stockport, Surbiton, and Tynemouth. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

P. li. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bishop's Stortford, Croydon, Heckmondwike, Londonderry, Southend, and Weston-Super-Mare. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)

P. lii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Acton, Chiswick, Coventry, Kidderminster, Llanelly, and South Shields. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)

P. liii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State for modifying the Metropolis (Shelton Street, St. Giles) Improvement Scheme, 1886. (Metropolis (Shelton Street, St. Giles) Provisional Order Confirmation.)

#### ROYAL ASSENT, 3rd July 1891.

P. liv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order for the Inclosure of Mungrisdale Low Common, situate in the Parish of Greystoke, in the County of Cumberland, in pursuance of a report from the Board of Agriculture. (Inclosure (Mungrisdale) Provisional Order Confirmation.)

P. lv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Boards for West Ham, Tottenham, Portsmouth, Chiswick, and Hackford and Whitwell United District to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Orders Confirmation (West Ham, &c.).)

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- P. lvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, relating to the purchase of Gasworks in the Township of Kilrush. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Kilrush Gas).)
- P. lvii. An Act to confirm two Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, relating to the improvement of Streets in the Boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- P. lviii. An Act to confirm two Provisional Orders made by the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, relating to the purchase of Land for Waterworks in the Township of Clonmel and within the District of Mitchelstown. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)
- P. lix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State in pursuance of section twenty-two of the Police Act, 1890, relating to the Superannuation of the Members of the Fire Brigade of the City of Manchester. (Fire Brigade Superannuation (Manchester) Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- P. lx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State for the improvement of an unhealthy area situated in the Parishes of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green, and St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the County of London. (London (Boundary Street, Bethnal Green) Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- P. lxi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Thames Valley Drainage Act, 1871, to enable the Thames Valley Drainage Commissioners to put in force the compulsory clauses of the Lands Clauses Acts relating to certain lands in the Parish of Northmoor, in the County of Oxford, and in the Parish of Appleton with the Township of Eaton, in the County of Berks. (Thames Valley Drainage Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- P. lxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bromley, Preston, Scarborough, Torquay, Tunbridge Wells, and Withington District. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)
- P. lxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1890, relating to Edinburgh and Paisley. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 6).)
- P. lxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Hertford, Killarney, Kingston-upon-Thames, Liverpool, Toxteth Park, and Whitehaven. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)
- P. lxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Camberwell, Islington, Southwark, Wandsworth District, and Westminster. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)
- P. lxvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Baildon, Derby, Idle, and Middleton, and to the Rural Sanitary District of the Watford Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. lxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Coventry, Dudley, Ffiley, Knaresborough and Tentergate, Oxford, and Rawtenstall, and to the Rural Sanitary District of the Chester-le-Street Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)
- P. lxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Bath, Clifton Dartmouth Hardness, Devonport, Plymouth, and Stapleton, and to the Rural Sanitary District of the Hendon Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)
- P. lxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Chorley, Daventry, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Rochester, and Saint Helens. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 6).)
- P. lxx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Brighton, Cheltenham, Linthwaite, Southport, and Waltham-Holy-Cross. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)
- P. lxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for constituting joint committees to enforce the provisions of the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, 1876, in relation to parts of the Rivers Irwell, Mersey, and Ribble. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)
- lxxii. An Act to extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands for and for the completion of the Latimer Road and Acton Railway. (Latimer Road and Acton Railway.)
- lxxiii. An Act to confer further powers upon the Plymouth and Dartmoor Railway Company. (Plymouth and Dartmoor Railway.)
- lxxiv. An Act to revive the powers and extend the periods for the Compulsory Purchase of Lands for and for the completion of the Dock and Works authorised by the Thames Deep Water Dock Act, 1881, and for other purposes. (Thames Deep Water Dock.)

- lxxv. An Act authorising the Abandonment and Discontinuance of portions of the Canal the Maintenance and Continuance of the Harbour at Bude and of portions of the Canal the Maintenance of a portion of the Canal and of the Reservoir as Waterworks the Supply of Water to Local and other Authorities and for conferring further powers on the Company of Proprietors of the Bude Harbour and Canal in relation to their Undertaking and for other purposes. (Bude Harbour and Canal (Further Powers).)
- lxxvi. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the City of Dublin Junction Railways to make provision with reference to superfluous lands and for other purposes. (Dublin Wicklow and Wexford Railway.)
- lxxvii. An Act to provide for the control and regulation of Overhead Wires in the Administrative County of London. (London Overhead Wires.)
- lxxviii. An Act for the prohibition of future and regulation of existing Sky Signs in the Administrative County of London. (London Sky Signs.)
- lxxix. An Act for conferring further powers on the South-eastern Railway Company and upon the Cranbrook and Paddock Wood Railway Company and for other purposes. (South-eastern Railway.)
- lxxx. An Act to repeal the Special Acts of the Pelican Life Insurance Company and to make provisions as to the constitution government and capital of the Company and for other purposes. (Pelican Life Insurance Company's.)
- lxxxi. An Act to define and extend the objects of the Royal Insurance Company to provide for the transfer to that Company of the business of the Queen Insurance Company and for other purposes. (Royal Insurance Company's.)
- lxxxii. An Act to confer further powers on the Metropolitan District Railway Company and for other purposes. (Metropolitan District Railway.)
- lxxxiii. An Act for the granting of further Powers to the Fylde Waterworks Company and for other purposes. (Fylde Water.)
- lxxxiv. An Act to incorporate the Garw and Ogmore Gas Company and authorise them to construct Gasworks and to supply Gas in certain parishes and places in the County of Glamorgan. (Garw and Ogmore Gas.)
- lxxxv. An Act to incorporate the Gifford and Garvald Railway Company and to empower them to construct a Railway in the County of Haddington and for other purposes. (Gifford and Garvald Railway.)
- lxxxvi. An Act to authorise the Barmouth Local Board to make Waterworks to make further and better provision for the improvement health and good government of the District to raise further Moneys and for other purposes. (Barmouth Local Board.)
- lxxxvii. An Act to extend the Eastern Boundary of the borough of Birkenhead to the centre of the River Mersey to make further provisions for Street Improvements and as to the Public Libraries Ferries and Markets of the borough and for other purposes relating to the Local Government of the borough. (Birkenhead Corporation.)
- lxxxviii. An Act for making a Railway from Peakirk in the County of Northampton to Crowland in the County of Lincoln and for other purposes. (Crowland Railway.)
- lxxxix. An Act for conferring further powers on the Glasgow and South-western Railway Company for the construction of works the acquisition of lands and the raising of money for authorising them to acquire jointly with the Caledonian Railway Company the Shieldhall Branch Railway and for other purposes. (Glasgow and South-Western Railway (Additional Powers).)
- xc. An Act to provide for the purchase by the Corporation of Glasgow of the Undertaking of the Partick, Hillhead and Maryhill Gas Company, Limited; and for other purposes in connexion therewith. (Glasgow Corporation (Partick, Hillhead and Maryhill) Gas.)
- xc. An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Kettering Gas Company to raise additional capital purchase other lands and for other purposes incident thereto. (Kettering Gas.)
- xcii. An Act to confer further powers on the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland). (Great Northern Railway (Ireland).)
- xciii. An Act for incorporating the Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water Company and empowering them to construct Waterworks and supply Water and for other purposes. (Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water.)
- xciv. An Act to empower the Dundee Water Commissioners to extend, enlarge and alter their Lintrathen Reservoir and Works connected therewith; and to construct additional Aqueducts, Conduits or Lines of Pipes, and other Works; and for other purposes. (Dundee Water.)
- xcv. An Act to confer further powers upon the Southampton Harbour Board and for other purposes. (Southampton Harbour.)
- xcvi. An Act to authorise the Malvern Local Board to construct additional Waterworks for the supply of Water to their district and for other purposes. (Malvern Water.)
- xcvii. An Act to repeal and re-enact with amendments the Sun Fire Office Acts 1813 and 1827 to make further provisions in relation to the Laws Objects Regulations and Capital of the Company to change the name of the Company and for other purposes. (Sun Insurance Office.)
- xcviii. An Act to enable the Belfast and County Down Railway Company to construct a new Railway to widen and improve portions of their existing Railway to purchase additional lands and to raise additional capital and for other purposes. (Belfast and County Down Railway.)
- xcix. An Act for conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company and for other purposes. (Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway.)

- c. An Act to extend the Borough of Leicester and for other purposes. (Leicester Extension.)
- ci. An Act to confer further powers on the Stourbridge Gas Company. (Stourbridge Gas.)
- cii. An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Rhyl Gas Company. (Rhyl Gas.)
- ciii. An Act for enabling the Caledonian Railway Company to make and maintain certain railways in Edinburgh and Leith to acquire lands to raise additional money and for other purposes. (Caledonian Railway (Edinburgh and Leith Lines).)
- P. civ. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birmingham, Cardiff, Exeter, Ipswich (Ipswich Electricity Supply Company), Ipswich (Laurence, Scott, and Co.), and Whitby. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)
- P. cv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Newport (Mon.), Poole, and Weybridge. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)
- P. cvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Leeds and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)
- P. cvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Hastings, Oldham, Rowley Regis, Southampton (two), Standish-with-Langtree, and West Ham, and to the Rural Sanitary District of the Stourbridge Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)
- P. cviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, and the Public Health Act, 1875, relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Richmond (Yorks) and Selby. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (Gas).)
- P. cix. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parish of Dunlop, in the Counties of Ayr and Renfrew. (Dunlop Order Confirmation.)
- P. cx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the County Council of Norfolk under the Allotments Acts, 1887 and 1890, relating to the Parish of Saint Faith's, in the Rural Sanitary District of the Saint Faith's Union. (Allotments Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- P. cxi. An Act to facilitate the rebuilding of the Court Houses for the County of Cork and City of Cork, and for other purposes. (Cork (County and City) Court Houses.)

## ROYAL ASSENT, 21st July 1891.

- cxii. An Act to repeal the Acts relating to the Imperial Fire Insurance Company as from the date of its registration as a Limited Company and to re-enact parts of those Acts to change the name of the Company and for other purposes. (Imperial Insurance Company's.)
- cxiii. An Act to confer further powers on the Plymouth Devonport and South Western Junction Railway Company. (Plymouth Devonport and South Western Junction Railway.)
- cxiv. An Act to confer further powers on the Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company in connexion with their Undertaking and the Undertakings of other Companies in which they are jointly interested and to authorise the Manchester South Junction and Altrincham Railway Company to construct a Railway and other works and for other purposes. (Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway (Various Powers).)
- cxv. An Act to extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands for certain railways authorised by the St. Helens and Wigan Junction Railway Act 1885 and the St. Helens and Wigan Junction Railway Act 1886 and to provide for the issue of preference or guaranteed shares or stock and for other purposes. (Liverpool, St. Helens and South Lancashire Railway.)
- cxvi. An Act to extend the time for the restoration and completion of works for enlarging and improving the Port and Harbour of Neath to confer further borrowing powers upon the Neath Harbour Commissioners and for other purposes. (Neath Harbour.)
- cxvii. An Act for conferring powers on the Local Board for the district of Penmaenmawr in the County of Carnarvon for the construction of additional Waterworks and the raising of moneys and in relation to the local government of the district and for other purposes. (Penmaenmawr Local Board.)
- cxviii. An Act to authorise the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company to raise additional Capital and for other purposes. (Southwark and Vauxhall Water.)
- cxix. An Act for amending the Stourbridge Improvement Act 1886 and conferring further powers on the Stourbridge Improvement Commissioners and for other purposes. (Stourbridge Improvement Commissioners.)
- cxx. An Act for the abandonment of the Railways authorised by the Great Western and Great Northern Junction Railway Act 1888. (Great Western and Great Northern Junction Railway (Abandonment).)
- cxxi. An Act to confer further powers upon the London and South-western Railway Company and to make further provision with respect to their Undertaking and other Undertakings in which they are interested to enable the Company and the Midland Railway Company to widen parts of the Somerset and Dorset Railway and for other purposes. (South-western Railway.)

- cxix. An Act to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Newark to construct Waterworks and supply Water to the said Borough and adjacent places and to acquire the Undertaking of the Newark-upon-Trent Waterworks Company and for other purposes. (Newark Corporation.)
- cxiii. An Act for constituting a portion of the Railways authorised by the North Cornwall Railway Act 1882 a separate Undertaking and for other purposes. (North Cornwall Railway.)
- cxiv. An Act to extend the Municipal Boundary of the City of Aberdeen to make further provisions with respect to the rates and assessments leviable by the Town Council to provide for the creation and issue of Corporation Stock and for other purposes. (Aberdeen Corporation.)
- cxv. An Act to authorise the making of a Deep Water Harbour at Dover in substitution for the Deep Water Harbour now authorised to be made there and for other purposes. (Dover Harbour.)
- cxvi. An Act to repeal the Special Acts of the London Assurance and to make further provisions in relation to the laws objects and regulations of the London Assurance and for other purposes. (London Assurance.)
- cxvii. An Act to enable the Local Board for the District of Clevedon in the County of Somerset to acquire the Undertaking of the Clevedon Pier Company to make and maintain a new Pier Head and to make further provisions for the improvement and good government of their District and for other purposes. (Clevedon Local Board.)
- cxviii. An Act for the abandonment of the Flamborough Head Tramways and for authorising the repayment of the money deposited for securing the completion thereof. (Flamborough Head Tramways (Abandonment).)
- cxix. An Act for conferring further Powers on the Bristol United Gaslight Company. (Bristol Gas.)
- cxx. An Act to extend the Boundaries of the City of Glasgow and for other purposes. (City of Glasgow.)
- cxxi. An Act to revive the Powers and extend the Time for the compulsory purchase of Lands for and for the completion of the Railways and Pier authorised by the Swindon Marlborough and Andover Railway Acts 1882 and 1883 and the South Hampshire Railway and Pier Acts 1886 and 1889. (South Hampshire Railway and Pier.)
- cxixii. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the Tramways authorised by the West Metropolitan Tramways Act 1889 and for other purposes. (West Metropolitan Tramways.)
- cxixiii. An Act for the Abandonment of the Beverley and East Riding Railway. (Beverley and East Riding Railway (Abandonment).)
- cxixiv. An Act to empower the Northallerton Local Board to make Waterworks and supply Water and for other purposes. (Northallerton Waterworks.)
- cxixv. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the Mundesley Branch of the Eastern and Midlands Railway. (Eastern and Midlands Railway (Extension of Time).)
- cxixvi. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the Municipality and Police and Roads and Streets of the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, and to confer further sanitary powers on the Magistrates and Council thereof; and for other purposes. (Edinburgh Municipal and Police (Amendment).)
- cxixvii. An Act for conferring further powers upon the London and North-western Railway Company in relation to their own Undertaking and other Undertakings in which they are interested jointly with other Companies and also for conferring Powers upon the Great Western Railway Company the Central Wales and Carmarthen Junction Railway Company the Harrow and Stanmore Railway Company and other Railway Companies in relation to such other Undertakings and for vesting in the London and North-western Railway Company the Undertaking of the Central Wales and Carmarthen Junction Railway Company and for other purposes. (London and North-western Railway.)
- cxixviii. An Act to authorise the Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company to make deviation and other Railways to confer further powers on the Company and for other purposes. (Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway.)
- cxixix. An Act to empower the Pontypool Local Board to establish and maintain markets and fairs and to acquire existing markets and market rights and for other purposes. (Pontypool Local Board (Markets).)
- cxl. An Act to extend the time for the purchase of land and for the completion of the Shropshire Railways to authorise the Shropshire Railways Company to create and issue additional Debenture Stock and for other purposes. (Shropshire Railways.)
- cxli. An Act for conferring further powers on the Furness Railway Company. (Furness Railway.)
- cxlii. An Act to wind up the affairs of the Westminster Improvement Commissioners and to distribute their Assets under the direction and control of the High Court and to dissolve the said Commissioners and for other purposes. (Westminster Improvement Commissioners Winding-up.)
- cxliii. An Act for the construction of a Wharf Pier and other works and formation of a Harbour at Lynmouth in the County of Devon and for other purposes. (Lynmouth Harbour.)
- P. cxliv. An Act to accelerate the proceedings for the Registration of Burgesses in the Boroughs of Dublin and Belfast, and to alter certain dates and periods connected therewith. (Municipal Registration (Dublin and Belfast).)
- P. cxlv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act,

- 1870, relating to Cirencester Gas, Godstone District Gas, Matlock and District Gas, and Staines and Egham Gas. (Gas Orders Confirmation.)
- P. cxlvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, relating to Forfar Water. (Forfar Water Order Confirmation.)
- P. cxlvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Corsham Water, North Sussex Water, Rochford Rayleigh and Leigh Water, and Swaffham Water. (Water Orders Confirmation.)
- P. cxlviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bradford and Wyke Tramway, Church and Oswaldtwistle Tramways, and Matlock Tramway. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- P. cxlix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Bangor, Blackpool (South), Blackpool (South Shore), Sligo, and Stonehaven. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. cl. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the Town of Dundalk. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 5).)
- P. cli. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (London).)
- P. clii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Southborough Gas, Woking District Gas, Cirencester Water, Matlock Water, and Seaton and Beer Water. (Gas and Water Orders Confirmation.)
- P. cliii. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Alloa, Alva, and Logie, in the Counties of Clackmannan, Perth, and Stirling. (Alloa, Alva, and Logie Order Confirmation.)
- P. cliv. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Cawdor, Croy and Dalcross, Daviot and Dunlichity, Inverness, and Nairn, in the Counties of Inverness and Nairn. (Cawdor, &c. Order Confirmation.)
- P. clv. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parishes of Kinnell, Lunan, and Maryton, in the County of Forfar. (Kinnell, Lunan, and Maryton Order Confirmation.)
- P. clvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Ashton-under-Lyne (two), Blackpool, and York (two). (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)
- P. clvii. An Act to confirm an Order of the Boundary Commissioners for Scotland relating to the Parish of New or East Kilpatrick in the Counties of Dumbarton and Stirling. (New or East Kilpatrick Order Confirmation.)
- ROYAL ASSENT, 28th July 1891.
- P. clviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Barrow-in-Furness, Grimsby, Newton-in-Mackerfield, Reading, and Swindon New Town, to the Rural Sanitary District of the Burnley Union, and to the Wirral Joint Hospital District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)
- P. clix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Poole. (Pier and Harbour Order Confirmation (No. 3).)
- P. clx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping Act Amendment Act, 1863, relating to the Pilotage district of Bristol. (Pilotage Order Confirmation (No. 1).)
- P. clxi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Birmingham. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 13).)
- P. clxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bristol Tramways (Extension), and Liverpool Corporation Tramways (Extensions). (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. clxiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, relating to the County of Berks. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Highways).)
- clxiv. An Act to confirm and give effect to an agreement for the working of certain parts of the South Yorkshire Junction Railway by the Hull Barnsley and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company. (Hull and Barnsley and South Yorkshire Junction Railways.)
- clxv. An Act for vesting in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the endowments of the Rectory of Handsworth in the County of Stafford and for the re-endowment of the said Rectory and the transfer of the advowson to the See of Lichfield and for the endowment or augmentation of new districts within the Parish of Handsworth aforesaid and for other purposes. (Handsworth Rectory.)

- clxvi. An Act to confer further powers on the North Eastern Railway Company and to enable the North Eastern Railway Company and the London and North Western Railway Company to enlarge Leeds New Station and for other purposes. (North Eastern Railway.)
- clxvii. An Act to empower the Freshwater Yarmouth and Newport Railway Company to raise further capital and for other purposes. (Freshwater Yarmouth and Newport Railway.)
- clxviii. An Act for empowering the Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Company to construct New Tramways; and for other purposes. (Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways.)
- clxix. An Act to authorise the Police Commissioners of the Burgh of Alloa to provide an additional Water Supply to the Burgh and places adjacent; and to make and maintain new and additional Waterworks; and for other purposes. (Alloa Water.)
- clxx. An Act to authorise the Undertakers of the Navigation of the Rivers of Aire and Calder in the West Riding of the County of York to make a new Canal from the River Dun Navigation to join the Knottingley and Goole Canal and to widen a portion of the last-mentioned Canal to provide for the Sheffield and South Yorkshire Navigation Company becoming joint owners of the new Canal and for other purposes. (Aire and Calder and River Dun Navigations Junction Canal.)
- clxxi. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Burry Port and Gwendreath Valley Railway Company. (Burry Port and Gwendreath Valley Railway.)
- clxxii. An Act to enable the Corporation of Bournemouth to make and maintain a New Cemetery in the Parish of Christchurch. (Bournemouth East Cemetery.)
- clxxiii. An Act to confer further powers on the Lostwithiel and Fowey Railway Company and on other Companies and for other purposes. (Lostwithiel and Fowey Railway.)
- clxxiv. An Act for the abandonment of the Lincoln Horncastle Spilsby and Skegness Railway. (Lincoln Horncastle Spilsby and Skegness Railway (Abandonment).)
- clxxv. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the authorised railway of the Birmingham and Henley-in-Arden Railway Company and for other purposes. (Birmingham and Henley-in-Arden Railway.)
- clxxvi. An Act to authorise the use of electrical and other power on the Glasgow Street Tramways and for other purposes. (Glasgow Corporation.)
- clxxvii. An Act to amend the Acts relating to and to confer further powers for the maintenance and construction of works and otherwise upon the Company of Proprietors of the Canal Navigation from Leeds to Liverpool to Change the Name of the Company; and for other purposes. (Leeds and Liverpool Canal.)
- clxxviii. An Act for authorising the Rhondda and Swansea Bay Railway Company to extend their Railways and for other purposes. (Rhondda and Swansea Bay Railway.)
- clxxix. An Act to make further provision for the improvement health and good government of the Borough of Dewsbury and for other purposes. (Dewsbury Improvement.)
- clxxx. An Act to confer further powers on the Falmouth Waterworks Company. (Falmouth Water.)
- clxxxi. An Act to enable the Manchester Ship Canal Company to raise additional loan capital for the completion of their Undertaking and to authorise the Mayor Aldermen and Citizens of the City of Manchester in the County of Lancaster to lend money to the said Company and for that purpose to raise additional moneys by mortgage or the issue of Corporation Stock and to extend the time for the completion of the said Undertaking and for other purposes. (Manchester Ship Canal.)
- clxxxii. An Act for rendering valid certain Letters Patent granted to Eugène Worms of Paris in the Republic of France and Jean Balé of the same place Engineers for Improved Process and Apparatus for Tanning by aid of Electricity. (Worms and Balé Patent.)

#### ROYAL ASSENT, 5th August 1891.

- clxxxiii. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Great Western Railway Company in respect of their own undertaking and upon that Company and the London and North Western Railway Company in respect of undertakings in which they are jointly interested and for other purposes. (Great Western Railway.)
- clxxxiv. An Act to enable the Barry Dock and Railways Company to construct new Railways and for other purposes. (Barry Dock and Railways.)
- clxxxv. An Act to vary and amend the provisions of the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Acts 1873 to 1882. (South Staffordshire Mines Drainage.)
- clxxxvi. An Act to determine the rights of the Debenture Stockholders of the Golden Valley Railway Company and for other purposes. (Golden Valley Railway.)
- clxxxvii. An Act to extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands and for completing the Metropolitan Outer Circle Railway. (Metropolitan Outer Circle Railway (Extension of Time).)
- clxxxviii. An Act for incorporating the Bognor Water Company and for enabling them to construct and maintain Waterworks and supply Water and for other purposes. (Bognor Water.)
- clxxxix. An Act for making and maintaining Railways in the Counties of Chester Lancaster Derby Nottingham and Lincoln to be called the Lancashire Derbyshire and East Coast Railway and for other purposes. (Lancashire Derbyshire and East Coast Railway.)



- cxo. An Act to revive the powers for the compulsory purchase of lands and to extend the time limited for the completion of the Exeter Teign Valley and Chagford Railway. (Exeter Teign Valley and Chagford Railway (Extension of Time).)
- cxci. An Act to provide for the pulling down of the Parish Church of Hanover Chapel (Regent Street) and building a new Parish Church instead thereof and for other purposes. (Hanover Chapel (Regent Street).)
- cxcii. An Act to authorise the North British Railway Company to construct and widen certain Railways divert Streets and construct a new Street and acquire Lands for the purpose of enlarging and improving their Waverley Passenger and Goods Station at Edinburgh and for other purposes. (North British Railway (Waverley Station, &c.).)
- cxciii. An Act for enabling the Caledonian Railway Company to make and maintain certain Railways in the County of Lanark and to abandon a portion of the Glasgow Central Railway to increase their subscriptions to the Undertaking of the Lanarkshire and Ayrshire Railway Company for reviving the powers of purchase of lands for and extending the time for the completion of certain Railways and Works for authorising the purchase of the Shield Hall Branch Railway by the Caledonian and Glasgow and South Western Railway Companies for modifying certain of the rights of the North Eastern and Great Northern Railway Companies in connexion with the Scottish Central and Scottish North Eastern Railways and for other purposes. (Caledonian Railway (Additional Powers).)
- cxciv. An Act to authorise the Glasgow Yoker and Clydebank Railway Company to make a Branch Railway in the Parish of Old Kilpatrick and for other purposes. (Glasgow Yoker and Clydebank Railway.)
- cxcv. An Act for amending the powers of the Corporation of Wolverhampton in regard to their sewage outfall and the disposal of their sewage and for other purposes. (Wolverhampton Corporation.)
- cxcvi. An Act for incorporating the Central London Railway Company and for empowering them to construct underground railways from Shepherd's Bush to the City of London and for other purposes. (Central London Railway.)
- cxcvii. An Act to authorise the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company to provide and use Steam Vessels between Ports and Places in the River and Firth of Clyde. (Glasgow and South Western Railway (Steam Vessels).)
- cxcviii. An Act to authorise the Guiseley Yeadon and Rawdon Railway Company to extend their Railway to the North Eastern Railway near Headingley and for other purposes. (Leeds and Yeadon Railway.)
- cxcix. An Act to extend the time for the construction of certain waterworks authorised by the Keighley Waterworks Extension and Improvement Act 1869 to authorise the Corporation of Keighley to construct additional waterworks to make better provision for the health local government and improvement of the borough and for other purposes. (Keighley Corporation.)
- cc. An Act to authorise the Kirkcaldy and District Railway Company to make a new Railway to extend the time limited for the completion of their authorised Railways Dock and Works and for other purposes. (Kirkcaldy and District Railway.)
- cc. An Act to authorise the construction of a Railway from the Caledonian Railway at Glasgow to Dumbarton with subsidiary lines and other works in connexion therewith and for other purposes. (Lanarkshire and Dumbartonshire Railway.)
- ccii. An Act to confer further Powers on the London Tilbury and Southend Railway Company. (London Tilbury and Southend Railway.)
- cciii. An Act to authorise the North British Railway Company to construct certain new Railways in the Counties of Dumbarton Lanark and Stirling to widen their Arbroath and Montrose Railway and to execute other works to acquire additional lands to amalgamate the Blane Valley and the Strathendrick and Aberfoyle Railway Companies respectively with the Company to acquire the Port and Harbour of Alloa to purchase the Whiteinch Railway and adapt the same for passenger traffic to vary the powers of the Eyemouth Railway Company and for other purposes. (North British Railway (General Powers).)
- cciv. An Act to authorise the construction of a Railway in the West Riding of the County of York, and in the County of Nottingham, from Rotherham through Blyth to Sutton, with a Branch to Treeton, and for other purposes. (Rotherham, Blyth and Sutton Railway.)
- ccv. An Act to provide for the reception of Sewage from Tottenham and Wood Green in the County of Middlesex into the Main Drainage System of the London County Council and for other purposes. (Tottenham and Wood Green Sewerage.)
- ccvi. An Act to confer powers on the London County Council for the reconstruction of Bridges the improvement of Streets and the acquisition and management of Land for various purposes in the Administrative County of London to provide for contributions by Local Bodies towards the cost of certain Works to empower the Council to grant Superannuation Allowances in certain cases to establish a Provident Fund for officers and servants and to hold inquiries as to Markets and for other purposes. (London Council (General Powers).)
- ccvii. An Act to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Citizens of the City of Manchester to establish and contribute towards a Fund for the encouragement of Thrift amongst their Officers and Servants to confer upon them further powers and make further provision with respect to the improvement health and

good government of the City to provide for vesting in the said Mayor Aldermen and Citizens as an open space the St. Michael's disused Burial Ground to amend and extend the provisions of the Local Acts relating to the City of Manchester and for other purposes. (Manchester Corporation.)

coviii. An Act to authorise the construction of a Railway in extension of the Snailbeach District Railway in the County of Salop and for other purposes. (Shropshire Mineral (Light) Railway.)

cox. An Act for empowering the Southwark and Deptford Tramways Company to construct New Tramways and to change the Name of the Company and for other purposes. (London Deptford and Greenwich Tramways.)

P. cox. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Basingstoke and Newport. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)

P. coxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Blackpool, Leicester (two), Salford, Stafford, West Ham, and Worthing, and to the Conway and Colwyn Bay Joint Water Supply District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 14).)

P. coxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to the City of London, Clerkenwell, St. Luke, Chelsea, St. Luke, Middlesex, and Woolwich. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)

P. coxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Brighton and Salford. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (Housing of Working Classes).)

P. coxiv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the Great Eastern Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (Great Eastern Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. coxv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the Great Northern Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (Great Northern Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. coxvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the

Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the London and South Western Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (London and South Western Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. coxvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. coxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. coxix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the Midland Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (Midland Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. coxx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the South-Eastern Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (South-Eastern Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. coxxi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the London and North Western Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (London and North Western Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. coxxii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Classification of Merchandise

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TABLE OF THE STATUTES.

[54 & 55 Vict.]

Traffic, and the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable thereto, of the Great Western Railway Company, and certain other Railway Companies connected therewith. (Great Western Railway Company (Rates and Charges) Order Confirmation.)

P. cccxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Burslem, Middleton, and Morley. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 15).)

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PRIVATE ACTS,

PRINTED BY THE QUEEN'S PRINTERS,

AND WHEREOF THE PRINTED COPIES MAY BE GIVEN IN EVIDENCE.

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| <p>1. <b>A</b>N Act to enable the Trustees of the Will of Philip William Flower deceased to postpone the sale and conversion of certain Real Estates held on the trusts of his Will and give them powers with reference thereto. (Flower's Estate.)</p> | <p>2. An Act to confer powers on the Executors and Trustees of the Will of the late Thomas Andrew Walker in relation to his real and personal estate and various contracts entered into by him for the execution of Public Works. (Walker's Estate.)</p> |
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## Table Showing the Effect of the Year's Legislation.

### ACTS OF FORMER SESSIONS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER) REPEALED OR AMENDED BY ACTS OF 54 & 55 VICT.\*

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vic.
7 Ann. c. 20	Middlesex Registry ... ..	Amended ... .. Ss. 2 from "in manner following," 3-7, 11-14, 16, 19, 20, 22 repealed.	10. } 64 s. 7.
25 Geo. 2. c. 4	Middlesex Registry ... ..	Repealed ... ..	76, s. 142.
26 Geo. 3. c. 71	Slaughter-houses for horses ...	Repealed as to London	
39 & 40 Geo. 3. c. 72	Duties on stamped vellum, &c.	Repealed ... ..	38, s. 28.
42 Geo. 3. c. 56	Stamp duties on medicines ...	Ss. 18, 25, 28, repealed	
52 Geo. 3. c. 150	Duties on Medicines ... ..	Ss. 2 from "to be re- covered," 3 repealed.	26, s. 1.
55 Geo. 3. :			
c. 115	Russian Dutch loan ... ..	Repealed (but see date)	38, s. 28.
c. 184	Stamp duties ... ..	Ss. 52, 53 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
57 Geo. 3. c. 41	Office of Agent-General ... ..	S. 8 repealed ... ..	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
1 & 2 Geo. 4. c. 48	Attorneys and solicitors ...	Repealed ... ..	
3 Geo. 4. c. 16	Attorneys and solicitors ...	Repealed ... ..	69, s. 7.
4 Geo. 4. :			
c. 60	Illegal lotteries... ..	S. 38 repealed ... ..	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 61	Court of Chancery (Ireland) ...	Ss. 8, 13-17, 24, 33, 34, 43-50, 55, 58 repealed	
c. 80	Protection of Lascars ... ..	Ss. 29, 30 repealed ...	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
5 Geo. 4. c. 83	Vagrant Act ... ..	S. 4 extended ... ..	
6 Geo. 4. :			36, s. 4.
c. 30	Court of Chancery (Ireland) ...	Repealed ... ..	
c. 87	British consuls ... ..	Repealed, except ss. 10- 15 in part.	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
7 Geo. 4. c. 14	Asylums for lunatic poor (Ire- land).	S. 3 repealed ... ..	
7 & 8 Geo. 4. c. 53	Excise ... ..	S. 30 repealed ... ..	21, ss. 11, 18.
9 Geo. 4. :			
c. 24	Promissory notes, &c. (Ireland)	Ss. 3, 5 repealed ... ..	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 35	Protection of purchasers (Ire- land).	Repealed ... ..	
c. 92	Savings banks ... ..	S. 35 amended; and from "nor to receive," rep.	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
10 Geo. 4. c. 7	Roman Catholic Emancipation	S. 13 repealed ... ..	
11 Geo. 4. & 1 Will. 4. c. 70	Administration of justice ...	S. 7 repealed ... ..	

\* Acts continued annually by the Expiring Laws Continuance Act are not noticed in this Table.  
Repeals by the Statute Law Revision Act are not generally noticed, as being of little practical importance. When, however, a repeal extends to the whole Act, or even entire sections or schedules, it is entered in the Table.

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## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[54 &amp; 55 Vict.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vict.
1. Will. 4. : c. 7 c. 21	Execution of judgments ... Proceedings in prohibition and on writs of mandamus.	Repealed ...	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
1 & 2 Will. 4. : c. 81 c. 82	Administration of justice (Ireland). Game laws ...	Ss. 4, 8, 15, 22 repealed Ss. 39, 40, 43 repealed (except as to Ireland).	
2 & 3 Will. 4. : c. 4	Embezzlement by persons in public service.	Repealed ...	
c. 48	Clerk of the Crown, Court of King's Bench (Ireland).	Ss. 14, 15 repealed ...	
c. 65	Representation of the people (Scotland).	Ss. 23, 29, 34, 41 rep. ...	
c. 68	Trespassing in pursuit of game (Scotland).	Ss. 9, 10, 13-15 repealed	
c. 75	Schools of anatomy ...	S. 16 repealed ...	
c. 81	Russian Dutch loan ...	Repealed (but see date of repeal).	
c. 86	Post roads (Ireland) ...	Repealed ...	
c. 87	Registration of deeds (Ireland)	Sch. A. repealed ...	
c. 88	Representation of the people (Ireland).	Ss. 2, 6, 13, 14, 27, 55-58, 62, 64, 67, 68, Sch. A. repealed.	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 120	Stage carriages (Great Britain)	Ss. 108, 110, 111, 113, Sch. B. repealed.	
c. 128	Abolition of punishment of death for forgery.	Repealed ...	
3 & 4 Will. 4. : c. 14 c. 68 c. 76 c. 77 c. 92	Savings banks ... Sale of wine, &c. (Ireland) ... Election of magistrates, &c. of royal burghs (Scotland). Election of magistrates, &c. of burghs (Scotland). Public Infirmarys (Ireland)	S. 29 amended ... Ss. 22-38 repealed ... Ss. 1-3, 6, 9, 30, Schs. A., B., D., E. repealed. Ss. 2, 4-9, 29, Schs. A., B. repealed. Ss. 6, 7 repealed ...	26, s. 11.
4 & 5 Will. 4. : c. 78 c. 92	Court of Chancery (Ireland) ... Abolition of fines and recoveries (Ireland).	Ss. 1-7, 9, 12-18, 36 rep. S. 67 repealed ..	
5 & 6 Will. 4. : c. 16 c. 27 c. 33 c. 55 c. 70	Commitment for contempt, &c. (Ireland). Linen and hempen manufactures (Ireland). Vexatious removal of indictments. Appointment of sheriffs, &c. (Ireland). Abolition of imprisonment for small debts (Scotland).	Ss. 1-11, 13, 19 repealed S. 31 repealed ... Repealed ... Ss. 32-38 repealed ... Repealed ...	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
6 & 7 Will. 4. : c. 32 c. 37 c. 38 c. 41 c. 56 c. 71 c. 74 c. 89	Benefit Building Societies ... Making and sale of bread ... Sale of wine, &c. by retail (Ireland). Abolition of Commissary Court (Edinburgh). Cessio honorum (Scotland) ... Commutation of tithes ... Court of Chancery (Ireland) ... Medical witnesses at coroners' inquests.	S. 8 restricted ... Ss. 18-23, 26, 28 repealed Ss. 13, 14 repealed ... Repealed ... Ss. 2, 15, 19, 20 repealed Amended; s. 84 repealed S. 70 repealed ... Ss. 3, 4, 7, 8, 13, 17, 33, schedules repealed. S. 7 repealed ...	
			39, s. 89.
			67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
			8.
			67 (Stat. Law Rev.)

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vic.
6 & 7 Will. 4.— <i>cont.</i>			
c. 97	Duty on pensions, &c. ...	S. 2 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 116	Presentments by grand juries (Ireland).	Ss. 90, 116, 129, 156-161, 163, 164, 173 repealed.	
7 Will. 4. and 1 Vict. :			
c. 30	Offices in the Superior Courts of Common Law.	S. 28 repealed ...	64, s. 7.
c. 33	Management of the Post Office	S. 12 specially applied to S. Ss. 3-6, 8, 15 repealed ..	46, s. 9.
c. 36	Offences against the Post Office	Ss. 33-35, 45, Sch., and (except as to Ireland) ss. 11, 18 repealed.	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 46	Rolls estate ... ..	S. 18 rep. (but see date)	
c. 69	Commutation of tithes ...	S. 8 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 84	Abolition of punishment of death for forgery.	S. 2 repealed ...	
1 & 2 Vict. :			
c. 27	Offences by insane persons (Ireland).	S. 1 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
2 & 3 Vict. :			
c. 47	Police in Metropolis ... ..	S. 60 rep. in part (but see date).	76, s. 142.
3 & 4 Vict. :			
c. 62	New South Wales ... ..	Repealed ... ..	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 96	Post Office (Duties) ... ..	Ss. 19, 21 from "and all," 22-30 repealed. Ss. 14, 18 repealed ... Ss. 24-27, 44, 45, 56, 59, 64 repealed.	33, s. 28. 46, s. 13. } 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
5 & 6 Vict. :			
c. 61	Government of South Australia	Ss. 5-8, 10, 11, 13 rep.	} 64, s. 7.
c. 108	Offices in Court of Chancery ..	S. 34 repealed ...	
c. 106	Irish fisheries ... ..	S. 106 repealed... ..	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
6 & 7 Vict. :			
c. 18	Parliamentary registration ...	Ss. 21, 30, 73 (with savings), 77 repealed.	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 20	Offices on Crown side of Court of Queen's Bench.	Repealed ... ..	
c. 37	New parishes ... ..	S. 25 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 38	Judicial Committee of Privy Council.	S. 1 repealed ...	
c. 44	Advances for public works (Ireland).	Repealed ... ..	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 54	Limitation of time for suits as to rights of presentation to churches, &c. (Ireland).	Ss. 1, 2 repealed ...	
c. 77	Cathedral churches in Wales	S. 11 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 79	Fisheries Convention with France.	S. 19 repealed ...	
c. 91	Charitable loan societies (Ireland).	Ss. 47-52 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 98	Municipal corporations (Ireland).	Amended ... ..	
c. 98	Suppression of slave trade ...	Ss. 2, 5, 6 repealed ...	cxliv.
7 & 8 Vict. :			
c. 19	Bailiffs of inferior courts ...	S. 4 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 38	Charitable loan societies (Ireland).	Repealed ... ..	
c. 47	Linen and hempen manufactures (Ireland).	S. 4 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)

[A.D. 1891.]

## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[54 &amp; 55 VICT.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vict.	
7 & 8 Vict.:— <i>cont.</i>				
c. 49	Colonial Posts ... ..	Ss. 3-5 repealed ...	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)	
c. 61	Detached parts of counties ...	S. 1 repealed ...		
c. 71	Administration of justice (Middlesex).	Repealed, except ss. 8, 9		
c. 83	Savings banks ... ..	Rep., except ss. 1, 14, 15		
c. 84	Buildings in the Metropolis ...	S. 59 repealed ...		
c. 87	Slaughter-houses for horses ...	Repealed as to London		
c. 90	Protection of purchasers, &c.	Ss. 7, 23-29, 34-40 rep.		
c. 91	Turnpike trusts (South Wales)	Repealed, except ss. 106 107, 109-112, 114.		
c. 92	County coroner ... ..	Ss. 7, 29 repealed ...		
c. 97	Charitable donations, Ireland	Ss. 8, 19 repealed ...		
c. 106	Grand jury presentments (Dublin).	Ss. 50, 130 repealed ...	76, s. 142.	
c. 107	Expenses of superior courts of law (Ireland).	S. 39 repealed ...		
8 & 9 Vict.:				
c. 30	Administration of justice in Privy Council.	} Repealed ...	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)	
c. 32	Borrowing on county rates (Middlesex).			
c. 41	Highways, bridges, &c. (Scotland).			
c. 61	Turnpike trusts (South Wales)	Ss. 3, 9, 11, 14, Schs. rep.		
c. 68	Stay of execution of judgment for misdemeanors.	Repealed ...		
c. 90	Duties of Customs ... ..	Ss. 9-12 repealed ...		
c. 107	Asylum for criminal lunatics (Ireland).	S. 10 repealed ...		
c. 114	Abolition of certain fees in criminal proceedings.	S. 2 repealed ...		
c. 115	Taxing masters, Court of Chancery (Ireland).	Ss. 9, 10, 18 repealed ...		
c. 118	Inclosure ... ..	S. 78 repealed ...		
c. 128	Tickets of work for silk weavers.	Ss. 4, 5 rep. as to England.	39, s. 123.	
9 & 10 Vict.:				
c. 17	Abolition of exclusive privilege of trading (Scotland).	S. 1 proviso, repealed ...		
c. 24	Administration of criminal justice.	Ss. 3, 4 repealed ...		
c. 37	Coroners, &c. (Ireland) ...	S. 47 repealed ...		
c. 73	Commutation of tithes ...	Ss. 1, 2, 16 repealed (with saving).		
c. 108	Government of New Zealand...	Repealed ...		
c. 112	Leases (Ireland) ... ..	S. 4 repealed ...		
10 & 11 Vict.:				
c. 16	Commissioners clauses ...	Sch. (D.) repealed ...	67 (Stat. Law Rev.)	
c. 39	Burgh police, &c. (Scotland)...	Repealed ...		
c. 72	Turnpike roads (South Wales)	Ss. 1-7, 9-12, 15, 16 rep.		
c. 85	Post Office ... ..	Ss. 3, 5, 17 repealed ...		
c. 91	Herring fishery (Scotland) ...	S. 1 repealed ...		
c. 96	Trustees Relief... ..	S. 5 repealed ...		
11 & 12 Vict.:				
c. 2	Prevention of crime (Ireland)	} Repealed		
c. 5	Government of New Zealand			
c. 12	Security of the Crown, &c. ...	S. 4 repealed ...		
c. 29	Killing of hares without game certificates (England).	S. 4 repealed ...		
c. 30	Killing of hares without game certificates (Scotland).	S. 3 repealed ...		
c. 43	Summary Jurisdiction... ..	S. 32, Sch. repealed ...		
c. 55	Paymaster General ... ..	S. 1 repealed ...		
c. 79	Court of Justiciary (Scotland)	Ss. 1, 2, 6, 9 repealed ...		

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vict.
11 & 12 Vict. : —cont.			
c. 83	Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster.	S. 15 repealed ...	} Repealed
c. 89	Unlawful combinations, &c. (Ireland).		
c. 180	Guarantee of interest on certain Colonial loans.		
c. 132	Taxing masters (Ireland) ...	Ss. 3, 5, 6, 8 repealed ...	
12 & 13 Vict. :			
c. 6	Buckinghamshire Summer Assizes.		} Repealed
c. 81	Turnpike roads, &c. (Scotland).		
c. 45	Quarter Sessions ...	S. 15 repealed ...	
c. 48	Administration of justice, Vancouver's Island.	S. 2 repealed ...	
c. 51	Pupils protection (Scotland) ...	S. 39 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 66	Colonial Inland Posts ...	S. 5 repealed ...	
c. 68	Consular marriages ...	S. 2 amended ; s. 6 rep.; s. 19 explained.	
c. 69	Indictable offences (Ireland) ...	Ss. 32, 34, 35 repealed...	
c. 76	Protection of Women ...		} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 82	Relief of boroughs from certain county expenditure.		
c. 85	Municipal corporations (Dublin).	Amended ...	
c. 91	Collection of rates (Dublin) ...	Ss. 57-59, 92 repealed ...	
c. 96	Admiralty Jurisdiction ...	S. 2 repealed ...	} 74, ss. 2, 6, 9.
c. 99	Marriages in chapels of ease (Ireland).	Repealed ...	
c. 109	Petty Bag Office, &c., Court of Chancery.	Ss. 11-14, 17-20, 28, 32, 33, 38, 40, 50, 51 rep.	
13 & 14 Vict. :			
c. 7	Metropolitan public carriages	S. 3 repealed ...	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 18	Common Law Courts (Ireland)	Ss. 4, 24, 27, 30-37, 40, 41, 46-48 repealed.	
c. 31	Drainage and improvement of land.	S. 1 repealed ...	
c. 36	Court of Session (Scotland) ...	Ss. 24, 55 repealed ...	
c. 43	Court of Chancery, Lancaster	Ss. 22, 23, 28, 37 repealed	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 51	Transfer of equitable jurisdiction of Court of Exchequer to Court of Chancery (Ireland).	Ss. 1, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19-21, 23, 28-30 rep.	
c. 68	Elections (Ireland) ...	Ss. 2, 15, Sch (A) rep.	
c. 69	Qualification, &c. of parliamentary voters, &c. (Ireland).	Ss. 12, 118, Schedules rep.	
c. 74	Office of Registrar of Judgments (Ireland).	S. 9 repealed ...	} 38, s. 28.
c. 89	Court of Chancery (Ireland) ...	Ss. 34, 35, 37-39, 41, 44 repealed.	
c. 91	Jurisdiction of borough justices.	Repealed ...	
c. 97	Stamp duties ...	Repealed ...	
c. 98	Benefices in plurality ...	Ss. 1, 2, 10, 12 repealed	} 67 (Stat. Law Rev.)
16 & 17 Vict. :			
c. 128	Nuisance from smoke of furnaces in the Metropolis.	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.
17 & 18 Vict. :			
c. 104	Merchant Shipping ...	Applied in part to seal fishing in Behring's Sea	19, s. 1.
18 & 19 Vict. :			
c. 116	Diseases prevention ...	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.



[A.D. 1891.]

## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[54 &amp; 55 Vict.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vict.
18 & 19 Vict. : cont.			
c. 120	Metropolis Management ...	Ss. 81, 88, 103, 104, 117, 125, 126 (but see date), 127-129, 132-134 and in part ss. 82-86, 116, 198, 202, 211 repealed	76, s. 142.
c. 121	Nuisances removal ...	Repealed ...	
19 & 20 Vict. : c. 107	Smoke nuisance abatement ...		
22 & 23 Vict. : c. 21	Office of Queen's Remembrancer.	S. 7 repealed ...	64, s. 7.
23 & 24 Vict. : c. 77	Nuisances removal, &c. ...	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.
c. 111	Duties of stamps ...	S. 22 repealed ...	38, s. 28.
c. 152	Tramways (Ireland) ...	Amended ...	42.
25 & 26 Vict. : c. 22	Customs and Inland Revenue...	S. 41 repealed ...	38, s. 28.
c. 102	Metropolis Management ...	Ss. 43, 62, 67, 70, 89, 91, 93-95, and in part ss. 64, 105 repealed.	76, s. 142.
26 & 27 Vic. : c. 14	Post Office savings banks ...	S. 3 am., and rep. in part	21, ss. 6, 18.
c. 43	Post Office lands ...	S. 3 repealed ...	46, s. 13.
c. 65	Volunteers ...	Part V. applied to Yeomanry.	54, s. 14.
c. 87	Savings banks ...	Ss. 8, 16, 39, 55 am.; ss. 38, 39 rep. in part.	21, ss. 8-11, 18.
c. 117	Nuisances removal ...	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.
27 & 28 Vict. : c. 47	Penal servitude...	Ss. 2, 6 rep.; ss. 4, 8, 9, Sch. A. amended.	69.
28 & 29 Vict. : c. 30	Customs and Inland Revenue...	Ss. 1, 2, Sch. B. repealed	39, s. 123.
29 & 30 Vict. : c. 41	Nuisances removal ...	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.
c. 90	Sanitary Act ...	Rep. except s. 41, but ss. 51, 52 (re-enacted by 38 & 39 Vict. c. 55) extended to London.	
30 & 31 Vict. : c. 23	Customs and Inland Revenue...	Repealed in part residue ...	
31 & 32 Vict. : c. 115	Sanitary Act ...	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.
32 & 33 Vict. : c. 42	Irish Church ...	S. 52 amended ...	48, s. 10.
c. 100	Sanitary loans ...	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.
33 & 34 Vict. : c. 10	Coinage ...	Amended ...	72.
c. 24	Metropolitan Board of Works	Ss. 3, 4 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 53	Sanitary Act ...	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.
c. 75	Elementary Education...	S. 17 explained; s. 26 rep.	56, ss. 8, 11.
c. 79	Post Office ...	S. 6 am.; and rep. in part	46, s. 2.
c. 97	Stamp Act ...	Repealed in part residue ...	38, s. 28. 39, s. 123.
c. 98	Stamp duties management ...	Repealed ...	38, s. 28.
34 & 35 Vict. : c. 4	Stamp (duties)...	Repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 103	Customs and Inland Revenue...	S. 26 repealed ...	
c. 112	Prevention of Crime ...	Ss. 5, 8 amended; ss. 7, 15 extended.	

[54 &amp; 55 Vict.]

## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[A.D. 1891.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vict.
35 & 36 Vict. : c. 77	Metalliferous Mines Regulation	S. 34 extended to Isle of Man; s. 43 amended.	47.
c. 79	Public Health ... ..	Rep. but ss. 34-36 (re-enacted by 38 & 39 Vict. c. 55) ext. to London.	76, s. 142.
6 & 37 Vict. : c. 18	Customs and Inland Revenue...	S. 5 repealed ... ..	39, s. 123.
c. 63	Law Agents (Scotland) ...	S. 8 repealed ... ..	30, s. 5.
37 & 38 Vict. : c. 19	Stamp duties ... ..	} Repealed ... ..	39, s. 123.
c. 26	Canadian Stock Stamp Act ...		
c. 67	Slaughter-houses, &c. (Metropolis).	Repealed ... ..	76, s. 142.
c. 73	Post Office savings banks ...	S. 3 amended ... ..	21, s. 15.
c. 89	Sanitary Law Amendment ...	Repealed (except ss. 46 and 49 in part).	76, s. 142.
38 & 39 Vict. : c. 22	Post Office ... ..	S. 6 repealed in part ...	38, s. 28.
c. 23	Customs and Inland Revenue...	Ss. 3, 4 extended ... ..	46, ss. 1-4.
c. 55	Public Health ... ..	S. 13 repealed ... ..	38, s. 28.
		Ss. 211 (1) (b), 230 am.	33, s. 1.
		S. 291, and in part ss. 108, 115, repealed	} 76, ss. 102, 142
		In part ext. to Woolwich and London.	
c. 63	Sale of Food and Drugs ...	S. 16 amended ... ..	46, s. 11.
39 & 40 Vict. : c. 6	Sea Insurance (Stamping of Policies).	Repealed ... ..	} 39, s. 123.
c. 16	Customs and Inland Revenue...	S. 11 repealed ... ..	
c. 79	Elementary Education...	S. 18 repealed ... ..	56, s. 11.
40 & 41 Vict. : c. 13	Customs, Inland Revenue, and Savings Banks.	S. 17 amended ... ..	21, s. 15.
c. 59	Colonial Stock ... ..	S. 2, 3 (1) repealed ...	39, s. 123.
41 & 42 Vict. : c. 15	Customs and Inland Revenue...	S. 27 repealed ... ..	} 39, s. 123.
c. 16	Factories and Workshops ...	Ss. 3, 5, 22, 31, 66, 93, 104, Sch. IV. amended.	
		Ss. 4, 75, 92, extended...	} 75.
		Ss. 6-8, 15 (2), 18, 22 (4), 69, 106 (2), and in part ss. 3, 5, 31, 33, 61, 91, 101 repealed.	
c. 74	Contagious Diseases (Animals)	S. 34 rep. as to London...	76, s. 142.
c. 77	Highways and Locomotives ...	S. 16 am. and rep. in part	63, s. 4.
42 & 43 Vic. : c. 54	Poor Law ... ..	Ss. 15, 16 repealed ...	76, s. 142.
c. 55	Prevention of Crimes ... ..	S. 2 amended ... ..	69, s. 4.
43 & 44 Vict. : c. 19	Taxes management ... ..	Am.; ss. 41 (2), 47, 80, Sch I. virt. rep.	13.
c. 20	Inland Revenue... ..	Ss. 53-56 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 36	Savings banks ... ..	S. 1 amended. ... ..	21, s. 14.
44 & 45 Vict. : c. 12	Customs and Inland Revenue...	Ss. 44-47 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 47	Presumption of life limitation (Scotland).	Repealed... ..	29, s. 2.
c. 49	Land Law (Ireland) ... ..	S. 19 ext.; ss. 43, 44 am.; s. 32 and in part ss. 41, 53 repealed.	48, ss. 26, 30, 35 (4), 43.
c. 58	Army ... ..	Ss. 73, 90, 91, 145, 146, 156, 183 amended.	5, ss. 4-10.

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vict.
<b>&amp; 46 Vict.:</b>			
c. 23	Byelaws (Fruit-pickers' Lodgings).	Extended to Woolwich...	76, s. 102.
c. 41	Customs and Inland Revenue...	S. 5 (3) repealed ...	38, s. 28.
c. 47	Arrears of rent (Ireland) ...	S. 20 repealed ...	48, s. 35 (4).
c. 50	Municipal Corporations ...	Ss. 34, 35 amended ...	68, s. 5.
c. 53	Entail (Scotland) ...	S. 14 amended ...	29, s. 8.
c. 72	Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt.	S. 15 repealed ...	38, s. 28.
		Ss. 8-10, 13, 14, 17, rep....	39, s. 123.
<b>46 &amp; 47 Vict.:</b>			
c. 22	Sea Fisheries ...	S. 7 (3) am.; ss. 11-14 expl.	37, ss. 5, 13.
c. 35	Diseases prevention (Metropolis)	Repealed ...	76, s. 142.
c. 37	Support of sewers ...	Extended to Woolwich...	76, s. 102.
c. 43	Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland).	S. 12 repealed.	48, s. 35 (4).
c. 52	Bankruptcy ...	S. 40 restricted ...	21, s. 13.
c. 53	Factory and Workshop ...	Ss. 7-12, 17 (2), (3) rep.; s. 18 amended.	75, ss. 36, 39.
		S. 17 (1), (2) rep. as to London.	76, s. 142.
c. 55	Revenue ...	S. 15 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 60	Labourers (Ireland) ...	S. 5 amended ...	71, s. 3.
<b>47 &amp; 48 Vict.:</b>			
c. 12	Public Health (Confirmation of Byelaws).	Extended to Woolwich...	76, s. 102.
c. 60	Metropolitan Asylum Board (Borrowing powers).	Repealed...	76, s. 142.
c. 62	Revenue ...	Ss. 8-10 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 74	Public Health (Officers)	Extended to Woolwich...	76, s. 102.
<b>48 &amp; 49 Vict.:</b>			
c. 51	Customs and Inland Revenue...	S. 21 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 53	Public Health (Members and Officers).	Extended to Woolwich...	76, s. 102.
e. 72	Housing of the working classes	Ss. 7, 9 (6) rep. as to London	76, s. 142.
c. 73	Purchase of land (Ireland) ...	S. 17 amended and expld.; ss. 3, 17, 24 rep. in part.	48, ss. 28 (8), 29, 43.
<b>49 &amp; 50 Vict.:</b>			
c. 32	Contagious Diseases (Animals)	S. 9 rep. as to London...	76, s. 142.
<b>50 &amp; 51 Vict.:</b>			
c. 15	Customs and Inland Revenue...	Ss. 5-16 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 27	Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle).	Amended ...	70.
c. 28	Merchandise Marks ...	Amended ...	15.
c. 40	Savings banks ...	S. 1 from "and shall provide" repealed.	21, s. 18.
<b>51 &amp; 52 Vict.:</b>			
c. 8	Customs and Inland Revenue...	Ss. 10-20, Sch. I. repealed	39, s. 123.
c. 22	Factory and Workshop Amendment (Scotland).	Repealed ...	75, s. 39.
c. 25	Railway and canal traffic ...	S. 24 explained...	12.
c. 41	Local Government ...	S. 23 amended ...	4, s. 2.
		Am.; s. 75 (1), (6), (9), (13), (16 (d)) repealed	68.
		S. 24 (2) ext.; ss. 45, 88 (c) repealed.	76, s. 42.
c. 42	Mortmain and charitable uses...	Amended; s. 10 (iii.) rep.	73.
c. 49	Purchase of Land (Ireland) Amendment.	S. 5 repealed ...	48, s. 43.
c. 52	Public Health (Buildings in Streets).	Extended to Woolwich...	76, s. 102.
c. 54	Sea fisheries regulation ...	Amended; s. 2 extended	37, Part II.
c. 60	Probate Duties (Scotland and Ireland).	S. 1 amended ...	48, s. 15 (8).
<b>52 &amp; 53 Vict.:</b>			
c. 7	Customs and Inland Revenue...	Ss. 16, 17 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 10	Commissioners for oaths ...	Explained and amended	50.

A.D. 1891.]

EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[54 & 55 Vict.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 54 & 55 Vict.
52 & 53 Vict. : —cont.			
c. 42	Revenue ... ..	Ss. 15-17, 20 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 50	Local Government (Scotland)...	Ss. 22 (1) amended ...	58, s. 4.
c. 56	Poor law... ..	Ss. 3, subs. (1)-(3), 6, 7 repealed.	76, s. 142.
c. 62	Cotton cloth factories ... ..	S. 12 repealed ... ..	75, s. 39.
c. 64	Public Health ... ..	Ss. 1, 2 repealed in part	} 76, s. 142
c. 72	Infectious Diseases (Notification)	Ss. 2 (a), 10, 12, 16 in part repealed...	
3 & 54 Vict. :			
c. 5	Lunacy ... ..	Ss. 24, 27, 55, 56, 61, 254, 341, Sch. II. am.; s. 39 restricted; ss. 94 (2), 116 (2), 148, 338 (2), ext.; ss. 38 (4), 62, 149, 279, and in part ss. 9, 10, 13, 24, 99, 246, 338, Schs. II., IV. repealed	65, ss. 4, 6-11, 16, 26, 27, 29.
c. 8	Customs and Inland Revenue...	S. 26 (2) amended ...	25, s. 4.
c. 17	Rating of orchards ... ..	Ss. 18-21 repealed ...	39, s. 123.
c. 21	Inland Revenue Regulation ...	Extended to Woolwich... Ss. 16-20 and in part ss. 6, 39 repealed	76, s. 102. 24, s. 1.
c. 25	Barracks ... ..	S. 4 repealed ... ..	54, s. 11 (2).
c. 34	Infectious Disease (Prevention)	Ss. 2, 3, 5 repealed in part	76, s. 142.
c. 41	London County Council (Money)	S. 6 amended ... ..	62, s. 4.
c. 47	Marriage ... ..	Am.; ss. 6, 7 (2), rep....	74.
c. 50	Local Government (Scotland)	S. 22 amended ... ..	58, s. 4.
c. 53	Bills of Sale ... ..	S. 1 amended ... ..	35.
c. 60	Local taxation (Customs and Excise).	S. 1 amended ... ..	4, s. 3.
54 & 55 Vict. : c. 1	Seed Potatoes Supply (Ireland)	S. 5 repealed in part ...	7, s. 2.

[SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.



SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1890-91.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 16 July 1891 ;—for

RETURN “of the Number of DAYS on which THE HOUSE SAT in the Session of 1890-91, stating, for each Day, the Date of the Month, and Day of the Week, the Hour of the Meeting, and the Hour of Adjournment; and the Total Number of Hours occupied in the Sittings of The House, and the Average Time; and showing the Number of Hours on which The House Sat each Day, and the number of Hours after Midnight; and the Number of Entries in each Day’s Votes and Proceedings (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0,148, of Session 1890).”

(Sir Charles Forster.)

Month.	Day.	House met.		House adjourned.		Hours of Sitting.		Hours after Midnight.		Entries in Votes.
		H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	
1890.										
Nov 25	Tu	1	30	10	15	8	45	-	-	74
" 26	W	12	0	4	45	4	45	-	-	233
" 27	Th	3	0	5	45	2	45	-	-	60
" 28	F	3	0	8	0	5	0	-	-	38
Total..	4	-	-	-	-	21	15	-	-	405
Dec 1	M	3	0	11	45	8	45	-	-	34
" 2	Tu	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	41
" 3	W	12	0	6	5	6	5	-	-	11
" 4	Th	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	39
" 5	F	3	0	5	45	2	45	-	-	26
" 8	M	3	0	7	5	4	5	-	-	36
" 9	Tu	3	0	5	40	2	40	-	-	44
Total..	7	-	-	-	-	43	0	0	40	231
1891.										
Jan 22	Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	79
" 23	F	3	0	12	2	9	2	0	2	50
" 26	M	3	0	1	40	10	40	1	40	61
" 27	Tu	3	0	7	30	4	30	-	-	54
" 28	W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	38
" 29	Th	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	47
" 30	F	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	42
Total..	7	-	-	-	-	57	42	2	27	371
Feb 2	M	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	142
" 3	Tu	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	138
" 4	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	52
" 5	Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	44
" 6	F	3	0	7	15	4	15	-	-	29
" 9	M	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	85
" 10	Tu	3	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	95
" 11	W	2	0	5	40	3	40	-	-	62
1891 : cont.										
" 12	Th	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	62
" 13	F	3	0	7	30	4	30	-	-	30
" 16	M	3	0	1	50	10	50	1	50	80
" 17	Tu	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	67
" 18	W	12	0	5	35	5	35	-	-	66
" 19	Th	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	51
" 20	F	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	56
" 23	M	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	83
" 24	Tu	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	68
" 25	W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	77
" 26	Th	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	61
" 27	F	3	0	8	30	5	30	-	-	86
Total..	20	-	-	-	-	157	0	4	50	1,384
Mar 2	M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	94
" 3	Tu	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	79
" 4	W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	71
" 5	Th	3	0	12	40	9	40	0	40	78
" 6	F	3	0	8	35	5	35	-	-	52
" 9	M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	102
" 10	Tu	3	0	7	50	4	50	-	-	40
" 11	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	91
" 12	Th	3	0	12	50	9	50	0	50	73
" 13	F	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	84
" 16	M	3	0	1	30	10	30	1	30	112
" 17	Tu	2	0	11	20	9	20	-	-	78
" 18	W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	101
" 19	Th	3	0	1	10	10	10	1	10	70
" 20	F	2	0	1	5	11	5	1	5	85
" 23	M	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	108
" 24	Tu	2	0	6	45	4	45	-	-	63
" 26	Th	12	0	12	20	0	20	-	-	5
Total..	18	-	-	-	-	140	30	7	15	1,386

# SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1890-91.

Month.	Day.	House met.		House adjourned.		Hours of Sitting.		Hours after Midnight.		Entries in Votes.
		H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	
1891.										
April	6 M	8	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	111
"	7 Tu	2	0	9	5	7	5	-	-	75
"	8 W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	74
"	9 Th	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	81
"	10 F	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	56
"	13 M	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	123
"	14 Tu	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	70
"	15 W	12	0	6	0	6	0	-	-	54
"	16 Th	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	99
"	17 F	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	82
"	20 M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	105
"	21 Tu	2	0	9	5	7	5	-	-	62
"	22 W	12	0	5	50	5	50	-	-	75
"	23 Th	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	63
"	24 F	2	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	68
"	27 M	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	89
"	28 Tu	2	0	12	40	10	40	0	40	97
"	29 W	12	0	6	0	6	0	-	-	28
"	30 Th	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	92
Total..	19	-	-	-	-	166	15	6	30	1,504
May	1 F	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	87
"	4 M	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	123
"	5 Tu	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	67
"	6 W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	73
"	7 Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	70
"	8 F	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	54
"	11 M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	109
"	12 Tu	3	0	12	35	9	35	0	35	94
"	13 W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	76
"	14 Th	3	0	1	55	10	55	1	55	95
"	15 F	3	0	7	10	4	10	-	-	52
"	21 Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	60
"	22 F	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	31
"	25 M	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	88
"	26 Tu	2	0	12	5	10	5	0	5	67
"	28 Th	3	0	1	15	10	15	1	15	88
"	29 F	2	0	9	5	7	5	-	-	57
Total..	17	-	-	-	-	148	50	6	5	1,291
June	1 M	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	107
"	2 Tu	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	53
"	3 W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	44
"	4 Th	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	61
"	5 F	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	67
"	8 M	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	94
"	9 Tu	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	60
"	10 W	12	0	5	40	5	40	-	-	51
"	11 Th	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	49
"	12 F	3	0	1	30	10	30	1	30	63
July	1 W	12	0	5	53	5	53	-	-	34
"	2 Th	3	0	12	35	9	35	0	35	66
"	3 F	10	0	12	50	14	50	0	50	53
"	6 M	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	71
"	7 Tu	3	0	12	50	9	50	0	50	45
"	8 W	12	0	5	50	5	50	-	-	39
"	9 Th	3	0	1	10	10	10	1	10	63
"	10 F	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	44
"	13 M	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	58
"	14 Tu	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	37
"	15 W	12	0	5	59	5	59	-	-	45
"	16 Th	3	0	1	10	1	10	1	1	42
"	17 F	3	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	37
"	20 M	3	0	1	25	10	25	1	25	77
"	21 Tu	10	0	1	15	1	15	1	1	59
"	22 W	12	0	6	40	6	40	-	-	20
"	23 Th	3	0	12	59	9	59	0	59	99
"	24 F	3	0	1	20	10	20	1	20	64
"	27 M	3	0	2	40	11	40	2	40	49
"	28 Tu	11	0	2	55	15	55	2	55	71
"	29 W	12	0	7	20	7	20	-	-	45
"	30 Th	3	0	4	30	13	30	4	30	48
"	31 F	3	0	4	10	13	10	4	10	59
Total..	23	-	-	-	-	233	23	25	36	1,225
Aug	1 S	12	0	7	35	7	35	-	-	36
"	3 M	3	0	12	45	9	45	0	45	50
"	4 Tu	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	60
"	5 W	10	0	Prorogation.				-	-	81
Total..	4	-	-	-	-	26	30	0	55	227

# SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1890-91.

## SUMMARY.

Month.	Days of Sitting.	Hours of Sitting.	Hours after Midnight.	Entries in Votes.
SESSION 1890.		H. M.	H. M.	
November.....	4	21 15	- -	405
December.....	7	43 0	0 40	231
SESSION 1891.				
January .....	7	57 42	2 27	371
February .....	20	157 0	4 50	1,384
March .....	18	140 30	7 15	1,386
April.....	19	166 15	6 30	1,504
May .....	17	146 50	6 5	1,291
June .....	22	191 10	6 35	1,397
July.....	23	233 23	25 36	1,225
August .....	4	26 30	0 55	227
Total.....	141	1,183 35	60 53	9,421

Average Length of Sittings, Daily, 8 Hours 23 $\frac{35}{141}$  Minutes.



# BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (DAYS OCCUPIED BY GOVERNMENT AND BY PRIVATE MEMBERS).

## S U M M A R Y O F R E T U R N

To an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 3 August, 1891.

(1.) The Number of Sitings on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at which Government Business had Precedence.	(2.) The Number of Sitings on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at which Private Members had Precedence.	(3.) The Number of other Sitings at which, in accordance with the Standing Orders of the House, Government Business had Precedence.	(4.) The Number of Sitings at which Government Business had Precedence under a Special Order of the House.	(5.) The Number of Saturday Sitings.	(6.) The Total Number of Sitings at which Government Business had Precedence.	(7.) The Total Number of Days on which the House Sat.	(8.) The Total Number of Motions for Adjournment of the House on a Matter of Urgent Public Importance.	(9.) Number of Days in Supply.
TOTAL...54 *	39 †	57	52	1	112 ‡	141	5	31

\* 26th November, First day of Meeting.

† Of which 11 were Evening Sitings only.

‡ Of which 12 were Morning Sitings only, and one a Saturday Sitting.

# GENERAL INDEX

TO

## HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE

### TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

54° & 55° VICTORIÆ.

1890-91.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1°, 2°, 3°, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—Adj., Adjournment.—Admy., Admiralty.—Amendt., Amendment.—A., Answer.—As., Answers.—Att. Gen., Attorney General.—Ch. of Exch., Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Chf. Sec., Chief Secretary.—Cols., Colonies.—c., Commons.—Com., Committee, Committed.—Con., Considered, Consideration.—Dept., Department.—Fin. Sec., Financial Secretary.—Fn. Affrs., Foreign Affairs.—l., Lords.—Ld. Adv., Lord Advocate.—Obs., Observations.—P.M. Gen., Postmaster General.—Pres., President.—Pres. Bd. Ag., President of the Board of Agriculture.—Pres. Bd. Trade., President of the Board of Trade.—Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd., President of the Local Government Board.—Q., Question.—Qs., Questions.—R.P., Report Progress.—Re-com., Re-committed, Re-committal, Re-commitment.—Res., Resolution.—Sec., Secretary.—Sol. Gen., Solicitor General.—Treas., Treasury.

When in this Index a \* is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

The proceedings relating to Private Bills have only been reported where discussion has occurred. In the *Table of the Statutes*, bound with this Vol., a complete record will be found of these Bills.

The subjects of Debate, as far as possible, are classified under "General Headings:"—*e.g.*, ARMY—NAVY—INDIA—IRELAND—SCOTLAND—WALES—PARLIAMENT—POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND—EDUCATION—LAW AND JUSTICE AND POLICE—LABOUR, TRADE, AND COMMERCE—LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—BOARD OF AGRICULTURE—BOARD OF TRADE.

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 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 19, 1349  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* June 19 [354] 983  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Aug 1 [356] 1098  
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*The Pres. Bd. Trade, The Sec. to Treas.*  
*April 16 [352] 677; July 2 [355] 202*

*Welsh Labour Questions (see title WALES)*

*Wheat and Flour Importation (see title*  
*Board of Agriculture)*

**Labourers' Allotments (Ireland) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* June 9 [354] 31  
Order for 2R. read; Bill withdrawn Aug 4  
[356] 1364

**Labourers' Cottage Gardens Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 9 [350] 288  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* May 6 [353] 243

[Dropped]

**Labourers (Ireland) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 116

[Dropped]

**Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment**  
**(No. 2) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 103  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 22 [354] 1159  
Com.\*—R.P. June 29, 1824; July 6 [355]  
524

Com.; Report July 23 [356] 208

As amended, Con.\*; Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* and passed  
Aug 1, 1104

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Aug 3, 1114

Read 2<sup>o</sup>; Com. negatived; Standing Order  
dispensed with; Read 3<sup>o</sup> \*, and passed  
Aug 4, 1227

Royal Assent Aug 5, 1366

[54 & 55 Vic. c. 71]

**Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment**  
**Bill**

Obs. Dr. Tanner Aug 3 [356] 1216

LAFONE, Mr. A., *Southwark, Bermondsey*  
*Cheap Trains (London) Bill, 2R. [350] 1529*  
*London and North-Western Railway Com-*  
*pany (Rates and Charges) Provisional*  
*Order Bill, Con. [356] 282*

**Lake Copais Company**

Address for Return Aug 5 [356] 1370

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Supply—House of Commons [355] 716

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**Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway**  
**Bill**

c. Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 17 [351] 1199

**Lancashire County Council Bill**

c. Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [350] 454

**Lancashire, Derbyshire, and East Coast**  
**Railway Bill**

l. Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and com. to be proposed by the  
Com. of Selection June 12 [354] 245  
Read 3<sup>o</sup>, and passed July 23 [356] 61

**Land Commission (Ireland) (Rules as to**  
**Purchase)**

Return ordered Mar 24 [351] 1766

**Land Department (Ireland) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 27 [349] 154

Read 2<sup>o</sup> Dec 8, 710

Com. Dec 9, 768

Order for Com. read; Bill withdrawn  
June 1 [353] 1460

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*Land Department (Ireland) Bill*

Q. Mr. Carew; A. The Chf. Sec. May 12 [353] 569; Q. Mr. Sexton; A. The Ch. of Exch. May 28, 1079; Qs. Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Sexton; As. The Chf. Sec., Mr. Speaker May 29, 1310; Q. Mr. Sexton; A. The Chf. Sec. June 4, 1628

*Land Department (Ireland) [Salaries, &c.]*

Instruction to Com. Dec 9 [349] 784  
Order for Com. read, and discharged June 1 [353] 1460

*Land Law (Ireland) (Statement of Mr. Commissioner Lynch)*

Return ordered June 19 [354] 906

*Land Law (Wales) Bill*

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 4 [349] 640  
2R.; Bill withdrawn July 3 [353] 416

*Land Purchase Acts (Ireland) (Applications)*

Return ordered Nov 28 [349] 224

*Land Purchase (Ireland) Acts*

Return ordered May 11 [353] 552

*Land Purchase (Ireland) Act, 1885 (Advances)*

Return ordered Feb 18 [350] 1008

*Land Purchase (Ireland) Acts (Default of Instalments)*

Returns ordered Dec 4 [349] 639; Feb 16 [350] 664  
Order (Feb 16) for Return read and discharged, and another Return ordered Mar 13 [351] 926

*Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill (see Purchase of Land and Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill)*

*Land Registry (Middlesex Deeds) Bill*

l. Presented; Read 1<sup>o</sup> June 30 [354] 1840  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and com. to Com. of the Whole House July 10 [355] 865  
Com.\*; Report; Re-com. to Standing Com. July 14, 1163  
Reported\* from Standing Com. July 21, 1854  
Amendts. reported July 22 [356] 1  
Read 3<sup>o</sup>\*; Amendts. made; Bill passed July 23, 98  
c. Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* July 23, 212  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 28, 641  
Com.; Report July 30, 868  
As amended, Con.; Read 3<sup>o</sup>\*, and passed July 31, 1037  
l. Returned from the Commons, with Amendts.; Amendts. con. and agreed to Aug 3, 1113  
Royal Assent Aug 5, 1366  
[54 & 55 Vic. c. 64]

*Land Registry (Middlesex Deeds) [Payments]*

Instruction to Com. July 28 [356] 546  
Res. con. in Com. July 29, 693  
Res. reported July 30, 868

*Land Tenure (Ireland) (Arbitration)*

Motion (Mr. S. Lefevre) Jan 30 [349] 1404

*Land Tenure (Ireland) Bill*

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Nov 28 [349] 184  
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*LANE, Mr. W. J., Cork Co., E.*

Purchase of Land and Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill, Con. [353] 1532

*LAUDERDALE, Earl of*

Public Health (Scotland) Acts Amendment Bill, 2R. [355] 1553

*LAURIE, Colonel R. P., Bath*

Army  
Honourable Artillery Company [352] 915  
Range Accommodation, Res. [350] 1151

*Law Agents (Scotland) Bill*

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Nov 28 [349] 110  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>\* Mar 12 [351] 858  
Com.—R.P. Mar 19, 1512  
Com.\*; Report April 13 [352] 460  
As amended, Con. April 16, 776  
Read 3<sup>o</sup>\*, and passed April 20, 1006  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* April 21, 1016  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>\*, and com. to Com. of the Whole House May 8 [353] 353  
Com.\*; Report; Re-com. to Standing Com. May 11, 467

*Title Changed to*

*Law Agents and Notaries Public (Scotland) Bill*

l. Report\* June 23 [354] 1161; June 29, 1711  
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l. Returned from the Commons July 3, 301  
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*Actions against the Crown—Fees Paid to the Law Officers*, Q. Mr. S. Gedge; A. The Att. Gen. June 22 [354] 1066  
*Anglo-Austrian Printing and Publishing Union*, Qs. Mr. Pitt-Lewis, Mr. Cobb, Mr. T. M. Healy; As. The Att. Gen. April 13 [352] 860  
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*Assizes—Sittings*, Q. Mr. Pickersgill; A. The Home Sec. Feb 3 [349] 1621; Address for Return April 9 [352] 219

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A. The Att. Gen. Mar 19 [351] 1432

*Inspector General*, Q. Mr. Kelly; A. The  
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G. Webster; As. The First Lord of Treas.  
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*Bertillon Anthropometric System*, Q. Mr. P.  
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W. Lawson; As. The Home Sec. Mar 5  
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*Bidwell, Austin Biron, Case of*, Q. Mr. Alli-  
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*Cathcart, Mrs.* (see title Lunacy)

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- Buckinghamshire—Gambling in Public Houses, Q. Mr. B. Reed; A. The Home Sec. April 9 [352] 126
- Derby—Licence Extension, Qs. Sir W. Lawson; As. The Home Sec. May 15 [353] 777
- Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Licences Returns, Q. Mr. Winterbotham; A. The First Lord of Treas. Mar 10 [351] 601
- Ether Drinking, Q. Mr. M. Kenny; A. The Chf. Sec. Feb 23 [350] 1370
- "Farthing Novelties," Q. Sir W. Lawson; A. The Home Sec. June 18 [354] 783
- Gosport Petty Sessions—Selling Beer to Intoxicated Persons, Qs. Mr. J. O'Connor, Admiral Field; As. The Home Sec. Mar 3 [351] 32
- Intoxicating Liquors Licences (England), Motion (Mr. J. E. Ellis) and Division April 28 [352] 1636
- Issue of New Licences, Qs. Mr. Brunner; As. The Ch. of Exch. June 18 [354] 787; June 26, 1584
- Justices of the Peace and Public House Licences—Appeals, Cost of, &c., Q. Mr. Talbot; A. The Home Sec. July 21 [355] 1902
- Licensed Victuallers' Measures, Q. Mr. D. Thomas; A. The Home Sec. May 1 [352] 1847

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- Lichfield—Extension of Licences at a Mid-night Interment, Qs. Mr. Brunner, Mr. Coghill; As. The Home Sec. Feb 27 [350] 1833
- Liverpool—Transfer of Licence, Q. Mr. W. B. Rowlands; A. The Home Sec. June 1 [353] 1369
- "M'Ewan v. Justices of Manchester," Q. Mr. Rowntree; A. The Home Sec. Feb 19 [350] 1066
- Monmouthshire Chief Constable, Q. Mr. Agg. Gardner; A. The Home Sec. July 20 [355] 1747
- On-Licences and Tied Houses, Qs. Mr. Summers; As. The Home Sec. Mar 6 [351] 432; Mar 9, 435; Mar 19, 1418
- Paignton Magistrates—Occasional Licences, Q. Sir W. Lawson; A. The Home Sec. April 27 [352] 1477
- Public Houses, Excessive Drinking at, Q. Mr. Rowntree; A. The Home Sec. Mar 9 [351] 432
- Regulation of Licensed Houses, Qs. Mr. O. V. Morgan; As. The Att. Gen. April 6 [351] 1813
- Sale after Legal Hours in Cases of Sickness, Q. Mr. Cobb; A. The Att. Gen. July 23 [356] 133
- Sale of Postage Stamps by Publicans (see title Post Office)
- "Sharp v. Wakefield," Qs. Sir W. Lawson, Mr. T. W. Russell; As. The Home Sec. Mar 23 [351] 1660 (Refer also to Debate on Intoxicating Liquors Licences, April 28 [352] 1636)
- Tied Public Houses—"Keen v. Usher and Others, Limited," Qs. Mr. J. Kelly; As. The Home Sec. Jan 30 [349] 1389; Feb 6 [350] 676
- West Bromwich Police Court—Transfer of Public House Licences, Qs. Mr. Kelly, Mr. J. Wilson (Durham, Mid), Mr. Summers; As. The Home Sec. April 20 [352] 913
- Whitechapel—Shebeens and Bogus Clubs, Q. Mr. Rowntree; A. The Home Sec. Mar 16 [351] 1057

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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 30 [349] 1500
- 2R.; Bill withdrawn Feb 11 [350] 428

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- Lichfield Cathedral Bill, 2R. [350] 194
- Marriage Acts Amendment Bill, Com. [352] 1278, 1279, 1283, 1296, 1298, 1299
- Presentation to Benefices Bill, 2R. [349] 1613

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- l. Presented; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Nov 25 [349] 32
- 2R.; Bill referred to Examiners Feb 3, 1614
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, and com. to Com. of the whole House Feb 9 [350] 194
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c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 18, 1008

Ordered to be referred to Examiners Feb 19, 1088

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*Lighthouse Illuminants (South Foreland Experiments)*

Return ordered; Presented Nov 25 [349] 36

*Light Railways (Ireland) Act, 1889*

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*Liquor Laws (Scotland) Bill*

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 108

Order for 2R. read; Bill withdrawn June 10 [354] 135

*Liquor Traffic Local Veto Bill*

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 101

Order for 2R. read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn April 21 [352] 1072

*Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill*

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 114

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*Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Wales) Bill*

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 101

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Com. Mar 19, 1512

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*Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Wales) Bill*

Mistake in the Counts on the 2R. Division, Qs., Obs. Sir W. Lawson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. J. M. Maclean Mar 19 [351] 1440

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*American Copyright Act*, Q. Sir R. Lethbridge; A. The First Lord of Treas. Feb 6 [350] 149; Q. Mr. Vincent; A. The First Lord of Treas. Mar 6 [351] 436; Q. Sir A. Rollit; A. The Under Sec. for India May 28 [353] 1189; Qs. Mr. Bryce; As. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. June 15 [354] 402; July 17 [355] 1597

*Anonymous Editorial Articles*, Q. Mr. Atkinson; A. The First Lord of Treas. Mar 3 [351] 35

*Archbishop's Throne at Canterbury*, Q. Mr. C. Bentinck; A. The Vice Pres. Feb 27 [350] 1829

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*Evening Attendance*, Q. Mr. Lawson; A. The Sec. to Treas. Mar 16 [351] 1060

*Hackney Carriage Stand*, Q. Mr. J. Rowlands; A. The Home Sec. Jan 29 [349] 1280

*Income and Expenditure, &c.*, Return ordered May 6 [353] 244

*Chantrey Bequest—Picture of "St. Elizabeth of Hungary,"* Qs. Mr. De Lisle, Mr. Johnston; As. The First Lord of Treas. June 18 [354] 798; Q., Obs. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Viscount Hardinge, The Prime Minister, Lord Herries July 17 [355] 1513; Qs. Mr. De Lisle; As. The Ch. of Exch. July 28 [356] 552; Aug 3, 1119

*Coins—New Designs (see title Currency)*

*Income Tax upon Museums and Public Libraries*, Q. Sir E. J. Reed; A. The Ch. of Exch. May 7 [353] 268

*National Art Collections*, Q., Obs. Earl of Meath, Viscount Hardinge, Archbishop of Canterbury, Viscount Cranbrook May 8 [353] 841

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*Annual Report*, Return ordered Feb 13 [350] 615; Qs. Dr. Farquharson; As. The First Com. of Works Mar 17 [351] 1223; June 4 [353] 1599

*Loan of Collections to Provincial Art Galleries*, Q. Mr. E. Lees; A. The First Lord of Treas. July 3 [355] 332; Qs. Mr. E. Lees, Mr. Woodall, Mr. J. Collings; As. The First Lord of Treas. July 7, 559; Qs. Mr. E. Lees; As. The Ch. of Exch. July 14, 1194

*Natural History Museum—Electric Light*, Q. Sir G. Campbell; A. The First Com. of Works Dec 5 [349] 652; Q. Sir G. Campbell; A. The Sec. to Treas. Dec 9 746

*Raphael's Works*, Qs. Mr. Johnston, Dr. Tanner; As. The First Lord of Treas. May 5 [353] 141

*Royal Academy—Sending In Days*, Q., Obs. Lord Sandhurst, The Marquess of Salisbury, The Archbishop of Canterbury Mar 20 [351] 1517

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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* April 8 [352] 120  
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Bill withdrawn June 26, 1876

**Loans for Schools and Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill**

Qs. Mr. Sexton; As. The Sec. to Treas.  
May 28 [353] 1202; June 4, 1619; June 8, 1829; June 26 [354] 1876

**Local Authorities (Scotland) Loans Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 109  
Order for 2R. read, and adjourned Feb 18 [350] 1006  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 25, 1615  
Com.\*—R.P. Feb 26, 1800  
Com.; Report June 3 [353] 1568  
As amended, Con.; Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* and passed June 10 [354] 95  
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**Local Bankruptcy (Ireland) Amendment Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Dec 4 [349] 639  
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Com.\*—R.P. Mar 2, 2044  
Order for Com. read; Bill withdrawn Aug 3 [356] 1216

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Return ordered Feb 17 [350] 813

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**Local Government Acts of England and Scotland Repeal Bill**

l. Presented; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 3 [351] 23  
Order for 2R. read, and discharged Mar 12, 721

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*Barbed Wires, Qs. Mr. Brunner; As. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. Dec 2 [349] 345; Feb 12 [350] 468*

*Birkdale Local Board, Q. Mr. H. J. Wilson; A. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. May 14 [353] 675*

*Cemetery at Hyde, Q. Mr. Summers; A. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. Feb 19 [350] 1063*

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*County Councils and the Local Government Board, Qs. The Marquess of Ripon, Lord Henniker, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon, The Earl of Kimberley, The Prime Minister July 17 [355] 1524*

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*Hendon Sewage Works*, Q. Mr. Cobb; A. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. May 14 [353] 691

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*Otley, Suffolk, Water Supply, Postponed*, Q. Mr. Stern July 27 [356] 404; Q. Mr. Stern; A. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. July 30, 756

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*Rating of Machinery*, Qs. Mr. Duncan; As. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. Feb 9 [350] 200; Feb 16, 672

*Registration of Deaths*, Q. Mr. Bradlaugh; A. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. Nov 27 [349] 123

*Rugby Sanitary Authority*, Q. Mr. Cobb; A. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. June 1 [353] 1379

*St. James's Vestry—Unequal Assessments*, Qs. Mr. Cobb; As. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. Mar 19 [351] 1419; April 20 [352] 904

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*Tinned Fish—Poisoning Cases* (see title *Law and Justice and Police*)

*Urban Sanitary Districts*, Q. Mr. T. Ellis; A. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. July 9 [355] 701

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*Clarendon Press—An Unvaccinated Lad*, Q. Mr. Fenwick; A. The Home Sec. Feb 2 [349] 1526

*Deaths from*, Qs. Mr. Channing; As. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. Mar 12 [351] 754; May 22 [353] 881; Qs. Mr. H. Gladstone, Mr. Summers; As. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. June 18 [354] 777; Qs. Mr. Summers; As. The Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd. June 25, 1429

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*Vaccination Acts, Sentences under*, Q. Mr. Channing; A. The Home Sec. Feb 16 [350] 670; Q., Obs. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Lord de Ramsey, Lord Herschell May 11 [353] 460; Q., Obs. Lord Herschell, Lord de Ramsey, Earl of Kimberley July 27 [356] 383; Q., Obs. Lord Herschell, Lord de Ramsey July 30, 743; Q., Obs. Earl of Kimberley, Lord de Ramsey Aug 3, 1111; Q. Mr. Channing; A. The Home Sec. Aug 3, 1123

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**Local Government Board Provisional Orders Bills**

l. Sessional Orders dispensed with; Read 2<sup>a</sup> July 21 [355] 1855

**Local Government (Highways) Bill**

l. Read 1<sup>a</sup> July 9 [355] 693

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**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 5) Bill**

c. Order for 3R. read; Debate adjourned June 24 [354] 1313

Read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed June 29, 1712

**Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889**  
(see title SCOTLAND)

**Local Government (Scotland) Act (1889) Amendment Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>a</sup> June 10 [354] 136

Order for 2R. read, and deferred June 18, 879

Read 2<sup>a</sup> July 1 [355] 56

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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Nov 26 [349] 104
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- Com.; Report; Read 3<sup>o</sup>, and passed April 10, 230
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- l. Message received Mar 9, 457
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Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, Baronet, created Baron Iveagh, of Iveagh in the county of Down

Jan 29—The Right Honourable Sir James Hannen, Knight, President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, appointed a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary under the provisions of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876, with the dignity of a Baron for life by the style and title of Baron Hannen of Burdock in the county of Sussex

Mar 5—William Connor Lord Archbishop of York

Anthony Wilson Lord Bishop of Winchester

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Mar 9—William Walsham Lord Bishop of Wakefield

July 10—Lord Deramore—George William Bateson de Yarburgh Baron Deramore, succeeding to that title on the death of his brother Thomas Lord Deramore by virtue of a special limitation contained in a patent bearing date 18th day of November in the 49th year of the reign of Her Majesty

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*Jan 22*—Sir John Pope Hennessy, County  
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*Jan 27*—Christopher Furness, Esquire,  
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*Jan 30*—Sir Frederick George Milner,  
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*Feb 16*—Moses Philip Manfield, esquire,  
Borough of Northampton

*April 9*—Captain George William Grice-  
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Manor

Bernard Colliery, Esquire, County  
of Sligo, North Sligo Division

*April 20*—Henry Hooks Gibbs, Esquire,  
City of London

*April 23*—George Herbert Morrell, Esquire,  
County of Oxford (Mid or  
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*April 27*—James Bain, Knight, Borough  
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*May 7*—Sydney James Stern, Esquire,  
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*May 11*—William Ernest Brymer, Esquire,  
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*May 12*—The Right Hon. William Henry  
Smith, Borough of Strand  
John William Logan, Esquire,  
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*June 1*—Herbert Samuel Leon, Esquire,  
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*June 4*—William Dunn, Esquire, Borough of  
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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *Feb* 10 [350] 330  
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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *Feb* 26 [350] 1800  
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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *Feb* 26 [350] 1800  
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As amended, Con.; Read 3<sup>o</sup> \*, and passed *June* 26 [354] 1595  
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c. Lords' Amendts. to Commons' Amendts. to Lords' Amendts. con., and Amendts. made July 31, 1040  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1° \* Nov 26 [349] 112
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c. Ordered; Read 1° Feb 17 [350] 944

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Com. Mar 19, 1508; Mar 20, 1568

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l. Read 1° April 14, 472

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Read 3°, and passed June 8, 1813

c. Lords Amendts. con., and agreed to June 18  
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l. Returned from the Commons June 19, 894

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c. Ordered; Read 1° May 6 [353] 244

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c. Ordered; Read 1° Nov 26 [349] 108

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l. Presented; Read 1° June 22 [354] 985

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July 31, 1039

l. Returned from the Commons with Amendts.;

Amendts. to be printed Aug 3, 1113

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**SPEAKER, The** (Right Hon. ARTHUR WELLESLEY PEEL), *Warwick and Leamington*

**COMMITTEES**

When a Motion for the appointment of a Select Com. is preceded by a Preface which is in the nature of a separate Res., and does not come within the Order of Reference, the ordinary course would be to strike out the Preface and then move for the Select Com. The Terms of Reference will be for the House to judge  
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Unless the Government make the Motion, it is impossible to move the Adjournment of the House before the Orders of the Day are disposed of. The Standing Order provides that after any business exempted from the Standing Order "Sittings of the House" is disposed of, the business remaining on the Paper shall be dealt with under rules applicable to the ordinary proceedings of the House after 12 o'clock. That is to say, business will proceed unless objection is taken, such objection being sufficient to arrest further progress. When an Order of the Day stands for Com. the Speaker is bound to leave the Chair without putting any Question. Therefore, a Bill which goes into Com. for the first time is advanced a stage. A Member may move the adjournment of the House between two Orders of the Day after 12 o'clock

When a Motion that the Chairman leave the Chair is objected to, the next Question would be to report Progress, and on that the Bill would be deferred, if objection were taken Feb 16, 805, 806, . 807

A Bill can only be discussed on the Motion for Instruction to Com. as far as it is affected by the Instruction Mar 2, 1822

The proper form of an Instruction to Com. is to instruct the Com. to carry out certain views—and that part of an Instruction which explains the reason for submitting  
351] it is unusual Mar 6, 882

It is incompetent for a Member to move that the Com. consist of 30 Members when the House has decided that 20 shall  
352] stand part of the Question April 9, 151, . 152

An Instruction to Com. that refers to a preliminary procedure which is subject to and under the jurisdiction of the Examiners,

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and governed by Standing Orders in relation to Private Bills, cannot be moved. The proposal would alter the preliminary procedure previous to the Bill being presented to Parliament, and is therefore  
352] outside scope of Bill April 9, 154

An Instruction to Com. that proposes to substitute a new tribunal for that proposed in a Bill, when the House on the 2R. rejected an Amendment embodying a similar proposal, cannot be moved April 9, 155

It is safer for a Com. in going into a question of Provisional Orders to adopt an Instruction. If the Com. were not empowered to deal with the question of Provisional Orders they could not embody recommendations respecting them in the Bill, although they could make a special Report April 9, 158

The House must decide what Com. a Bill is to go to before it gives an Instruction  
353] May 26, 1164

As a point of order, a Member cannot move to put off for a month the Motion "That a Bill be com. to Standing Com. on Law, &c." May 26, 1166

Instructions to Com. on matters which are outside the scope of the Bill, and cannot be brought within its scope by Instructions, are out of order June 30, 1870  
354]

**MISCELLANEOUS**

349] Jan 27, 1143; Jan 29, 1384; Jan 30, 1489; Feb 8, 1716, 1726, 1732

350] Feb 9, 250, 269, 270, 280, 351; Feb 10, 317; Feb 12, 490, 521, 557, 570, 573; Feb 13, 648; Feb 17, 832, 944; Feb 19, 1167; Feb 24, 1506; Feb 26, 1744; Feb 27, 1825, 1826

351] Mar 4, 200; Mar 6, 415, 416; Mar 19, 1440; Mar 23, 1675, 1695, 1706; Mar 24, 1766, 1780, 1795, 1796

352] April 7, 18, 28, 29, 63; April 9, 158, 159, 160, 182, 193, 199; April 13, 371; April 14, 583, 584; April 16, 679; April 20, 1021; April 21, 1022, 1023, 1024; April 22, 1090; April 24, 1400; April 27, 1576; April 29, 1680; April 30, 1790, 1791, 1794, 1777, 1801

353] May 12, 555; May 14, 705, 708; May 22, 947, 948, 960; May 28, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1231, 1246, 1284; May 29, 1311; June 1, 1439, 1453, 1454; June 2, 1515, 1532, 1535, 1544; June 4, 1673, 1678, 1680, 1691; June 5, 1764, 1780

354] June 9, 21, 49, 53, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 78; June 11, 179, 182, 201, 202; June 12, 303, 306, 307, 315, 370; June 15, 431, 433, 434, 473, 489, 490; June 18, 877; June 19, 906, 954, 959, 976, 977; June 25, 1528; June 26, 1622, 1650, 1656, 1657; June 30, 1843, 1870

355] July 7, 567, 573, 577, 622, 630; July 13, 1057, 1141; July 14, 1179, 1190, 1191; July 16, 1432, 1433; July 20, 1751, 1770

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356] July 23, 159, 174, 175, 177, 206, 207; July 24, 285, 286, 287, 303; July 28, 633, 634, 638, 642; July 29, 698, 700; July 30, 749, 819, 834; July 31, 912; Aug 1, 1067, 1073, 1098, 1094, 1096; Aug 3, 1197; Aug 4, 1290, 1361, 1362

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**PRIVILEGE**

A Member who has been appointed to a position of emolument can vote in the House till the appointment has been completed May 7, 340  
353]

It is customary for an incriminated Member to attend the House when the charges against him are considered; but when a Member has been convicted on his own confession it is competent for the House to proceed on the information before it, and that the attendance of the Member is not necessary May 12, 574

356] Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Speaker July 27, 419; Aug 5, 1374, 1376

**QUESTIONS**

A Member when he puts a Question should not take up a rumour, but should assume responsibility, and ask whether or not  
352] a certain fact is true April 20, 924

A Member may reserve his explanation until  
354] the Questions are over June 11, 166

For the convenience of the House some arrangement may be entered upon, so that Black Rod would arrive before Question Time June 11, 170

Elementary Education Bill — A Lords' Amendt. under consideration, which it is said will have the effect of increasing the grant provided for by the Act of 1870. Mr. Speaker rules that if the Amendt. has that effect the Lords have exceeded Privilege July 30, 842  
356]

**RULES AND ORDER OF DEBATE**

When the House has passed a Res. that a certain Bill ought not to be brought in, a Motion cannot be moved to bring in that Bill until the Res. of the House has been rescinded Jan 27, 1176  
349]

A Motion must be withdrawn before it can be brought up in an amended form Jan 27, 1175

A Member who allows an Amendt. to pass without challenge, and then moves the adjournment of the Debate to counteract what has been done, is not entitled to re-discuss that Amendt. Feb 9, 270  
350]

The Mover and objector to Motions for Adjournment are permitted to make short explanatory statements, but if there is opposition to the Motion, the discussion cannot proceed—it is then within the Speaker's authority to put the Question for the Adjournment Feb 10, 329

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An Amendt. to include in a Schedule that which the House has negatived is out  
350] of order Feb 10, 355, 356

A Schedule of Fees cannot be amended so as to include costs associated with fees; but an independent Amendt. can be brought forward, to the effect that the costs shall not exceed a certain amount  
Feb 10, 357

Clauses or Amendts. which would be violating the previous decisions of the House cannot be moved Feb 9, 260; Feb 10, 370

When a mere objection to a Motion does not hold—no Member moving the Closure—and the objector continues the Debate, the Debate must stand adjourned Mar 3,  
351] 136

It is unusual and inconvenient for a Member by a Motion to ask the opinion of the House upon a subject which is already before a Com. Mar 13, 933

*Personal Explanations*—A Member is entitled to complain of a question concerning him being put to the House without proper notice; but he cannot go into details concerning the matter upon which the question was asked Mar 16, 1074

The proper time to move an Amendt. is before the Speaker puts the Question, "That the House do agree with the Lords in the said Amendt." Mar 19, 1450

A Member can oppose the Lords' Amendts. altogether by opposing the Motion that the Lords' Amendts., as amended, be agreed to Mar 19, 1457

If a Motion is made by a Minister in charge of a Bill to adjourn the consideration of a certain clause until after the other Amendts. are disposed of, and the Motion meets with the approval of the House, the Speaker will not object to it Mar 19, 1470

It is irregular to refer at length to Debates in the Lords; but it may be necessary to refer to a statement upon which an Amendt. has been founded Mar 19, 1500

A Member cannot move "That the House do disagree with a clause as amended"—he must vote against the clause Mar 20, 1542

To move an Amendt. to an Amendt., the object of which would be gained by negativing the proposal "That the House do agree with the Lords' Amendts.," is unnecessary. If the Lords' Amendts. are rejected, the Member can then move an alternative proposition Mar 24, 1768

An Amendt. introducing a question of general policy as an objection to a particular Private Bill when the Company promoting the Bill are simply asking for further powers is out of order. The proper course would be to make a Motion for an alteration of the general policy applicable to all such Companies April 7 [352]  
2, 3, 4

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

On a Division all the words of the Motion "That the Speaker do now leave the Chair" were negatived, except the first word "That"; the words of the Amendt. to the Motion for Supply were added, and this Motion then became the Substantive Question. As the House passed no definite decision either on the first Amendt. as a Substantive Question, or upon the Amendt. which was moved as an addition to the Substantive Question, on coming to the Order the Speaker would have again to propose the Question—the Substantive Res. and the Amendt. which has been moved to it—and if the Amendt. be carried, the Speaker would have to put the whole Res. with the addendum attached to it; and then the House must express its opinion upon the Substantive Motion amended by the addendum, or, if the addition of the words be negatived, on the Motion alone. If Supply is taken on Monday or on Thursday the Speaker would not be able to propose the Question on the Res., but would be obliged to leave the Chair without Question put. On Friday the Speaker would have to put, not the Question on the Amendt. to the Motion for going into Com. of Supply, but the Question "That the Speaker do now leave the Chair," upon which the Amendts. on the Paper specially put down for Friday would take precedence of any other Amendt. But it would be open to the Government to offer facilities for treating the subject as a Motion, and by giving that Motion a place among the Orders of the Day on a Government night April 13,  
352] 384

A Member may move either that the con. of certain new Standing Orders be postponed for this Session, or the Adjournment of the Debate; but the Motion for the Adjournment must confine the Debate to the Question of Adjournment; an Amendt. to omit certain lines of the new Standing Order would be sufficient, and an issue might be raised upon it April 22, 1080

A Res. that applies to the whole United Kingdom—there being four Bills before the House dealing with the matter embodied in the Res. and the one Bill for England withdrawn to enable a Member to proceed with his Motion, the terms of the Res. should be confined to England. That would not only obviate every objection on the ground of anticipation, but the Motion would not prejudice the other Bills April 28, 1637

The Motion for the Adjournment (Derby Day), although made by a private Member, takes precedence in the same way as Motions by Ministers at the commencement of  
353] Public Business May 26, 1082

A 2R. Debate cannot take place on a Motion "That the Order be discharged"  
May 28, 1225

[*cont.*

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SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

A Res. passed that the 2R. of a Bill (Newfoundland Fisheries Bill) "be not now proceeded with" would not destroy the Bill. The Bill might be revived in given  
353] circumstances *May 28, 1244*

A Res. for the adjournment of a Debate never, as a matter of form, expresses the motive of the Adjournment *May 28, 1246*

An Amendt. which amounts to a new clause cannot be moved without notice. The discussion of an Amendt. not before the House is out of order *June 1, 1452, 1453*

Two paragraphs in a clause may be separated by an Amendt. after the clause has been read a second time *June 2, 1477*

An Amendt. that raises a question already disposed of is out of order *June 4, 1656*

A Motion dealing with a subject which is before the House in the shape of a Bill cannot be moved *June 5, 1721*

It is impossible to discuss a proposal which is only adumbrated in the course of  
354] Debate *June 9, 64*

An Amendt. proposing by the Bill under discussion to alter the constitution of a body established by an Act is a doubtful proceeding, and would be outside the scope of the Report stage, and could not be inserted without a Re-com. and an Instruction to the Com. *June 11, 176, 178, 179*

An Amendt. which is in substitution for a clause is out of order *June 11, 179*

An Amendt. dealing with a matter upon which the House has already come to a decision is out of order. The Amendt. should have been made at the time the previous Amendt. was before the House  
June 11, 188

A Member cannot move a clause for another Member on the Report stage *June 11, 200*

An Order which is on the Paper for a particular day, and is not reached before 1 o'clock, is a dropped Order, unless instructions are given to the Clerk at the Table  
June 15, 411

A Bill is in charge of the Members whose names appear on the back of it, and it is competent for any of those Members to move the 2R.; but that would be an unusual course to adopt in the absence of one of the Members who has left instructions that the Bill should be set down for another day *June 22, 1157*

When the 3R. of a Bill (immediately following the stage of Con.) is objected to by a considerable number of Members it must be adjourned *June 25, 1526*

Unless the Q., that a Bill contravenes an Order that is passed, is before the House in the form of a Report, the Speaker cannot consider it. The House can either allow the Bill to go on or the Debate may  
355] be adjourned *July 2, 192*

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

In regard to a Memorial sent to the Speaker from certain Electors of Belfast complaining of the suspense under which the electorate are placed in consequence of Mr. De Cobain's position, if any suspense is caused by the action of the House, the Speaker is not the proper medium of communication. If the Electors desire any representation of that kind to be made, it should be made in the form of a Petition presented by a Member of the House, and laid before the House in the ordinary way  
356] *July 23, 136*

The usual practice is for a Member to state the substance of a Petition he presents, unless he desires it to be read by the Clerk at the Table *July 23, 109*

A Member cannot speak twice on the Main Question (India Revenue Accounts) *Aug 4, 1278*

SUPPLY

When the Motion "That the Speaker leave the Chair" has been superseded by the acceptance of an Amendt., it is not a matter of imperative obligation on the part of the Government to re-set up Supply, but for their discretion. When the Government refrain from setting up Supply again they generally do exercise their discretion at a later hour than half past 7. But the Motion being made that Supply be taken on Monday, and no reply reaching the Speaker to the Question "Is this with the consent of the House?" the Speaker has no other course than to say  
350] "Supply—Monday" *Feb 16, 690, 691*

For a Member of the Government to move the Adjournment of the House at One o'clock would be contrary to the Standing Orders, which provide that after any business exempted from the operation of the Res. is disposed of the remainder of the business will be dealt with in accordance with Rules relating to Business after  
351] Twelve o'clock *Mar 13, 929*

There is nothing in the Standing Orders to show that if Supply is not placed first it ought to be placed second on a Friday. The Standing Order XI. has been superseded by the Res. passed giving precedence to the Irish Land Bill over all Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions. If Supply had been put second, there being no effective Supply down, the only result would have been that the Government would put off Supply as soon as that Order was reached. Friday is a Government night, subject only to the limitation of Supply standing first. If Supply could be got out of the way, the Government would take the other Orders of the Day. On a Tuesday the case is different. Precedence would be given to the Land Bill; and if the proceedings thereon came to an end before 12 o'clock, private Members would re-enter into their rights. Notices would be next taken, the precedence being given  
[*cont.*

**SPEAKER, The—cont.**

only for that particular Government Order. The Standing Order XI. is virtually a repeal, or a suspension, so often as the Land Bill is appointed on Friday. Otherwise Supply would stand first, and the Speaker would have to propose the Question, "That the Speaker now leave the Chair," on which private Members' Motions would come on, and then the Res. to give precedence to the said Bill would be rendered inoperative and ineffective. When precedence is given to particular business, it implies the suspension of the Standing Orders ordinarily regulating the course of business May 1 [352] 1854

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Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and com. to Standing Com. on Law, &c. May 22 [353] 944  
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**Stamp Duties Bill—cont.**

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Royal Assent July 21, 1895  
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**Stamp Duties Management Bill**

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Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and com. to Standing Com. on Law, &c. May 22 [353] 948  
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- £1,496—Charitable Donations and Requests Office, Com.\* *July* 20, 1834; Report\* *July* 21, 1980
- £26,793—Chief Secretary's Offices (including a Supplementary sum of £322), Com. *July* 20, 1773; Report\* *July* 21, 1980
- £103,912—Local Government Board, Com. *July* 20, 1835; Report\* *July* 21, 1980
- £2,764—Lord Lieutenant's Household, Com. *July* 20, 1773; Report\* *July* 21, 1980
- £4,059—Public Record Office, Com. *July* 20, 1851; Report\* *July* 21, 1980
- £22,954—Public Works Office, Com. *July* 21 [355] 1921; Report *July* 22 [356] 58
- £17,433—Registrar General's Office, Com. *July* 21 [355] 1943; Report\* *July* 22 [356] 59
- £12,809—Valuation and Boundary Survey, Com. *July* 21 [355] 1945; Report\* *July* 22 [356] 60

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- £6,746—Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor and Public Health, Com. *July* 17, 1670; Report\* *July* 20, 1852
- £15,469—Fishery Board, &c., Com. *July* 17, 1667; Report\* *July* 20, 1852
- £3,034—Lunacy Commissioners, Com. *July* 17, 1670; Report\* *July* 20, 1852
- £14,222—Registrar General's Office, Com. *July* 17, 1670; Report\* *July* 20, 1852
- £7,706—Secretary's Offices, Com. *July* 17, 1633; Report\* *July* 20, 1852

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- £23,966—Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic 356] Asylum, Com.\* *July* 24, 369; Report\* *July* 27, 513
- £391,100—County Courts, Com. *July* 24, 341; Report *July* 27, 512
- £2,068—Land Registry, Com. *July* 24, 339; Report\* *July* 27, 512
- £46,283—Law Officers, &c., Com. *July* 22, 32; Report *July* 23, 203
- £37,586—Metropolitan Police, Com. *July* 24, 354; Report\* *July* 27, 513
- £39,553—Miscellaneous Legal Expenses, Com. *July* 22, 57; Report\* *July* 23, 206
- £13,047—Police Courts, London and Sheerness, Com. *July* 24, 351; Report *July* 27, 513; *July* 28, 632
- £438,490—Prisons—England, Wales, and the Colonies, Com. *July* 24, 356; *July* 27, 443; Report *July* 28, 632
- £135,894—Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Com.\* *July* 24, 369; Report\* *July* 27, 513

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£256,681—Supreme Court of Judicature, 356] Com. July 24, 320; Report\* July 27, 612

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£84,686—County Court Officers, Magistrates, &c., Com. July 28, 604; Report\* July 29, 692

£47,621—Criminal Prosecutions, &c., Com. July 28, 576; Report\* July 29, 692

£66,084—Dublin Metropolitan Police, Com. July 28, 618; Report\* July 29, 690

£4,516—Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Com.\* July 28, 632; Report\* July 29, 692

£97,121—Prisons, Com. July 29, 674; Report\* July 30, 867

£56,010—Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Com.\* July 28, 632; Report\* July 29, 690

£832,700—Royal Irish Constabulary, Com. July 28, 621; July 29, 646; Report\* July 30, 867

£81,132—Supreme Court of Judicature, &c., Com. July 28, 589; Report\* July 29, 692

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£6,070—Crofters' Commission, Com. July 28, 561; Report\* July 29, 690

£25,354—General Register House, Edinburgh, Com. July 27, 501; Report\* July 28, 632

£87,133—Law Charges, &c., Com. July 27, 495; Report\* July 28, 632

£62,700—Prisons, &c., Com. July 28, 572; Report\* July 29, 690

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART

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£93,000—British Museum, Com.\* July 29, 356] 690; Report\* July 30, 868

£10,305—London University, Com.\* July 29, 690; Report\* July 30, 868

£9,387—National Gallery, Com.\* July 29, 690; Report\* July 30, 868

£1,219—National Portrait Gallery, Com.\* July 29, 696; Report\* July 30, 868

£3,075,357—Public Education, Com. July 29, 689; July 30, 843; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£390,986—Science and Art Departments, Com.\* July 29, 690; Report July 30, 867

£14,796—Scientific Investigation, &c. Com.\* July 29, 690; Report\* July 30, 868

£40,000—Universities and Colleges, Com.\* July 29, 690; Report\* July 30, 868

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£430—Endowed Schools Commissioners, Com.\* July 29, 690; Report\* July 30, 868

£1,701—National Gallery, Com.\* July 29, 690; Report\* July 30, 867

£506,539—Public Education, Com. July 31, 970; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

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£3,028—Queen's Colleges, Com. July 31, 356] 997; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

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£2,950—National Gallery, Com.\* July 29, 690; Report\* July 30, 868

£327,067—Public Education, Com. July 30, 864; July 31, 945; Report\* Aug 1, 1044

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES

£114,616—Colonial Services, including South 356] Africa, Com.\* July 31, 1012; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£5,000—Cyprus, Grant in Aid, Com. July 31, 1012; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£252,897—Embassies and Missions Abroad, Com. July 31, 1002; Report Aug 1, 1097

£3,430—Slave Trade Services, Com.\* July 31, 1012; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£25,400—Subsidies to Telegraph Companies, Com.\* July 31, 1013; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES

£9,647—Friendly Societies, Deficiency, Com.\* 356] July 30, 866; Report\* July 31, 1036

£6,600—Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, Com.\* July 30, 866; Report\* July 31, 1038

£900—Miscellaneous, Charitable, and other Allowances, Com.\* July 30, 866; Report\* July 31, 1038

£3,114—Pauper Lunatics (Ireland), Com.\* July 30, 866; Report\* July 31, 1038

£250,116—Superannuation and Retired Allowances, Com.\* July 30, 866; Report\* July 31, 1038

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS

£481—Civil Contingencies Fund, Com.\* 356] July 31, 1027; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£103—Miscellaneous Expenses, Com. July 31, 1020; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£160,000—Pleuro-Pneumonia, Com.\* July 31, 1026; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£14,809—Temporary Commissions, Com. July 30, 867; July 31, 1015; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

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£160,000—Relief of Distress, Com. July 21, [355] 1978; July 22 [356] 2; Report\* July 23, 203

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£50,000—Highlands and Islands, Com. May 28 [353] 1247; Report May 29, 1354

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£709,806—Customs, Com.\* July 31, 1027; 356] Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£1,584,024—Inland Revenue, Com. July 31, 1027; Report\* Aug 1, 1097

£5,354,932—Post Office, Com. July 31, 1031; Report Aug 1, 1044

£528,055—Post Office Packet Service, Com. July 31, 1033; Report\* Aug 1, 1066

£1,716,080—Post Office Telegraphs, Com.\* July 31, 1035; Report Aug 1, 1065

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APPROPRIATION OF GRANTS			
1890-91.			
	£	s.	d.
Civil Service Deficiencies, 1889-90 ... ..	5,885	10	11
Civil Services and Revenue (Supplementary), 1890-91	489,940	0	0
Navy (Supplementary), 1890-91 ... ..	350,000	0	0
	845,825	10	11
1891-92.			
NAVY SERVICES ... ..	14,215,100	0	0
ARMY SERVICES (including Ordnance Factories) ...	17,545,400	0	0
CIVIL SERVICES—viz:			
I. Public Works £ and Buildings 2,068,712			
II. Salaries, &c., Civil Depts... 2,297,483			
III. Law & Justice 4,393,877			
IV. Education, Sci- ence, and Art 7,055,665			
V. Foreign and Col. Services 656,393			
VI. Non-Effective, &c., Services 646,024			
VII. Miscellaneous 397,393			
	17,535,547	0	0
REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, &c...	11,922,897	0	0
Total ...	£62,064,769	10	11

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GRANTS OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.			
For the service of the years ending 31st March 1890 and 1891:—			
Under Act 54 Vict. c. 6 ...	845,825	10	11
For the service of the year ending 31st March 1892:—			
Under Act 54 Vict. c. 6 ...	12,953,803	0	0
Under Act 54 & 55 Vict. c. 27 ... ..	15,930,002	0	0
Under Act 54 & 55 Vict. c. 55 ... ..	32,335,139	0	0
Total ...	£62,064,769	10	11

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 Order for 2R. read, and deferred Feb 18  
 [350] 1000  
 Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, and com. to Select Com. on  
 Teachers' (Registration and Organisation)  
 Bill Mar 9 [351] 576  
 Report \* July 14 [355] 1272

**Teachers' (Registration and Organisa-  
 tion) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* Dec 5 [349] 667  
 Order for 2R. Jan 26, 1110  
 Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \*, and com. to Select Com. Jan 27,  
 1195  
 Select Com. nominated; Papers, &c. ordered  
 Mar 5 [351] 344  
 Select Com., Members discharged and Mem-  
 bers added to, Mar 12, 860  
 Report \* July 14 [355] 1272

**Teachers' (Registration and Organisa-  
 tion) Bill**

Q. Sir R. Temple; A. The First Lord of  
 Treas. Jan 26 [349] 1028



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**Technical Instruction Bill**

- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 106
- 2R. deferred Feb 26 [350] 1799
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 2, 2045
- Com.; Report Mar 9 [351] 575
- As amended, Con.; Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* and passed Mar 12, 858
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 13, 875
- Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and com. to Com. of the Whole House Mar 16, 1036
- Com.; Report; Standing Com. negatived Mar 19, 1377
- Read 3<sup>o</sup>, with Amendts., and passed Mar 20, 1522
- c. Lords' Amendts. con. and agreed to Mar 20, 1582
- l. Returned from the Commons Mar 20, 1527
- Royal Assent Mar 24, 1812 [54 Vic. c. 4]

**Telegraphs and Telephones (see POST OFFICE)**

**TEMPLE, Sir R., Worcester, Evesham**

- British Guiana [353] 1716 [354] 282
- County Councils (Election of Women), Res. [353] 1140
- Education Code [349] 703
- Elementary Education Bill, Com. [354] 1892, 1893 [355] 290, 293, 385, 342
- Elementary Education (Fee Grant), Res., Com. [353] 1857
- India
- Financial Statement, Res. [350] 860
- Manipur Disaster [352] 122; Res. [354] 586, 593
- Opium Traffic, Res. [352] 380
- Presidential Government, Res. [350] 891
- Revenue Accounts, Com. [356] 1291, 1317, 1347, 1351
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to [349] 92
- Public Health (London) Bill, Con. [354] 1653
- School Board for London (Superannuation) Bill, 2R. [349] 1197; Res. [350] 839
- Suakin and the Soudan [349] 348
- Teachers' (Registration and Organisation) Bill [349] 1028; 2R. 1195

**Tenancies Rating Bill**

- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 110 [Dropped]

**Textile Trades (Hours and Wages of Half-Timers)**

- Return ordered Mar 13 [351] 927
- Extension of Information ordered Mar 20, 1540

**Thames Watermen and Lightermen Bill**

- Q. Sir E. Grey; A. The Pres. Bd. Trade Feb 23 [350] 1354

**Theatres, &c. (London) Bill**

- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 116
- Bill withdrawn June 24 [354] 1364

**THEOBALD, Mr. J., Essex, Romford**

- Cheap Trains (London) Bill, 2R. [350] 1510
- Metropolis (Skelton Street, St. Giles) Provisional Order Bill, 2R. [351] 911
- Supply—Civil Service Clerks [351] 1171

**THOMAS, Mr. A., Glamorgan, E.**

- Poor Law—Tramps in Oakum Cages [349] 344
- Supply—Welsh Coal Mines Inspectors [355] 741
- Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery Bill, 2R. [349] 284, 303; Com. 1099, 1569, 1590; Con. [350] 70, 110, 239
- Wales
- Blaenllecha Post Office [349] 696
- Licensing—Pontypridd Magistrates [356] 127
- Sale of Crown Property [349] 697

**THOMAS, Mr. D. A., Merthyr Tydvil**

- Army—Magazine Rifles [349] 1624
- Collieries, Hours of Labour in [355] 1904
- District Councils and Public Health Bill [350] 847
- Education—Technical Instruction—Grants in Aid [352] 1146
- Labour Commission [351] 602
- Mines
- Coal Mines Regulation Act [351] 591
- Employment of Workmen as Inspectors [349] 1391
- Inspectors' Reports [349] 1390 [353] 1466
- Secretary for, Res. [349] 1193
- South Wales Sub-Inspectorship [352] 1028
- Railway Companies' Loan and Debenture Capital [351] 480
- Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery Bill, Order for Com. [349] 612; Com. 1031
- Town Holdings, Select Com., Re-appointment of [351] 718
- Wales
- Aberaman Postmaster [349] 700
- Census Papers [352] 132
- Licensed Victuallers' Measures [352] 1847
- Prisons, Welsh Language in [353] 276
- Training Colleges [350] 834 [351] 480
- Volunteers—3rd Battalion Welsh Regiment [353] 1467 [354] 1065, 1430

**THORBURN, Mr. W., Peebles and Selkirk**

- Cyprus Mails [352] 359
- Navy Estimates—Shipbuilding [354] 698
- Parliament—Business of the House, Res. [354] 435
- Private Bill Procedure (Scotland) Bill [354] 159
- Roads and Streets in Police Burghs (Scotland) Bill, Com. [353] 1567
- Scotland—Telegraphic Communication in Selkirkshire [352] 1599

**THRING, Lord**

County Council (Elections) Bill, 3R. [356] 268  
 Custody of Children Bill, 2R. [349] 1508; Com. [350] 116  
 Factories and Workshops Bill, Com. [355] 983, 985, 986, 987, 988, 990, 991, 993, 994, 1020, 1032, 1033; Report of Amendts. [356] 72  
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 Museums and Gymnasiums Bill, 2R. [353] 1693, 1695  
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 Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery Bill, Amendts. reported [351] 739

**THURLOW, Lord**

Brine Pumping (Compensation for Subsidence) Bill, 2R. [354] 741, 748; Com. 1179, 1181, 1183, 1185, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1836

**Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery and Redemption Bill**

- c. Notice of Motion (Sir M. Hicks Beach) Nov 25 [349] 36  
 Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Nov 27, 136  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> Dec 1, 241  
 Order for Com. Dec 2, 452  
 Com. Dec 4, 596; Jan 28, 1030; Jan 29, 1299; Feb 2, 1532; Feb 3, 1731  
 As amended, Con. Feb 5 [350] 51; Feb 9, 218  
 Motion to give Precedence Feb 10, 312  
 Con.; Schedule read first and second time and added Feb 10, 330  
 As Amended to be printed Feb 11, 428  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup>, and passed Feb 12, 500
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 13, 581  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and com. to Com. of the Whole House Feb 19, 1010  
 Com.; Re-com. to Standing Com. Feb 26, 1617  
 Reported from Standing Com. Mar 10 [351] 577  
 Amendts. reported Mar 12, 732  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> (and Amendts. made), and passed Mar 17, 1184
- c. Lords Amendts. con. Mar 19, 1440—R.P.  
 Debate resumed; several Amendts. agreed to and several disagreed to, and Consequential Amendts. made; Com. appointed to draw up reasons for disagreeing, and Report agreed to Mar 20, 1540, 1581

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**Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery and Redemption Bill—cont.**

- l. Returned from the Commons; several Amendts. to which the Commons disagreed not insisted on, and Commons Consequential Amendts. to Lords Amendts. con. and Consequential Amendts. made, and Bill returned to the Commons Mar 23, 1642, 1683
- c. Lords Amendts., in lieu of the Amendt. disagreed to by the Commons, con.; Division Mar 24, 1766
- l. Returned to the Lords Mar 24, 1757  
 Royal Assent Mar 24, 1812

[54 Vic. c. 8]

**Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery Bill**

Q. Sir J. Swinburne; A. The First Lord of Treas. Jan 22 [349] 791; Q. Mr. R. Cooke; A. The Pres. Bd. Trade Jan 29, 1288; Q. Mr. G. O. Morgan; A. The First Lord of Treas. Mar 18 [351] 1290

**Tithes**

*Distress for Tithes*—*Verwick Board School*, Qs. Mr. S. Leighton, Mr. W. B. Rowlands; As. The Vice Pres. June 2 [353] 1461  
*Goods Liable to Distraint*, Q. Mr. R. Farquharson; A. The Pres. Bd. Trade Feb 2 [349] 1523  
*Inspection of Maps, &c.*—*Fees*, Qs. Mr. Morton; As. The Pres. Bd. Ag. May 25 [353] 965  
*Par Value*, Q. Mr. Roby; A. The Home Sec. June 29 [354] 1724  
*Poor and other Rates*, Q. Mr. S. T. Evans; A. The Att. Gen. June 26 [354] 1592  
*Recovery of Tithes from Quakers*, Q. Mr. Morton; A. The Att. Gen. May 26 [353] 1078  
*Reference Books*, Q. Mr. Seale-Hayne; A. The Pres. Bd. Ag. July 30 [350] 757  
*Royal Commission*, Qs. Mr. H. Gardner; As. The Pres. Bd. Trade Dec 4 [349] 537; Jan 26, 1029; Jan 30, 1396; Q. Mr. Gardner; A. The First Lord of Treas. Jan 23, 902  
*Tithe Rent and Property Tax*, Q. Mr. Cozens-Hardy; A. The Ch. of Exch. June 1 [353] 1372  
*Towyn Parish*, Q. Mr. T. Ellis; A. Sir J. Mowbray June 18 [354] 788

**Tithes (Ireland) Bill**

- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 107  
 [Dropped]

**TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M., Preston**

*Army*  
*Barracks, Fulwood* [350] 205  
*Range Accommodation, Res.* [350] 1154  
*Army Estimates—Capitation Grants, &c.* [354] 1519  
*Berlin Labour Conference—Child Labour* [353] 1826

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**TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M.—cont.**

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 Brazil, British Emigrants to [352] 64  
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 Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, 2R. [353] 1284  
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 Electors Registration (Acceleration) Bill, Com. [350] 2041  
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**Town Holdings Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1° \* Nov 26 [349] 103  
 [Dropped]

**Town Holdings—Select Committee**

Q. Mr. Buchanan; A. The First Lord of Treas. Jan 27 [349] 1154; Q. Mr. Channing; A. The First Lord of Treas. Mar 6 [351] 437  
 Motion for the Re-appointment of Com. and Com. nominated; Papers, &c. ordered Mar 11 [351] 718  
 Members discharged and Members added to, April 16 [352] 776  
 Select Committee Report [Inquiry not Completed] July 9 [355] 710  
 Message to Commons for Copy of Report July 16, 1329  
 Message received July 17, 1597  
 Copy ordered to be Communicated July 20, 1745

**Towns Improvement (Ireland) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1° \* Feb 3 [349] 1731  
 Order for 2R.; Bill withdrawn Aug 4 [356] 1364

*Trade and Commerce (see title Labour, Trade, and Commerce)*

**Trade and Navigation**

Return ordered; Presented Jan 27 [349] 1157

**Trade Unions (Provident Funds) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1° \* May 12 [353] 578  
 [Dropped]

**Trading Registration Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1° \* Feb 3 [349] 1631  
 Order for 2R. read, and deferred Feb 11 [350] 427; Feb 12, 574  
 [Dropped]

**Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1° \* June 25 [354] 1528  
 Read 2° July 7, 631  
 Order for Com. read, and deferred July 17 [355] 1671  
 Com. July 23 [356] 199; July 24, 371; July 27, 515  
 Order for Com. read; Bill withdrawn July 31, 1040

**Training Colleges (Ireland) [Loans]**

c. Instruction to Com. [355] 632  
 Res. con. in Com. July 10, 962  
 Reported \* July 13, 1142  
 Instruction to Com. July 29 [356] 645  
 Res. con. in Com. July 30, 870

*Tramways (see Board of Trade—Railways and Tramways)*

**Tramways (Ireland) Act (1860) Amendment Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1° \* Dec 9 [349] 767  
 Read 2° \* Mar 23 [351] 1755  
 Com. April 24 [352] 1400; May 1, 1926; May 4 [353] 124; May 8, 426; May 25, 1055; Report June 3, 1590  
 Read 3° \*, and passed June 10 [354] 94  
 l. Read 1° \* June 11, 142  
 Read 2°, and com. to Com. of the Whole House June 29, 1677  
 Com.; Report; Re-com. to Standing Com. June 30, 1837  
 Reported from Standing Com. July 21 [355] 1853  
 Read 3° \*, and passed July 24 [356] 265  
 Royal Assent July 28, 525  
 [54 & 55 Vic. c. 42]

**Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (Athenry and Tuam Railway) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1° \* Dec 8 [349] 709  
 Read 2°; Com.\*; Read 3° \*, and passed Dec 9, 770

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*Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (Athenry and Tuam Railway) Bill—cont.*

- l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* Jan 22, 785
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, and com. to Com. of the Whole House Jan 30, 1385
- Com.\*; Report Feb 2, 1504
- Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \*, and passed Feb 3, 1614
- Royal Assent Feb 10 [350] 289

[54 Vic. c. i.]

*Tramways (Street and Road)*

Return ordered; Presented June 30 [354] 1869

**Transfer of Railways (Ireland) Bill**

- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Nov 27 [349] 154
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2, 452
- Com.; Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \*, and passed Dec 4, 622
- l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* Dec 5, 641
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \*, and com. to Com. of the Whole House; Standing Order dispensed with; Com.; Report; Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \*, and passed Dec 8, 685
- c. Lords' Amendt. con. and agreed to Dec 8, 743
- l. Returned from the Commons Dec 9, 745
- Royal Assent Dec 9, 745

[54 Vic. c. 2]

*Treason Felony (Persons under Sentence)*

Address for Return July 30 [356] 753

**TREASURY—First Lord (see SMITH, Right Hon. W. H.)**

**TREASURY—Financial Secretary to (see JACKSON, Right Hon. W. L.)**

**TREASURY—Patronage Secretary to (see AKERS-DOUGLAS, Right Hon. A.)**

*Treasury Bills*

Qs. Sir W. Harcourt; As. The Ch. of Exch. April 30 [352] 1759

*Treaties of Commerce (see Labour, Trade, and Commerce)*

**TREVELYAN, Right Hon. Sir G. O., Glasgow, Bridgeton**

- Archdeaconry of Cornwall Bill, 2R. [350] 566
- Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, Com. [353] 1320
- Electoral Disabilities Removal Bill, 2R. [350] 179; Com. [351] 1798, 1801
- Elementary Education Bill, 2R. [354] 1132, 1219; Com. [355] 49, 50, 247, 282, 364; Con. 562, 567, 576, 583, 622
- Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill, 2R. [352] 607

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**TREVELYAN, Right Hon. Sir G. O.—cont.**

Ireland—Land Tenure (Arbitration), Res. [349] 1496, 1497

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Parliament

Business of the House [351] 1236, 1237 [353] 646, 694, 706 [354] 300 [355] 223; Res. 1443

House of Lords Papers [350] 1699

Nine o'clock Sitings, Res. [352] 1008

Parliamentary Franchise, Res. [351] 60, 114, 121, 126, 128

Parochial Boards (Scotland) Bill, 2R. [350] 1598, 1600

Private Bill Procedure (Scotland) Bill, Select Com. [352] 147, 153

Purchase of Land and Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill, Com. [352] 444, 955, 1867, 1890 [353] 163, 395, 626, 656, 740, 759; Con. 1450, 1492, 1534, 1658, 1675, 1747, 1748, 1752 [354] 45, 223, 314

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Crofter Act (1886), Res. [351] 1595, 1596

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[355] 797

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133 [355] 1412, 1413

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Distress in Ireland [351] 1091

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[351] 1823

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Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery Bill, 2R. [349]

329; Con. [350] 235, 376; Lords' Amendts.

con. [351] 1649, 1790

*Trinidad (Immigration of Coolies)*

Address for Return July 28 [356] 545

*Triple Alliance (see title Foreign Affairs)*

**Truck Bill**

- l. Presented; Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* May 12 [353] 553
- [Dropped]

**Trust Companies' Bill**

- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* Nov 27 [349] 156
- [Dropped]

**Trust Investment Act (1889) Amendment Bill**

- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* Feb 17 [350] 851
- [Dropped]

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**Trustee Bill**

- l.* Presented; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Mar 17 [351] 1192  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, and com. to Com. of the Whole  
House April 16 [352] 654  
Com.; Report; Re-com. to Standing Com.  
April 17, 783  
Report from Standing Com. July 7 [355]  
525  
Amendts. reported July 9, 693  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup>\*, and passed July 10, 866  
*c.* Read 1<sup>st</sup>\* July 15, 1827  
Order for 2R. read; Bill withdrawn July 21,  
1886

**Trustee Savings Bank Bill**

- Q. Mr. Howell; A. The Ch. of Exch. Jan  
28 [349] 892  
(Refer also to title *Savings Banks Bill*)

**Trustee Savings Banks**

- Return ordered Feb 12 [350] 577

**Trustee Savings Banks**

- l.* Scheme for Appointment of an Inspection  
Committee laid before the House Aug 3  
[356] 1114

**Trusts Amendment (Scotland) Bill**

- c.* Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup>\* Feb 11 [350] 428  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup>\* April 17 [352] 849  
Com.—R.P. April 21, 1072  
Com.\*; Report April 27, 1576  
As amended, Con.; Read 3<sup>rd</sup>\*, and passed  
April 28, 1636  
*l.* Read 1<sup>st</sup>\* April 30, 1793  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup>\*, and com. to Com. of the Whole  
House May 8 [353] 356  
Com.; Report; Re-com. to Standing Com.  
May 11, 477  
Reported from Standing Com. July 21 [355]  
1853  
Amendts. reported July 23 [356] 96  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup>\*, and passed July 24, 265  
*c.* Lords' Amendts. con. and agreed to July  
28, 546  
*l.* Returned from the Commons July 28, 525  
Royal Assent Aug 5, 1365  
[54 & 55 Vic. c. 44]

**TUIE, Mr. J., Westmeath, N.**

- Civil Service Clerks and Writers [350] 10,  
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- Ireland  
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[356] 309
- Land Commission  
County Meath [354] 164, 279, 538  
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- Police—Westmeath [353] 491
- Prisons—Mullingar [356] 402
- Representation of the People Act [352]  
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**Tullamore Gaol**

- Return ordered July 21 [355] 1899

**Turbary (Ireland) Bill**

- c.* Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup>\* June 19 [354] 984  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup>\* June 25, 1528  
Com.; Report July 2 [355] 297  
As amended, Con.; Read 3<sup>rd</sup>\*, and passed  
July 23 [356] 200  
*l.* Read 1<sup>st</sup>\* July 24, 214  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, and com. to Com. of the Whole  
House July 27, 387  
Com.\*; Report; Standing Com. negated  
July 28, 537  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup>\*, and passed July 30, 741  
Royal Assent Aug 5, 1365  
[54 & 55 Vic. c. 45]

**Turbary (Ireland) [Expenses]**

- c.* Com. June 29 [354] 1824  
Report June 30, 1936

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- Aleppo*—Case of Mrs. Barker, Q. Mr. Sin-  
clair; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs.  
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*Armenia* (see that title)

**Constantinople**

- British Embassy*—Death of Mr. Curwen,  
Q. Mr. W. Lowther; A. The Under  
Sec. for Fn. Affrs. April 13 [352] 376

*Overloading Ships*—"Bedford" and "Lech-  
mere" (see title Board of Trade—Mer-  
chant Shipping)

- Shipping Labour*, Q. Mr. Atkinson; A.  
The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Mar 9  
[351] 483

- Crete, Condition of*, Qs. Mr. Leveson-Gower;  
As. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Mar 5  
[351] 230; July 6 [355] 429

*Cyprus Tribute* (see title CYPRUS)

- Eastern Question*, Motion for Papers (Lord  
Stratheden and Campbell) Mar 9 [351]  
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- Kurdish and Circassian Troops, Employmen-  
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Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Mar 12 [351]  
762; Q. Mr. Bryce; A. The Under Sec.  
for Fn. Affrs. June 4 [353] 1614

- Macedonia—Murder of a British Subject*, Q.  
Mr. J. Bright; A. The Under Sec. for Fn.  
Affrs. July 7 [355] 546

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- Nablus—English Episcopal Church*, Q. Sir  
J. Kennaway; A. The Under Sec. for Fn.  
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- Roumelia, Eastern — Governorship*, Q. Mr.  
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- Smyrna—Seamen's Hospital*, Q. Colonel Hill;  
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 Scotch Railway Strike [351] 363

**TYLER, Sir H. W., Great Yarmouth**  
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*Ultimus Haeres, Scotland (Account and  
 List of Estates)*  
 Return ordered; Presented July 28 [356]  
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**UNITED STATES (see AMERICA)**

**Universities**

*University of London (see title EDUCATION)*  
*Vice Chancellors' Courts at Oxford and  
 Cambridge (see Law and Justice and  
 Police)*

**University Education (Ireland) Bill**  
 c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Nov 26 [349] 105  
 [Dropped]

*Vaccination (see headings Local Go-  
 vernment Board and Law and  
 Justice and Police)*

**Vagrancy (Scotland) Bill**  
 c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* April 27 [352] 1576  
 [Dropped]

**Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Bill**  
 c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* May 26 [353] 1096  
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